

# THE PAPERMAKERS OF SNODLAND c.1740-1854

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## THE PAPERMAKERS OF SNODLAND c.1740-1854

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### *Preamble*

There are already two excellent studies of Snodland Paper Mill<sup>1</sup>, so it may seem presumptuous to add a third. Between them Alfred Shorter<sup>2</sup>, Michael Fuller and Kenneth Funnell have thoroughly researched the surviving records and there is probably little more to find in official documentary sources. It is very regrettable that the extensive Snodland Mill records, which had survived the devastating fire of 12 August 1906, were all pulped in the mid-twentieth century before they could be examined by historians. So this paper turns rather to genealogical sources concerning the early owners and papermakers, which reveal a fascinating web of connections between people and places. The arrival of the Hook family in 1854 makes a suitable end; they took the Snodland mill into expansive and profitable development.

Papermakers seem to have moved regularly from mill to mill and Snodland mill (like many others) was often but a stepping-stone for both owners and employees. Movement between local mills is of course to be expected - and there were many in the Maidstone area, but so far as Snodland is concerned there are also strong links with the principal papermaking area in England: the Wye valley in Buckinghamshire, where more than thirty mills were active in the early nineteenth century. Information on Snodland's earliest papermakers is sparse. Owners and principal lease-holders can be traced through Overseers' and Churchwardens' Accounts and Land Tax assessments, but their workers can only be glimpsed briefly in apprenticeship indentures, settlement claims, Petty Sessions records and the like. The addition of a 'father's occupation' in the format of baptismal registers from 1813 onwards is helpful. A further great leap forward occurs with the censuses from 1841 onwards, providing details of families which can often be used retrospectively. Yet persistent research is required from interested parties if papermaking families are to be traced from census to census and place to place. The burgeoning study of family history and the presence of an on-line version of the International Genealogical Index [IGI] are two major tools which I have readily seized upon, not omitting casual findings on family history web-sites. Although many gaps remain in the evidence, I am particularly grateful to several people who have been willing to share their research into families and ancestors who included papermakers from Snodland and who have readily agreed to my publishing details here: Mrs Debra Buchanan (Mayatt); Martin Clark (Clark, Mason, Gurney, Weedon and the family connections), Mrs Jilly Coles (Kidwell); Mrs Margot Corbett (Clark,

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<sup>1</sup> Michael J. Fuller, *Watermills of the Leybourne and Holborough Streams*, private edition of six copies, 1990, partially reprinted and revised as *Snodland and Holborough Watermills*, Snodland Historical Society pamphlet 9 (Snodland, 1998), pp. 1-39; also 'British Papermills: Snodland Mill, Kent', in *British Association of Paper Historians Quarterly*, nos. 28-30 (Oct. 1998, Jan. 1999, June 1999); Kenneth Funnell, *Snodland Paper Mill, C. Townsend Hook and Company from 1854* (Snodland, 1979 and 1986).

<sup>2</sup> Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495-1800* (Hilversum, 1957); *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (1971); *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, ed. Richard Hills (Variorum Collected Study Series, CS 425, Aldershot, 1993)

Weedon); Mrs Rosemary Crouch (Mayatt); Mrs Pamela Hawker (Mecoy/Macoy); Paul Penn-Simkins (Spong and Fielder); Mrs R. Wallis (Robert Wagon/Waghorn); Roger Thornburgh (Loose papermakers: Gurney). Further responses will be welcome. The recitation of names, dates and places in this survey is tedious, but necessary to build up the overall picture. Entries from parish registers are given as fully as the information gleaned allows.<sup>3</sup> The IGI is of some help, but as will be seen there is a very strong non-conformist element in the story, where surviving registers are often much more informally and irregularly kept. Many of these have not yet received the same attention as the Church of England ones or have been lost. A large number of christenings and marriages of the people recorded here simply do not appear at present on the IGI. Pending firm evidence I have tried to avoid undue speculation.

### EARLY OWNERSHIP

No evidence has been found to show that a paper mill existed in Snodland before about 1740, although two snippets may suggest otherwise. The parish clerk was particularly diligent in keeping the church registers between 1698 and 1706, systematically entering the occupations of all persons during that time. On 5<sup>th</sup> January 1705/6 this included the burial of 'James Smith, paper-maker'. There are no other Smiths recorded in Snodland then, and no other references to paper-makers, so it remains doubtful that a paper mill was active until later. However, we can also note in passing that John Short, son of John, baptized at Snodland on 23 July 1666, later moved to Sutton-at-Hone to become a papermaker by 1691.<sup>4</sup>

John May senior of Birling acquired the Snodland Courtlodge estate from the Crow family in 1732, when the deeds describe it as containing 'Houses, Oasthouses, Dovehouses, Barns, Stables, Edifices, Buildings, Mills, Malthouse and Maltmill and Cistern therein' - no mention of paper<sup>5</sup>. This is echoed by the manorial meeting held on 5 April 1733, when the transfer from John Crow to John May of 'Snodland Court Lodge and malthouse, two barns, two stables with the outhouses, one acre of hop ground, orchard and 60 acres of arable land, meadow and saltmarsh' was recorded.<sup>6</sup> The next document in the sequence of deeds is dated 24 January 1743/4, when John Hicks was in 'actual possession' of the property for a year. This refers not only to the Courtlodge, but also to 'the Paper Mill, Drying Houses and other Erections and Buildings lately Erected and Sett up by the said John May on the said premises', and then goes on to make the same list as before. Further evidence that a paper mill was here comes from the lists of alehouse-keepers which shows that Jane Munt was victualler at 'The Paper Mill' at least between 1746 and 1759 (the records are intermittent only).<sup>7</sup> The site of this alehouse is currently unknown, but may have been near the mill. John May (d.1761) lived in a modest house in Horn Street, Birling, but had acquired considerable wealth and became one of the local gentry. Around 1750 he acquired much property from Thomas Pearce, including the extensive Holloway Court

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<sup>3</sup> The original format is not retained. Entries are from the registers of All Saints, Snodland, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>4</sup> CKS: U47/45/T48: deed dated 11 September 1691 between John Short of Sutton-at-Hone, papermaker, and John Taylor of Snodland, ropemaker.

<sup>5</sup> CKS: Q/RDz3/1-17

<sup>6</sup> CKS: CCRb/M1.

<sup>7</sup> CKS: Q/RLv, *passim*.

estate at Holborough, where his son John (1734-1805) set up home. John senior's will, made on 8 November 1760<sup>8</sup>, bequeaths all the Pearce acquisitions in Snodland, Halling, Luddesdown and Meopham, together with the lease of Halling Rectory, to his son John, and all his property in Borden, Bredgar and Tunstall, together with the 'Red Lion' in Snodland and its associated wharf, to his son William. The rest of the estate, which included the paper mill, was to be shared between John junior and William as tenants in common. William died on 25 August 1777, so all this in turn devolved to his brother John, who held it until his own death on 2 September 1805. Since he had no immediate family, John entrusted his large estate to four trustees, giving the family of each first benefit of particular parts of it. They were John Spong the younger of Southwark, hop-factor; John Simmons Esq. of Rochester; Edward Wickham the younger of Birling, farmer; Mary, widow of Thomas Simpson, of Rochester.

Closer inspection reveals links between at least some of the trustees. In his will May mentions his late cousin Elizabeth Halfhead. She (as Elizabeth Littlewood) was married to John Halfhead at St Margaret's, Rochester, on 23 September 1767. Their daughter Laetitia (bap. 26 October 1774) married John Spong [the younger] at Snodland on 30 July 1793 and their daughter Sarah Eleanor (bap. 2 October 1776) married John Simmons on 9 June 1803, also at Snodland. There were two other daughters, Elizabeth (bap. 25 September 1771) and Mary (bap. 24 March 1773). I have not been able to ascertain whether Elizabeth was the wife of Edward Wickham, or Mary the wife of 'Thomas Simpson of Rochester', but it seems quite likely.<sup>9</sup>

Snodland Court Lodge with 50 acres in Snodland and Birling, the Manor of Veles in Snodland and Snodland Mill and Wharf were allocated to Mary Simpson.<sup>10</sup> From Michaelmas 1794 May had leased the Court Lodge estate to Thomas Beech and Isaac Wenman the younger for 14 years at £160 p.a.. A new lease was made by Mary Simpson on 3 February 1806 on Snodland Court Lodge for eight years to Thomas Beech, junior, at £110 p.a. (This was the farm rather than the mill.) Young Thomas Beech was buried at Birling on 16 October 1806, and, as executor, his father surrendered the lease on 25 September 1807.

It would seem that it was the Spong family who acquired the mill, probably when it was put up for sale in 1807.<sup>11</sup> John Spong of Aylesford, father of the John Spong associated with May, was a coal merchant and had paid parish rates on the coal wharf at Snodland since 1793. Evidently it was he who made the purchase since in his own will of 20 August 1814 he bequeathed 'Snodland mill and the several cottages attached thereto' to his son William, then living at Snodland.<sup>12</sup> This merely confirmed the status quo, for the manorial meeting of 25 October 1810 had already noted the transfer of the mill from John May to William Spong and his partner Isaac Wenman, the papermaker master. The Spong family continued to own the mill until at least 1842, leasing it to various papermaker masters. After Wenman's death in 1815, his widow Ann alienated

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<sup>8</sup> PRO: PCC PROB 11/1761, q.65.

<sup>9</sup> Edward and Elizabeth Wickham were the witnesses at the 1803 wedding.

<sup>10</sup> PRO: PROB 11/. It should be noted that William would only have come of age (21) on 14 February 1811.

<sup>11</sup> Fuller, *Snodland and Holborough Watermills*, pp. 9 and 38 notes this from 'Jackson's Oxford Journal' of 2 May 1807. The mill was totally destroyed by fire on 17 December 1807, but was immediately re-built.

<sup>12</sup> PRO: PROB 11/1564

Snodland Court Lodge (being a house and 22 acres) to James Martin. On 28 October 1818 the manorial meeting minuted:

Be it Remembered that at this Court the Homage [Jury] present that James Martin some time since purchased of the Representatives of the late Isaac Wainman a Messuage, Barn and about twenty two acres of Land, being part of Snodland Court Lodge Farm and that the remainder of the said Farm, consisting of a Paper Mill, Six Cottages and about eight acres of Land, is now the property of Will<sup>m</sup> Spong and which he purchased of the late John May. The whole of the said premises are held at the annual rent of 18s. 8d. And the Homage apportion the Rent as follows: vizt. the said James Martin to pay the annual sum of 6s. and the said Will<sup>m</sup> Spong to pay the annual sum of 12s. 8d.<sup>13</sup>

The Land Tax Assessments (and later the censuses) show that the house formerly in the High Street, eventually occupied and enlarged by the Hook family and named 'Veles' by them, was also the home of most of the previous mill managers, beginning with Isaac Wenman the younger (1796-1806). Others who lived there were Thomas Cleaves (1807-10) - not a papermaker (but he was a beneficiary in John May's will), William Spong (1811-23), William Joynson (1824-33), John Clark (1834-40) and William Wildes (1847?-1854?). Ownership of the property in this period is shown as John May (1793), John Spong (1795-1801), John Spong junior (1802-7), Thomas Cleaves (1808-10), William Spong (1812-22), John Dudlow (a local lawyer and landowner) (1823-39); Henry Phelps (Rector of Snodland) (1840-65).

## **BEFORE 1807**

### **JASPER CROTHALL (1748-1781)**

From at least 1748 the paper mill manager was Jasper Crothall, from Benenden. Unfortunately the Benenden registers are defective so we cannot trace his birth there. He was a son of John, a tanner (buried 4 October 1738), and Mary Crothall (buried 19 February 1752) and born after 1720, so he was a relatively young man when he settled in Snodland. Crothall leased the mill from the Mays, paying the parish rates on it. By 1758, although he owned another house in Snodland, he himself was living in 'Prospect Cottage' in Holborough Road, the old house next to the Willowside estate. Almost certainly it was he who added the brick part to the property around 1780. He was a prosperous man, owning three houses and land, and able to make bequests of around £1000 in his will. After his death in 1781 the mill was run by his nephew Isaac Wenman, also born at Benenden. Isaac was working in Snodland no later than 1765.

### **Robert Cummings (-1748-1781)**

The eighteenth-century mill would have been a small affair, perhaps worked by just two or three men. On 2 July 1748 at the Petty Sessions, 'Robert Cummings, now of Snodland, on Oath saith that he was bound an Apprentice and Served 7 years to one Luke Bale of Duffield in the County of Derby, Papermaker, and that he has not gained a settlement since'. The judgement was that he belonged to Duffield, so on 2 May 1752 he tried again, having married in the meantime. Again the Court made an order to remove him. A third attempt on 3 February 1759 to gain a settlement here met with the same response. This time he noted that 'he served ... Luke Bale ... about three years when he the said Robert Cummings ran away from his said master'. In spite of his failure to gain a settlement in Snodland, Cummings remained here with his wife Anne

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<sup>13</sup> CKS: CCRb/M4.

and children Anne and Robert. Records for 1754 and 1757 note that Richard and John Eason, Francis Aldridge and Elizabeth his wife, and Robert Cummins and Ann his wife freely held two tenements, two barns and three pieces of land (c.5 acres), occupied by Richard Eason, John Craft and Richard Hales, and that these were transferred to Hales in the latter year. It is probable that this property was the 'Old Bull' with adjacent houses and land on the east side of Holborough Road at the corner with the High Street. At any rate, after living in the village for at least 33 years, 'Robert Cummins, Paper-maker', was buried on 4 September 1781. His son became a butcher, moving to Teston in 1780.

#### **Charles Lock (1761-4-)**

The Petty Sessions also tell of another papermaker, Charles Lock:

3 November 1764: Charles Lock, now residing at Snodland, born at Ansham, county of Oxford; was bound apprentice to William Fashion of Woolvernett, Oxford, Papermaker, for 7 years (and served 5 years and 4 months); then was a journeyman in Worcestershire of 11 weeks; then about 3 weeks in Shropshire and three years with Thomas Overton, a Papermaker.

He is presumed to be the Charles Lock baptized at Eynsham on 4 July 1736 and therefore would not be the man who married Elizabeth Clampard at Snodland on 30 January 1749. But on 12 May 1761 he married Sarah Lawrence, both parties described as 'of Snodland', and a son Thomas was baptized on 9 November 1764, perhaps the reason he applied for settlement. Since nothing further is heard of him it is possible that he moved away, to be replaced by Crothall's nephew, Isaac Wenman.

#### **ISAAC WENMAN [I] (1765-1785)**

Isaac was baptized at Benenden on 4 August 1740, son of William and Martha (née Crothall). He was in Snodland by 14 February 1765 when he was a witness at a wedding (the first of three such duties he undertook that year). His own wedding was at St Margaret's, Rochester, on 26 August 1765, by licence, to Elizabeth Hales, daughter of Richard, victualler at the *Red Lion*, and Sarah. A succession of children was born to them: Jasper (1766, died in infancy); **Isaac** (1768-1815), Robert (1771-); Martha (1773-1791); John (1774-); William (1777-1784); Jasper (1779-1866). Elizabeth was buried at Cuxton on 14 October 1784 (her parents had previously been buried there) and Isaac died a year later on 22 December 1785. He too was buried at Cuxton and his estate valued at around £1000 was divided between his five surviving children. Of these Isaac became the paper mill manager.

#### **William King (1769-1776?)**

In 1769 William King of Birling was apprenticed to Jasper Crothall until he reached the age of twenty-one.<sup>14</sup>

#### **ISAAC WENMAN [II] (1785-1815)**

Baptized on 11 December 1768, son of Isaac [I] and Elizabeth, Isaac continued as paper mill manager until his death in 1815, aged 47, from 'unskilful treatment of an abscess' according to the Rector, who buried him on 1 June.

Disaster struck on 17 December 1807, reported on the 22nd in the *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*:

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<sup>14</sup> CKS: P29/i 4/1/54. No William King is recorded in the Birling registers.

Thursday night a very alarming fire broke out at Snodland paper Mill, which in a short time entirely consumed the same and all its contents, the whole to a very considerable amount. The great Double Barrelled Engine of the Kent Fire Office arrived at the spot with great expedition, but two [*sic*] late to effect any good purpose, as the destruction was complete.

A note in the Overseers accounts acknowledges that Wenman's rates would need modifying: 1 May 1808: '2 sets allowd as agreed at the Vestry for Mill being destroy'd by fire'.

### **Edmeads, George and Thomas (1781; 1797-1816-)**

Among the apprenticeship records of Birling is one of 1781 for George Edmeads to Isaac Wenman of Snodland, papermaker. Edmeads fell ill in October 1791 and Snodland parish paid him poor relief, followed by £1. 5s. 'To Nursing & Burying G. Edmeads' (but the burial is not recorded in the register of All Saints). Maybe the Thomas Edmeads mentioned below was George's brother or other relation. There are many Edmeads entries in the Birling register, but the baptism there of Thomas, son of Thomas and Elizabeth, on 2 May 1762 seems too early for our man. There were other Edmeads who were papermakers elsewhere: from the 1780s a Robert Edmeads was a partner with Thomas Pine at Ivy Mill, Loose, and other later partnerships between the two families involved a John Edmeads and William Edmeads. The last two were declared bankrupt in 1813.<sup>15</sup> The Snodland registers record

- 5 November 1797: baptism of Thomas, son of Thomas and Phoebe Edmeads *alias* Cook.
- 29 September 1799: baptism of William, son of Tho<sup>s</sup> and Phoebe Cook
- 4 October 1801: baptism of Joseph, son of Tho<sup>s</sup> and Phoebe Cooke. Presumably he was the 'Joseph Cook drowned near the Mill', aged 6, on 9 August 1807.
- 15 May 1803: baptism of George, son of Thomas and Phoebe Cook
- 10 February 1805: baptism of Ann, daughter of Tho<sup>s</sup> and Phoebe Cook (born on 2 January)
- 1 November 1806: burial of James Cook, aged 9 days
- 17 April 1808: baptism of Sarah, daughter of Thomas and Phoebe Edmeads (born on 18 February)
- 2 September 1810: baptism of John, son of Tho<sup>s</sup> and Phoebe Cook (born on 15 August)
- 3 January 1812: baptism of Henry, son of Thomas ('papermaker') and Phoebe Cook.
- 7 August 1814: baptism of Francis, son of Thomas ('papermaker') and Phoebe Cook *alias* Edwards [Edmeads].
- 24 September 1814: burial of 'Frances' Cook, aged 6 weeks.
- 14 January 1816: baptism of Philip, son of Thomas ('papermaker') and Phoebe Cook *alias* Edmeads

### **Stephen Outridge. (-1801-1814-)**

- 8 March 1801: baptism of Sarah, daughter of Stephen and Ann Outledge
- 27 March 1803: baptism of Ann, daughter of Stephen and Ann Outridge
- 23 September 1804: baptism of Mary, daughter of Stephen and Ann Outridge (buried 30 November 1804)

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<sup>15</sup> See A. H. Shorter, 'Paper Mills in the Maidstone District, IV', in *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain ...*, 247-9.

25 December 1805: baptism of Henry, son of Stephen and Ann Outridge  
31 January 1808: baptism of Sophia, daughter of Stephen and Ann Outridge  
31 July 1814: baptism of Mary, daughter of Stephen Outridge, papermaker, and Ann

### **William Hadlow. (-1805-)**

On 2 September 1805 a complaint was aired at the Petty Sessions:

Isaac Wenman of Snodland, Paper Maker, on his Oath saith that his apprentice William Hadlow hath in his Service been guilty of several Acts of Misbehaviour. And particularly on the 26: of August last he quitted his Service & went to Strood Fair without his knowledge or Consent. (Hadlow was committed to hard labour for 14 days.)<sup>16</sup>

The Hadlows were well established in Snodland. This was probably William, son of William and Margaret, baptized at All Saints Snodland on 12 February 1786.

## **1807-1823**

### **WILLIAM SPONG (1810-1823)**

As noted earlier, from around 1810 Isaac Wenman's partner is recorded as William Spong, son of John, who had purchased the mill three years before. Following the death of John in January 1815 (buried at Aylesford on the 28<sup>th</sup>) he continued ownership until 1823, at which time he moved to Cobtree Manor, near Maidstone.

Born at Aylesford on 14 February 1790, Spong married Jane Fielder at St Mary, Newington, Surrey, on 25 January 1811. (She was baptized at St Mary Newington, Surrey, on 4 April 1788, daughter of Thomas, a rich stockbroker, and Jane Fielder.) He died at Cobtree on 15 November 1839.

5 September 1813: baptism of Jane, daughter of William Spong, papermaker, and Jane

17 September 1815: baptism of Charles Mansfield, son of William Spong, papermaker, and Jane

2 March 1817: baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of William Spong, Gent., and Jane

18 October 1818: Martha Rowan, daughter of William Spong, Gent., and Jane

26 November 1820: baptism of Henry Summerfield, son of William Spong, Gent., and Jane

Four more children were born to the couple 1822-1829, all baptized at Aylesford.

### **James Loosely. (-1811-1813-)**

5 May 1811: baptism of James, son of James and Mary Loosely (born 25 December 1810)

27 June 1813: baptism of Mary Ann, daughter of James Loosely, papermaker, and Mary Ann

### **James Dickson. (-1813-)**

3 January 1813: baptism of Henry, son of James Dickson, papermaker, and Gwine (on the same date (and time?) as Henry, son of Thomas and Phoebe Cooke)

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<sup>16</sup> CKS: PS/Ma 6.

### **Robert Waghorn. (-1813-1825-)**

- 27 June 1813: baptism of Robert, son of Robert Waghorn, papermaker, and Ann  
18 February 1816: baptism of John, son of Robert Wagon, papermaker, and Ann  
19 July 1818: baptism of William, son of Robert Wagon, papermaker, and Ann  
23 April 1820: baptism of Stephen, son of Robert Waghorn, papermaker, and Ann  
5 October 1823: baptism of Harriet, daughter of Robert Waghorn, papermaker, and Ann  
13 March 1825: baptism of Edward, son of Robert Waghorn, papermaker, and Ann

Not long after, it appears the family moved to East Malling, where further children were born between 1828 and 1832. They were still living in one of the mill houses in 1851. In a nearby house was the family of another papermaker, Richard Wagon and his wife Phoebe. Richard was perhaps Robert's brother, since his children were born between 1817 and 1836.

### **William Mecoy. (-1815-1854)**

- 1 January 1815: baptism of Louisa, daughter of William Mecoy, papermaker, and Eliz. (buried 4 September 1827)  
24 November 1816: baptism of Eliz., daughter of Wm. Macoy, papermaker, and Eliz. (buried 24 April 1833)  
7 February 1819: baptism of Sarah, daughter of William and Elizabeth, at East Farleigh [?]  
21 October 1821: baptism of John, son of William Macoy, labourer, and Elizabeth. He is listed, aged '15' in the 1841 census

William was born around 1777 in 'Maidstone'. It is possible that he was the William Mecoy that married Elizabeth Hobley at East Farleigh on 24 November 1799.<sup>17</sup> Once settled in Snodland they remained for the rest of their lives<sup>18</sup>, succeeded by later generations.

### **THOMAS FIELDER (-1816-1818-)**

Insurance documents and overseers'/churchwardens' accounts show Fielder to have occupied the mill in these years, replacing Wenman as papermaker master.<sup>19</sup> He may have been the brother-in-law of William Spong: baptized at St Mary, Newington, Surrey, on 1 June 1789, son of Thomas and Jane; died at Chobham, Surrey, on 18 June 1862.

### **William Randall. (-1816-1818-)**

- 11 February 1816: baptism of Jane, daughter of William Randall, papermaker, and Elizabeth  
2 August 1818: baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of William Randall, papermaker, and Elizabeth

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<sup>17</sup> The 1851 Snodland census states that she was born in Ireland.

<sup>18</sup> William was buried at Snodland on 23 August 1854, aged 77; Elizabeth was buried at Snodland on 14 January 1856, aged 78

<sup>19</sup> Details in Fuller, op. cit (as Snodland Historical Society pamphlet 9), 9-10.

### **Joseph Mayatt. (-1816-1836)**

- 26 February 1816: marriage of Joseph Mayatt and Frances Elizabeth Hawks, both of Snodland
- 26 January 1817: baptism of Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances Elizabeth. She married Joseph Phillips, a papermaker born in St Mary Cray, where the couple were living in 1851.
- 19 July 1818: baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances Elizabeth.
- 4 June 1820: baptism of James, son of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances. He married Caroline Phillips on 16 June 1841 at Deptford. Three children were born to them at St Mary Cray: Caroline Frances (1844), James (1848), John Phillips (1851).
- 20 October 1822: baptism of Charles Henry, son of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances. He married Ann Phillips on 25 July 1844 at Bromley. Five children were born to them at St Mary Cray between 1845 and 1854, their daughter Ann Weller Mayatt was born at East Malling in 1857 and two more children at Snodland in 1867 and 1869.
- 13 June 1824: baptism of Jane, daughter of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances.
- 1 February 1825: burial of Jane Mayatt, infant, of Snodland
- 15 October 1826: baptism of Frances, daughter of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances
- 24 March 1827: burial of Elizabeth Mayatt, aged 8, of Snodland
- 22 February 1829: baptism of Jane, daughter of Joseph Mayatt, papermaker, and Frances
- 22 November 1832: burial of Sarah Mayatt, aged 14 months, of Snodland<sup>20</sup>

Joseph is one of the few paper mill workers named in the Overseers' accounts and is shown to be living in a house belonging to John Goodhugh between 1818 and 1836. This was on the north side of the High Street at a point where the by-pass now cuts through. It would appear that around the latter date the family moved to St Mary Cray, where the two sons James and Charles Henry brought up their families for a time (recorded 1844-1854) and where, no doubt, they were employed by William Joynson. The baptism of Ann Weller, daughter of Charles at East Malling in 1857 shows he at least had moved again, to be followed by a further move to Snodland later that year. The whole third generation of his family were in Snodland by 1867 and Mayatts continued working at Snodland Paper Mill for several more generations.

The *Church Book of the Independents* records that 'Mr Charles Mayatt was transferred from the church at Malling to this church Sep. 19. 1857'. Later he became one of the Trustees for the Providence Chapel, Holborough Road, and is named as such on the deed of 2 August 1888 acquiring the new site for the High Street Chapel.

### **Thomas Kidwell. (-1817-d.1860)**

Baptized 14 July 1776, All Saints, Maidstone, second son of Thomas and Mary Kidwell (née Newton); three brothers and five sisters. Married (1) Ann (surname unknown), c.1799 (she died in 1805). Children: Ann, Thomas, Phillis; (2) Elizabeth Gibbs, 24 November 1806, Tardebigge, Worcestershire (she died in Maidstone in April 1830). Children: Thomas, Avis, Elizabeth, William; (3) Ann Fielder (nee Bassett), widow, 4 April 1831, All Saints, Maidstone. No children.

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<sup>20</sup> Possibly a daughter of William and Hannah (see below) rather than Joseph and Francis?

Thomas is presumed to have lived in Maidstone with his first family; perhaps he was employed at one of the paper mills. Following the death of his first wife he travelled to Worcestershire around 1805-6 and married again, at Tardebigge. Two of his children were baptized at nearby Ipsley and Beoley and his son Thomas died at Tardebigge in 1813, where there were paper mills.<sup>21</sup> By 1817 the family had moved back to Kent and Thomas's son William was baptized at All Saints, Snodland, on 2 February 1817. Elizabeth Kidwell, aged 18, was buried from the Paper Mill on 15 February 1830 and her mother, Elizabeth, on 13 April following. Thomas lived in Snodland for the rest of his life, but married a third time at All Saints, Maidstone, in 1831. Presumably this Ann Fielder<sup>22</sup> (née Bassett) was the widow of John Fielder, a carpenter of Holborough, who was buried at Snodland on 22 December 1826, but why should the marriage have been at Maidstone? In spite of the records of births, marriages and deaths in Anglican sources, Thomas was a Non-Conformist. On 7 June 1824 his house in Mill Street was confirmed as 'a place of Religious Worship by an Assembly or Congregation of Protestants'<sup>23</sup>. This seems to have been at the instigation of William Joynson, the new owner of Snodland Paper Mill. *The Church Book of the Independents* gives the background:

The gospel was introduced into Snodland by agents of the Chatham Itinerant Society about the year 1822. At first worship was conducted in a cottage [Kidwell's], and afterwards a chapel, capable of accommodating about 200 persons was fitted up, chiefly at the expense of Mr William Joynson, who occupied the paper-mill. Mr. J. was not only the honoured instrument of providing a chapel without any charge for rent, but also of inducing many to attend. Twelve persons from this village were received into the church at Chatham, under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. Slatterie.

Later

Those persons who had joined the church at Chatham, now became desirous of forming themselves into a separate church. Accordingly steps were taken to bring this about and on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1836, a church, comprising 12 members, was formed on the principal of Congregational or Independent Dissenters.<sup>24</sup>

Among these first twelve was Thomas Kidwell. His wife Ann is first listed on 18 June 1837. Both appear in the 1841 census at 'Snodland Wharf' and there again in the 1851 census. In the later list Thomas is given as a 'pauper paper maker', so presumably had retired. Ann was buried at All Saints on 30 May 1852 and Thomas died on 13 August 1860.

### **William Jordan. (1820-1825)**

3 December 1820: baptism of Mary, daughter of William Jordan, papermaker, and Mary

2 February 1822: William and Mary Jordan were witnesses to the marriage of Daniel Hurd (a papermaker) of Charlton, and Elizabeth Oliver (*q.v.*):

1 June 1823: baptism: Sarah, daughter of William Jordan, papermaker, and Mary

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<sup>21</sup> See A. H. Shorter, 'Paper-Mills in Worcestershire', in *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, Aldershot, 1993, 280-286.

<sup>22</sup> She was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Bassett, born on 19 Dec 1776 at Ightham and married there to John Fielder on 4 May 1795.

<sup>23</sup> CKS: DRa/Rm/22.

<sup>24</sup> Now at the Medway Archives and Study Centre, Strood, in N/URC/342. The Tithe Map of 1844 shows the Chapel, apparently made by combining Kidwell's house with another next door.

9 Oct 1825: baptism: Elizabeth, daughter of William Jordan, papermaker, and Mary

A younger William Jordan (born c.1818) was a papermaker in Snodland in 1861. He was born in Boxley and may well have been a son of William the elder, who perhaps was working at one of the mills between Aylesford and Sandling before moving to Snodland.

### **WILLIAM TRINDALL (1821-1823)**

William Trindall (1821-1823) was at Forstal Mill, Aylesford between 1816 and 1821<sup>25</sup>, then worked as papermaker master at Snodland between 1821 and 1823.

### **Daniel Hurd. (-1822-)**

2 February 1822: marriage of Daniel Hurd of Charlton and Elizabeth Oliver of Snodland. Witnesses: William and Mary Jordan

13 October 1822: baptism of Alfred, son of Daniel Hurd, papermaker, and Elizabeth.

By combining all these names, it would appear that at least six to eight men were employed at the mill at this time<sup>26</sup>, together with an unknown number of women (as rag sorters and the like) and a few boys:

1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
I. Wenman	I. Wenman	I. Wenman	T. Fielder	T. Fielder	T. Fielder
W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong
R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn
T. Edmeads	T. Edmeads	T. Edmeads	T. Edmeads	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell
S. Outridge	S. Outridge		J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt
J. Dickson			W. Randall	W. Randall	W. Randall
J. Loosely		W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy

1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
		W. Trindall	W. Trindall	W. Trindall
W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong	W. Spong
R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn
J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt
	W. Jordan	W. Jordan	W. Jordan	W. Jordan
T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell
W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy
			D. Hurd	

<sup>25</sup> Shorter, *Studies in the History of Papermaking* [...], 231.

<sup>26</sup> Any unmarried men are of course unrecorded. Judging by later records there must have been additional youthful workers at the mill as well as women rag-sorters/cutters.

## WILLIAM JOYNSON: 1823-1833

**WILLIAM JOYNSON** came to Snodland from High Wycombe in 1823.

11 September 1827: baptism of William, son of William Joynson, papermaker, and Ann Catherine (buried 29 September 1827)

19 September 1828: baptism of Edmund Hamborough, son of William Joynson, papermaker, and Ann Catherine

31 January 1830: birth of Ann Catherine, daughter of William Joynson and Ann Catherine; baptized at The Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, 9 February 1830

9 October 1833: baptism of Mary, daughter of William Joynson, papermaker, and Ann Catherine

Joynson moved on to St Mary Cray, where he was extremely successful, building up a paper mill of acknowledged quality and considerable size. It employed 120 people in 1842 and 630 by 1865. A paragraph from *The Church Book of the Independents* (quoted below) states that Snodland mill was shut briefly after Joynson's departure and that several of his work-force went with him. This was probably so, but the records are largely unhelpful in confirming this. Certainly there was a steady movement of workers between Snodland and St Mary Cray, but this is more easily traced in the 1840s than in 1833. In any case Joynson retained an interest in Snodland and the Independent Church there, putting up money for land for a new chapel and school in 1855. Both he and his son Edmund Hamborough Joynson were among the trustees who ran them.

Another paper mill had been established at St Paul's Cray by Thomas Nash from around 1824, he having moved from Hertfordshire, but no Snodland people are yet known to have worked there.<sup>27</sup>

### **Thomas Mullard. (1823-)**

21 September 1823: baptism of Thomas Moses, son of Thomas Mullard, papermaker, and Ann

### **Constantine Weedon. (1823-)**

23 June 1823: marriage of Constantine Weedon and Sarah Sells at St. Nicholas, Rochester, both of St Nicholas parish

16 November 1823: baptism of Sarah, daughter of Constantine Weedon, papermaker, and Sarah

No link is known to connect Constantine with the other Weedens who worked at Snodland (see below)

### **William Streeton/Stratton (1824-1825)**

7 March 1824: baptism of Priscilla, daughter of William Streeton, papermaker, and Ann

4 December 1825: baptism of Sarah, daughter of William Stratton, papermaker, and Ann

### **William Fryer. (1825-1830)**

24 July 1825: baptism: Joseph, son of William Fryer, papermaker, and Mary

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<sup>27</sup> See W. S. Shears, *William Nash of St Paul's Cray: papermakers*, London, 1950, rev. edn. 1967.

- 5 July 1826: burial: Hester Fryer, aged 3, from Paper Mill  
 5 July 1826: burial: James Fryer, aged 4, from Paper Mill  
 21 Oct 1827: baptism: Helen, daughter of William Fryer, papermaker, and Mary  
 23 November 1829: birth of Eliza, daughter of William and Mary Fryer; baptized at the Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, on 9 February 1830  
 30 Nov 1857: marriage: Samuel Fryer, from East Malling, papermaker, son of William Fryer, papermaker, to Sarah Elizabeth Privett, daughter of Joseph, carpenter (a member of the New Church and closely associated with the Hook family).

It seems highly likely that the Fryers came to Snodland from West Wycombe, with (or prompted by) William Joynson. There are many families of that name in the West Wycombe registers and even a 'Fryer's mill', known to have been operating between 1725 and 1844.<sup>28</sup> The baptism of Esther, daughter of William and Mary Fryer, is recorded at West Wycombe on 13 April 1823, perhaps the same child buried at Snodland in 1826. If so, it is likely that the West Wycombe baptisms of Elizabeth, 12 July 1818 and Henry, 14 November 1819, whose parents were also William and Mary, were further children of the couple. Samuel has not been traced, but he at least seems to have found employment at nearby East Malling by the time of his marriage. (He remained there.) So did Joseph (born 1825), who had married Maria from Upper Halling, and whose children were born there from c.1849 onwards. Also at East Malling at the time of the 1861 census was their mother, Mary Fryer, widow, aged 64, born in Buckinghamshire, living with her daughter Mary Ann (married to James Marlow), aged 24, a papermaker, also born in Buckinghamshire. 'Mary Ann Marlow' was a witness at Samuel Fryer's Snodland wedding.

#### **Thomas Wright. (1825)**

- 24 July 1825: baptism of Thomas, son of Thomas Wright, papermaker, and Sarah

#### **James Line. (1826-1829)**

- 1 August 1826: baptism of Moses, son of James Line, papermaker, and Rebecca  
 6 August 1826: burial of Moses Line, infant, from the Paper Mill  
 23 September 1827: baptism of Moses, son of James Line, papermaker, and Rebecca  
 8 November 1829: baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of James Line, papermaker, and Rebecca

#### **George Harding (-1827-)**

- 2 April 1827: birth of Lucy, daughter of George Harding of Snodland, papermaker, and Sophia; baptized 17 June 1827 at the Wesleyan Chapel called Bethel at Rochester.  
 George is listed as papermaker at East Malling in 1861, aged 71, born in Hertfordshire (wife Sophia aged 70, born in Surrey; daughter Emily born c.1830 in Kent).

#### **Samuel Tovey. (-1828-1830-)**

- 3 June 1827: married Sarah Johnson at St Peter's, Aylesford.  
 12 Oct 1828: baptism: George, son of Samuel Tovey, papermaker, and Sarah.  
 14 Feb 1830: baptism: John, son of Samuel Tovey, papermaker, and Sarah.

<sup>28</sup> A. H. Shorter, 'Paper Mills in the Wye Valley, Buckinghamshire', in *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain*, 174-181.

**William Mayatt. (-1829-)**

6 December 1829: baptism of William son of William Mayatt, papermaker, and Hannah (née Brown)

Probably a brother of Joseph (see above), but no firm relationship has been established. The 1851 St Mary Cray census (no. 8) shows William the elder, aged 54, born at Wycombe with wife Annie [=Hannah?], son William, a papermaker, born in Snodland, aged 21, and his wife Charlotte, aged 21. The marriage of William Mayatt to Charlotte Wale on 23 February 1850 at St Alfege, Greenwich, is probably them. Both parties are described there as of full age; at the wedding each William was described as a 'mechanic', as was George, the father of Charlotte.

**John Lynn. (1830-)**

14 February 1830: baptism of Ann Sophia, daughter of John Lynn, papermaker, and Hannah

(In the 1851 census for St Mary Cray (no. 73) is Henry Lynn, papermaker, aged 27, married to Frances, aged 25, born in Snodland.)

**Edward Brown. (1831-)**

20 March 1831: baptism of Sarah, daughter of Edward Brown, papermaker, and Margaret.

**Thomas Oliver. (1831-)**

26 June 1831: baptism of Thomas Cyril, son of Thomas Oliver, papermaker, and Elizabeth

**Daniel Dean. (1832-1833-)**

15 January 1832: baptism of William, son of Daniel Dean, papermaker, and Hester

10 February 1833: baptism of George, son of Daniel Dean, papermaker, and Esther.

**James Proctor. (1832-1833-)**

9 December 1832: baptism of Kezia, daughter of James Proctor, papermaker, and Lydia

25 January 1833: burial of Kezia Proctor, infant, of Snodland.

1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
W. Joynson	W. Joynson	W. Joynson	W. Joynson	W. Joynson	W. Joynson
J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt	J. Mayatt
T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell	T. Kidwell
W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy	W. Mecoy
T. Mullard	W. Streeton	W. Streeton	J. Line	J. Line	J. Line
C. Weeden		T. Wright		G. Harding	
R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn	R. Waghorn			S. Tovey

		W. Fryer	W. Fryer	W. Fryer	W. Fryer
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1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
W. Joynson				
J. Mayatt				
T. Kidwell				
W. Mecoy				
W. Mayatt	J. Lynn	T. Oliver	D. Dean	D. Dean
S. Tovey	S. Tovey	E. Brown	J. Proctor	J. Proctor
W. Fryer	W. Fryer			J. Weeden
J. Line				

#### JOHN CLARK'S TENURE 1834-1842

By an agreement dated 1 January 1834, Thomas Spong of Mill Hall, coal merchant, leased the mill to Reuben Hunt, a papermaker of Wooburn, Bucks., for 21 years at £220 p.a.<sup>29</sup>. It appears that Hunt immediately re-assigned the lease to John Clark, who is shown to be paying rates on the mill by 1835. This is confirmed by the *Church Book of the Independents*, which records that

About the year 1832 Mr Joynson removed to St Mary Cray, and the paper-mill was shut up: several of his workmen also, who had received the gospel, accompanied him. This occurrence proved a severe trial to the friends of the gospels, and caused its enemies to rejoice. At length, however, this dark cloud was removed by the arrival of Mr. John Clarke, a member of an Independent Church in Buckinghamshire, who, having enjoyed the paper-mill, became a resident in the village, and espoused with all his heart the infant cause. [...]

It was not only John Clark who came, but many friends and relations, including his half-brother James. Both their grandfather James [I] (c.1749 - 21 June 1827) and father James [II] (bap. 13 December 1772 - bur. 1810) were papermakers at Wooburn.

James [II] married (i) Lucy Lacey at Wooburn<sup>30</sup> on 16 February 1792. They had three daughters and a son **JOHN**. Lucy died in 1800 and was buried at Wooburn in February. James married (ii) Elizabeth Stiles, a lacemaker, at Wooburn on 13 July 1802. Four more children were born: **James** [III], Daniel, Hannah and Jonathan, all of whom were employed in paper manufacture. James I's sister Mary (bap. Wooburn, 16 May 1790) married Benjamin Healy, a paper maker, at Hedsor, Bucks., on 26 July 1806. Their son **Jeremiah**, born on 23 December 1819, was baptized at Cores End Chapel on 5 March 1820. He too became a papermaker and was working at Snodland

<sup>29</sup> Hunt may have decided on working a different mill: William and Reuben Hunt were described as papermakers at Sandling Mill (Pigot's Directory, 1839), but by December 9<sup>th</sup> Reuben was declared bankrupt. 'Wm. Hunt' is still listed at Sandling in Pigot's 1840 directory.

<sup>30</sup> All references to Wooburn registers are to the Cores End, Bethel Chapel.

mill at the time of the 1841 census, having married a Kentish girl, Elizabeth. The baptism of their son John took place at the Independent Church, Snodland, on 17 December 1843.

### **JOHN CLARK.**

Baptized 1 July 1797, Independent Bethel Chapel, Cores End, Wooburn, Bucks.; married Susannah Aldridge, at Great Marlow, 10 June 1816. She was baptized at Cookham on 13 July 1794, a daughter of James and Susannah (née Cossington) and was sister to Christiana who married John's half-brother James (*q.v.*). By 1824 he was a paper maker at Eghams Green, Bucks.

Children:

Moses: born c.1817 at Wooburn; married Mary Ann [...], but where is as yet unknown.

She was born in Ditton and their first son John was born at Sandling, Maidstone, around 1841, so Moses probably travelled to Kent with his father's family. Around the same time there is a Sandling connection too for his uncle John Mason (see below). Three other children were born to the couple at St Mary Cray between 1845 and 1850. They lived on the Chislehurst Road and Moses was described as an engineer.<sup>31</sup>

On 31 January 1855 'Moses Clark of Saint Mary Cray paper manufacturer' was one of seventeen trustees sold a piece of land in Windmill Field, Snodland, by William Joynson, for the purposes of building a chapel and other buildings on it.<sup>32</sup>

James: baptized at his father's house in Wooburn; died 1834

Mary Ann: born at Wooburn 1819

**Thomas:** born at Wooburn 1821. A papermaker in Snodland by 1841 (census). At the 1851 census he was a papermaker at St Paul's Cray with his wife Sarah (aged 28, born St Mary Cray) and children Annetta (2), William (1 month) and a nurse Susana Beesely, aged 51, from Wooburn.

Annette: born at Wooburn 1823

Susan: born at Wooburn 1824; in Snodland at 1841 census

Sarah: born at Wooburn 1826; in Snodland at 1841 census

Jane: born at Wooburn 1827; in Snodland at 1841 census

Lucy: born at Wooburn 1828; in Snodland at 1841 census

Maria: born at Wooburn 1831; in Snodland at 1841 census

'James John Clark son of John Clark Paper Maker formerly of Egham's Green, Wooburn but now of Snodlen Kent by Susannah his wife formerly Susannah Aldridge was born November 10<sup>th</sup> 1834 Baptized at Wooburn June 7<sup>th</sup> 1835.'

Joseph: born 13 September 1836; baptized at the Independent Church, Snodland, 20 November 1836; in Snodland at 1841 census

John Clark's bankruptcy was reported in *The Times* of 9 September 1840: 'John Clark, Snodland-mills, near Maidstone, paper manufacturer, to surrender Sept. 18 at 12 o'clock, Oct. 20, at 11, at the Bankrupts' Court: solicitors, Messrs Walters and Reeve, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane.' *The London Gazette* for 3 June 1842 records 'John Clark formerly of Hoxton, Middlesex then Snodland papermaker then Blackwell Hall near Chesham, Bucks. Foreman to a papermaker. Bankrupt.'

<sup>31</sup> Information from the 1851 St Mary Cray census.

<sup>32</sup> Photocopy held at Snodland Millennium Museum.

A little more can be added from a document within a bundle of title deeds concerning some Snodland property in which both Clark and William Joynson had an interest.<sup>33</sup> This mentions a 'Fiat in Bankruptcy' dated 31 August 1840 against John Clark and records T. Stephens the younger ('then late of Old Broad Street but then of Lime H<sup>sc</sup> Square, London, merchant, as creditors' assignee of the estate and effects of the said John Clark of Snodland, miller'); John Clark was 'then of 26 Ray St., Clerkenwell, Middlesex'.

### **James Clark.**

Baptized 30 May 1803 at Wooburn. Married Christiana Aldridge, 31 October 1824 at Wooburn; she was baptized at Cookham, Berks. 9 January 1803, daughter of James and Susannah (née Cossington) and was sister to Susannah who married James's half-brother John. Papermaker at Eghams Green, Bucks., by 1825; living at Snodland Wharf in 1841 census; was a 'labourer' living in the parish of St Giles in the Fields at 4 White Lion Passage at 31 March 1851 (census); a journeyman papermaker at Costessey, Norfolk on 8 April 1861 (census); died before 1871 census; Christiana still living at Costessey at 4 April 1881 (census), aged 78.

Children:

Ann: baptized 1825; buried at Cores End in 1828.

Susannah: baptized 1826; in Snodland at 1841 census; married John Mullett, 1849 and they were at Sawston, Cambridgeshire, -1851-1871-.

Thomas Aldridge: baptized 1828; in Snodland at 1841 census; at Costessey (1871): a widower and fishmonger.

Harriet: baptized 1830; in Snodland at 1841 census.

Ann: baptized 1832; in Snodland at 1841 census; at St Giles in the Fields (1851); at Costessey (1861), unmarried.

James: baptized 1834; in Snodland at 1841 census; at St Giles in the Fields (1851).

William: born in Snodland 25 April 1836; baptized at the Independent Church, Snodland, 21 August 1836; in Snodland at 1841 census; at St Giles in the Fields (1851).

Elizabeth: born 26 March 1838; baptized at the Independent Church, Snodland, 29 April 1838.

Annetta: born in Snodland; in Snodland at 1841 census; at St Giles in the Fields (1851); married Thomas Holt, 1859; at Costessey (1861).

John: born at Chesham, Bucks., c.1843; at St Giles in the Fields (1851); at Costessey (1861) as Agricultural labourer; emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1873 becoming a Baptist pastor.

Joseph: born Denbigh, Wrexham, 1845; at Costessey (1861) as agricultural labourer

A daughter of James [II] and Lucy was Jane, baptized at Wooburn on 29 April 1799. On 27 December 1830 she married John Mason, a mill board and papermaker, at Hedsor, Bucks. Their daughters Eliza and Jane were born at Wooburn in 1832 and 1834 respectively, but other children were born at Aylesford/Boxley between 1838 and 1849, so by then the family had moved to Kent. Mason occupied the New Mill, Pratling Street from 1837<sup>34</sup>. He had moved on to become 'Foreman of Paper Boards

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<sup>33</sup> CKS: U1882/T1.

<sup>34</sup> Shorter, *Studies on the History of Papermaking ...*, 230, quoting an *Excise General Letter* dated 27 October 1837.

Manufactory' at Loose village paper mills at the time of the 1851 census. His brother-in-law, Henry Gurney (see next paragraph), was named as a 'visitor' there: aged 60, married, born at Wooburn, a 'Paper Boards Manufacturer' employing four men and two boys.

Another daughter of James [I] and Lucy was Eliza, baptized at Wooburn on 7 November 1794. She married Henry Gurney, a shepherd and later a papermaker. Their son **Henry**, born 26 September 1817 at Wooburn, baptized at Cores End Chapel on 17 November 1817, was a papermaker at Snodland by the time of the 1841 census, having married Ann Susannah Butler (daughter of John and Elizabeth<sup>35</sup>, baptized at Snodland on 20 July 1820) and already with two sons, Henry (born 10 March 1839; baptized at the Independent Church, Snodland, 22 July 1839) and John (born 11 November 1840; baptized at the Independent Church, Snodland, 12 December 1840). Henry was thus a nephew to John and James Clark. At the 1841 census Henry senior was working the Pratling Street mill near Aylesford with his brother-in-law Daniel Clark; presumably they had taken over from John Mason (another brother-in-law). By 1845 he and his family had moved to Cray Street, St Mary Cray, where four more children were born, all recorded in the 1851 census. A further move to Loose, near Maidstone, apparently took place by May in that year, where the lower of the two mills (Excise No. 303) undertook millboard production by Henry Gurney senior and junior.<sup>36</sup> Evidently the younger Henry's wife Ann had died and he was now married to Susan, by whom he had four more children. At the time of the 1861 census he was a 'Mill Board Manufacturer' employing nine men, one woman and one boy. By 1871 the list was of 5 men, one woman and one boy.

On 31 January 1855 'Henry Gurney of the parish of Loon [*recte* Loose] near Staplehurst' was one of seventeen trustees sold a piece of land in Windmill Field, Snodland, by William Joynson, for the purposes of building a chapel and other buildings on it.

The **Weeden** family were also part of this extended group. According to the 1851 census **John Weeden** was born around 1792-3 at Wycombe Marsh, Bucks. On 25 December 1817 he married Esther/Hester Clark at West Wycombe. Born in 1797, she was cousin to John Clark and daughter of Thomas (son of James [I] and Sarah. They seem to have been the earliest members of the extended Clark/Gurney/Healy/Weeden group to have moved to Snodland, shown by the baptism of their daughter Annetta in May 1833.

Children born to this couple are:

**James**, born at Sheepridge, Little Marlow, Bucks., 22 October 1818; baptized at Cores End Chapel, Wooburn, 22 November 1818; married Frances Kemp at Strood on 12 May 1839 (she baptized at All Saints, Snodland, on 7 March 1819); papermaker at Snodland (1841 census). The baptism of their daughter Elizabeth took place at Snodland on 10 December 1843; Both James and Frances are listed as papermakers in the 1851 Snodland census.

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<sup>35</sup> Both John and Elizabeth were among the twelve members forming the Independent Church in Snodland on 8 March 1836.

<sup>36</sup> See A. H. Shorter, 'Paper Mills in the Maidstone District, IV' in *Studies on the History of Papermaking in Britain ...*, 249 and R. J. Spain, *The Loose Watermills*, I, *Archaeologia Cantiana* LXXXVII (1972), 43-79, especially 54-61.

**Sarah**, born 17 November 1820, Flackwell Heath, Wooburn, Bucks. Baptized 10 December 1820, Cores End Chapel, Wooburn; paper worker at Snodland (1841 census); returned to Buckinghamshire with her parents; married Timothy Adams at Chesham on 7 February 1846.

**Daniel**, born 30 January 1823, Flackwell Heath, Wooburn, Bucks.; baptized at Cores End Chapel, Wooburn, 4 March 1823; papermaker at Snodland (1841 census); married Mercy Savage at Bromley on 16 February 1845. They were living at St Mary Cray in 1881, where Daniel continued as a papermaker.

Thomas, baptized 29 January 1825, but buried later that year.

Samuel, baptized 7 May 1828.

Annetta, baptized at Snodland 12 May 1833; buried there, aged seven, on 10 March 1840.

Mary Ann, baptized at Snodland 19 July 1835; buried there, aged five, on 17 February 1840. Evidently the two girls succumbed to a common illness.

William, born 13 February 1838; baptized 29 April 1838 at the Independent Church, Snodland.

The family returned to Chesham, Bucks., by 1843 and John died there in 1855.<sup>37</sup> His widow, Esther, with other members of her family, were working at St Mary Cray by 1861. William was in Snodland again with his family by 1871, working as a cement or general labourer until his death in 1902.

Clark evidently felt the need to modernise the mill and borrowed money to do so. In 1838 the rates were increased because the mill had been 'improved'. A detailed description survives of the machinery at this time:

2 October 1838

One Rag Engine with Shafts and Drivers in the Mill worked in Gear by Water Wheel or condensing Engine. One set of Glazing Rolls attached to paper machine - one Knot Strainer attached to Paper Machine. A Small Steam Engine of two Horse power - Two Board Tables in the Soll - One pair of small Rollers with swing Shafts and Wheels and Timbers erected in the Soll for rolling Boards - Tube Steam Boiler fourteen horse power high pressure - A large cylinder steam Boiler of Twenty horse power with cocks, pipes and valves erected in the Yard - A sixteen horse power steam engine high pressure and condenser with pipes and cocks; balance wheel, Spur Wheel and large Shaft erected in the new building in the Yard - a Rag Duster with Drivers - Two washing Engines with Rolls, plates and pinions; Water pumps to supply the same erected in the new building in the Yard - A new Bleaching Chest with Racks for braining stuff erected in the bleaching house - A Rag Cutter with Shafts and Drivers - Four shaving Boilers with Pipes and Cocks in the lower Drying House. A Pair of large Mill Board Rollers for Glazing with Shafts and Wheels erected in the Soll. A Grind Stone with Shafts and Wheels erected in the Soll. A Grind Stone with Shafts and Pinions - sixty pairs of new Trebles marked J. C.<sup>38</sup>

Clark planned more and drew up an agreement on 1 June 1840 for

A New Steam Boiler of 20 Horse Power - A New High and low pressure Steam engine of 20 Horse power, with Shafts and Blocks and pinions and the apparatus therewith as going gear connected - Four new Cast Iron Rag Engines with pumps and Apparatus

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<sup>37</sup> A John Weedon, born at Chesham c.1843, was working as a papermaker at St Mary Cray in 1881 and may have been another son.

<sup>38</sup> CKS: Q/RDZ2/000001(2)c.

complete - A New Paper Machine with Drying Cylinders, Machinery, Utensils and Apparatus<sup>39</sup>

and a splendid diagram survives which shows the position of the machinery new and old. Unfortunately when Clark went bankrupt the plans for this second phase fell through.<sup>40</sup>

The 1841 Snodland census lists twenty-five persons as ‘papermaker’, ‘paper worker’, or ‘paper labourer’, all of whom are presumed to be workers at the Snodland mill. Of these thirteen (i.e. half) were born out-of-county: as we have seen, many came from Buckinghamshire.

We have already noted Clark (3), Gurney (1), Healey (1), Kidwell (1), Mecoy (1), Weeden (4). Here is a list of the remainder<sup>41</sup>:

Surname	Forename	age	Occupation	‘x’ = born outside Kent
Allchin	Joseph	20	papermaker	
Bateman	Jabez	15	papermaker	x
Bateman	Thomas	25	papermaker	x
Boorman	Frederick	30	papermaker	
Bowler	William	15	papermaker	x
Bryant	James	20	papermaker	
Dandridge	Daniel	20	papermaker	x
Eason	Thomas	15	papermaker	
Jones	Albion	14	papermaker	
Kelvie	Edward	15	papermaker	
Norris	George	15	papermaker	
Ralph	Thomas	15	papermaker	
Wingate	John	35	papermaker	
Woodger	Augustus	15	papermaker	

None of these persons are listed in the 1851 Snodland census, so all had moved elsewhere in the meantime. Although the ages are approximate (within five years or so), it is very apparent that this is a youthful workforce. (Old stalwarts like Thomas Kidwell and William Mecoy were still on hand though.) Snodland was a relatively small community of 500 persons (102 houses) and the papermaking fraternity formed close-knit groups within this. It is not surprising to find the young men lodging with their peers. Using the census numbers: Thomas Bateman was at (54); Frederick Boorman at (55), having Daniel Dandridge and George Norris as lodgers; William Bowles, Joseph Allchin and Thomas Ralph were all lodging at (56). Towards the lower end of the High Street were James Weeden (68); John Wingate (71); James Bryant (lodging at the *Red Lion*) (72); John Clark lived in the papermaker master’s house in the High Street (75) (called ‘Acacia Cottage’ in 1861 and later rebuilt as ‘The Veles’); Henry Gurney (77); Jeremiah Healey (79). On Snodland Wharf Thomas Eason and Albion Jones lodged together with Mary and Emily Boorman (mother and sister of Frederick) (84); John Bateman’s family, including his son Jabez and lodger Edward

<sup>39</sup> CKS: Q/RDZ2/000001(2)g.

<sup>40</sup> On Clark’s financial difficulties at Snodland see Fuller, op. cit., 16.

<sup>41</sup> Almost certainly there were more women employed too as rag cutters, but none are named.

Kelvie (85); Thomas Kidwell (86); James Clark (87); John, Sarah and Daniel Weeden (88) and in nearby 'Brook Lane' [Brook Street] was William Mecoy and his lodger Augustus Woodger (92). There is no certainty about the following identifications of the youngsters from the IGI, but they may rate as possibilities.

**Joseph Allchin**, baptized at East Malling on 4 September 1825, son of Thomas and Elizabeth.

**William Bowler** (certainly a common name in Buckinghamshire registers): either the son of Thomas and Sarah, baptized at Shenley, Bucks., on 12 February 1826, or the son of Richard and Elizabeth, baptized at Fulmer, Bucks., on 7 May 1826. The latter only is near the papermaking valley.

**Daniel Dandridge**, married Martha Smith at Snodland on 28 June 1841; his father was John, a papermaker.

**Thomas (Barton) Eason**, baptized at East Malling on 22 February 1825, son of Samuel and Elizabeth.

**Edward Kelvie**, baptized at East Malling on 14 July 1825, son of William and Eliza.

In 1881 he was a bricklayer living at New Hythe, aged 56, with his wife Maria.

**George Norris**. A boy of this name was baptized 21 January 1827 at Ryarsh, son of John and Ann. In Snodland Millennium Museum is a copy of a book of Isaac Watts hymns inscribed 'George Norris December 1839, Snodland', suggesting he was a Non-Conformist. A Mary Norris was one of the twelve members forming the Independent Church at Snodland on 8 March 1836, but left (moved?) on 8 January 1841. Maybe she was George's mother.

**Thomas Ralph** ('Relph' is a variant), baptized 24 January 1830 at East Malling, son of Joseph and Jane.

No likely identification has come to light for **James Bryant**, and no record has been found for an **Augustus Woodger** (although he may have belonged to the contemporary East Malling family of that name. Woodgers have flourished in Snodland since the 1870s).

### **Frederick Boorman.**

John (1755-1837) and Thomas Boorman, probably brothers, seem to have arrived in Snodland around 1817 to work the windmill. Both were Baptists from Headcorn and the (infant) baptisms of many of their children are recorded in the registers of the Baptist Chapel there. Several subsequent adult baptisms took place at All Saints, Snodland. Among these was Frederick, son of John and Mary, first baptized at Headcorn on 9 July 1805, but again at Snodland on 20 November 1836, when he was described merely as 'labourer'. Thomas and his family disappear from view after 1826, although he may prove to be the Thomas Boorman who leased the lime works at North Halling in 1832.<sup>42</sup> John remained in Snodland until his death in April 1837; his widow, 'daughter of Robert and Mary Dence' was baptized at All Saints on 24 December 1837. As we have seen, she was living at Snodland Wharf with her daughter Emily in 1841, with papermaker lodgers. By this time Frederick occupied a separate house, was

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<sup>42</sup> Edward Gowers and Derek Church, *Across the Low Meadow*, Maidstone, 1979, 54.

married to Harriet and had two children of his own. The eldest, William, was baptized at All Saints on 20 November 1836; the younger, Hannah, on 19 July 1840. By 1846 the family had moved to St Mary Cray, where another daughter, Mary, was born, and they appear in the 1851 census there. No doubt Frederick was employed by William Joynson: he is now listed as ‘papermaker’.<sup>43</sup>

Finally there is **Thomas Bateman**, born at Wooburn, Bucks. around 1813. He was almost certainly a son of the John and Elizabeth who in 1841 were living at Snodland Wharf (census no. 85) with three other children: **Jabez**, Martha and Louisa. This is the only record of John and his family in Snodland. John’s age is given as ‘60’ which suggests he was born around 1780. Thomas and his wife Mary (born at Eaton Hastings, Berks.) first appear in this census, where he is shown as ‘papermaker’, but with the upheaval following the bankruptcy of John Clark he seems to have moved briefly to St Mary Cray, where a son William was born in 1842. By 1844 he was back in Snodland, but had turned to the trade of grocer (already pursued a few doors away by Joseph Bateman, probably another brother). Joseph later moved to Aylesford, but Thomas continued in Snodland until his death in 1883 and the business continued through his son William.

On 31 January 1855 ‘John Bateman of Saint Mary Cray grocer ... Jabez Bateman of Saint Mary Cray, paper maker<sup>44</sup> ... Joseph Bateman of Aylesford ... Thomas Bateman of Snodland’ were among seventeen trustees sold a piece of land in Windmill Field, Snodland, by William Joynson, for the purposes of building a chapel and other buildings on it.

Thomas and Mary had been admitted into the Independent Church at Snodland on 18 June 1837, where the baptism of two of their children took place on 3 January 1858. Later five children of William were all baptized there on 14 April 1887.

Writing in 1894, the Snodland printer John Woolmer showed that Thomas also played a part in founding the school attached to the new chapel, which was

to be free from that class of religious instruction usually taught in Church Schools ... In the vestry of the Congregational Chapel the Nonconformists started a small school under the charge of Miss George. Afterwards it was fortunate when there was a great increase in the child population of Snodland, and a corresponding necessity for another school beside the National, that the late Mr. Thomas Bateman was able to prevail upon his friend the late Mr. Joynson, of St. Mary Cray, to build these schools (in 1857).<sup>45</sup>

### 1842-1854

In 1842 the mill was leased to **HENRY HOLDEN**, a papermaker of ‘Fulham and Snodland’, who perhaps ran the business from London; certainly the house in the High Street was not regularly occupied until the next manager, ‘Wildes’, took up residence in 1847. The mill appears to have been closed in 1846 since it has a ‘Nil’ assessment in the Overseers accounts. This prompted further movement of the workforce and St Mary Cray seems to have been a refuge for them. Holden leased the mill at £200 p.a. also agreeing to take as an apprentice a son of Thomas Spong ‘not exceeding

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<sup>43</sup> He and his wife are still there in 1881, living in retirement.

<sup>44</sup> The 1881 census shows Jabez to have been born at Wooburn, c.1824.

<sup>45</sup> John Woolmer, *Historical Jottings of the Parish of Snodland*, Snodland, 1894, reprinted as Snodland Historical Society pamphlet 3, 1999.

seventeen years of age to learn and be instructed by him in the trade or business of a Paper-Maker.’

Further papermakers shown in the registers 1844-1854 are:

### **Richard Burgess (1844-1847)**

18 October 1840: baptism of Charles, son of Richard Burgess, labourer, and Martha

1 September 1844: baptism of Harriet, daughter of Richard Burgess, papermaker from St Mary Cray, and Martha

23 May 1847: baptism of George Richard, son of Richard Burgess, papermaker from St Mary Cray, and Martha

Possibly the son of Solomon Burgess, baptized at Snodland on 12 February 1815; it might be his marriage to Martha King at East Malling on 23 October 1836. He worked as a lime labourer before becoming a papermaker. He and his family were living at Mill Bridge, St Mary Cray, at the time of the 1851 census and they were still there in 1881. Charles also became a papermaker at St Mary Cray: he and his family are listed there in the 1881 census.

### **William Bowery (1845-1850)**

14 September 1845: burial of Mary Ann Bowery, infant

22 February 1846: baptism of William James, son of William Bowery, papermaker, and Deborah

30 July 1848: burial of Henry George Bowery, infant

3 June 1849: baptisms of John Francis and Ellen Maria, children of William Bowery, papermaker, and Deborah

17 November 1850: baptism of Adilein, daughter of William Bowery, papermaker, and Deborah

### **Thomas Barton (1851-1853)**

6 January 1850: baptism of Walter, son of Thomas Barton, papermaker, and Frances; buried 30 November 1851

20 February 1853: burial of Frances Barton, aged 33.

### **John Hasle [Hazell] (1852)**

12 December 1852: baptism of William Henry, son of John Hasle, foreman of the paper mill, and Ann.

William Henry became a papermaker. Later records show him at Wells, Somerset, in 1881, at Flint, North Wales, in 1882, but in Snodland again in 1891.

The Charles and Ann Hasle/Hazell in the 1851 census were probably related to John. A marriage of Charles Hazell to Ann White at Bexley on 20 September 1835 may be them.

### **Frederick Fentiman (1852-1855)**

12 December 1852: baptism of Frederick Henry, son of Frederick Fentiman, papermaker, and Emma (Emma, born Orpington, c.1824)

11 March 1855: baptism of Emma Alma, daughter of Frederick Fentiman, papermaker, and Emma.

Frederick had died before 1881, when his widow Emma and children were living in Church Road, Chislehurst

### **Benjamin [Berryman?] Austin (1851-1854)**

24 July 1853: baptism of Amelia Jane, daughter of Benjamin Austin and Mary Ann

12 November 1854: baptism of Joseph Alexander, son of Benjamin and Mary Austin

### **George Silvester**

23 July 1854: baptism of Louisa Elizabeth, daughter of George Silvester, papermaker, and Harriet.

Probably the George Silvester living at Croydon, aged 53 in 1881: a corn dealer, born at Bexley, whose wife Harriet was born at Godalming. They were in Deptford between at least 1857 and 1869.

### **Thomas Kelsey**

17 December 1854: baptism of Maria Lawrence, daughter of Thomas Kelsey, papermaker, and Caroline.

Probably the Thomas Kelsey living at Stone, Dartford, aged 50 in 1881: an engine fitter, born at Orpington, whose wife Caroline was born at Wrotham. They were at Plaxtol between at least 1866 and 1878.

### **HENRY ATKINSON WILDES (1847-1854)**

Contemporary directories show Henry Atkinson Wildes first as an attorney in St Faith's Street, Maidstone (Pigot's: 1840), and later as 'deputy clerk of the peace, and clerk to the Lieutenancy of the county' (Kelly's: 1851). It is 'H. A. Wildes Esq.' who is assessed for the rates for the mill in the Snodland Overseers' accounts, but it is William Wildes, (his son?) aged 26, who is named as papermaker master at the 1851 census, employing 13 men, 39 women and 4 boys<sup>46</sup>. Of these all the men and boys, but only 22 of the women can be identified in the Snodland census. Some of the others probably came from outside the parish, including two from Ham Hill, Birling: Eliza Norris, aged 44, and Ann Martin, aged 27, a rag sorter. The Snodland workers are:

Name	Age	Occupation	Place of Birth
<b><u>William Wildes</u></b>	26	papermaker master	Maidstone
Sophia Wildes	18	papermaker	Rochester
Berryman Austin	34	engineer, paper mill	Rochester
Jane Baker	31	papermaker	West Malling
James Baker	14	papermaker	Snodland
Charles Baker	12	papermaker	Snodland

<sup>46</sup> At East Malling in the 1861 census, George F. Busbridge (with three mills) employed 49 males and 99 females.

Thomas Barton	31	paper maker	Maidstone
Frances Barton	32	papermaker	Maidstone
Caroline Beadle	20	papermaker	Hadlow
William Bowry	35	papermaker	Wycombe, Bucks.
Susannah Chittenden	27	papermaker	West Malling
Elizabeth Costen	32	papermaker	Birling
Ann Dartnell	23	papermaker	East Malling
Mary Dartnall	20	papermaker	Birling
John Endsor	48	papermaker	Tamworth, Staffs.
Walter Endsor	19	papermaker (cutter)	High Wycombe, Bucks.
Freeman Endsor	17	papermaker (cutter)	High Wycombe, Bucks.
Mary A. Fissenden	31	papermaker	St George's, Middlesex
Frances Goodhew	13	papermaker	East Malling
Mary Hadlow	37	rag cutter (papermaker)	Plaxtol
Susannah Harden	33	papermaker	Bredhurst
Charles Hazell	37	papermaker	Wilmington
Ann Hazell	32	papermaker	Suffolk: Helmington
Charles Hazell	12	papermaker	Chislehurst
Thomas Kidwell	76	pauper papermaker	Maidstone
Mary Lawrence	17	papermaker	Wrotham
Jane Lawrence	13	papermaker	Wrotham
William Mecoy	74	papermaker	Maidstone
Elizabeth Mecoy	72	papermaker	Ireland
James Muddle	54	engine driver; paper mill	Isfield, Sussex
Phebe Muddle	44	papermaker	Isfield, Sussex
Jemima Muddle	17	papermaker	Isfield, Sussex
Alfred Muddle	13	engine boy; paper mill	Isfield, Sussex
John Norris	58	engine driver; paper mill	Snodland
Mary A. Phillips	21	papermaker	Birling
James Weeden	32	papermaker	Buckinghamshire
Frances Weeden	32	papermaker	Snodland
Jane Wood	17	papermaker	Snodland

A considerable change is evident between the 1841 and 1851 lists. Very few of the workers appear in both. The number of women employed in 1851 suggests greater activity in sorting and cutting rags, but the apparent increase may be somewhat misleading since it is possible that the enumerator for 1841 was less concerned with recording the women's occupations. (It seems unlikely, for instance, that Elizabeth

Mecoy only took up work very late in life. Frances Weeden was also present in 1841.) The opportunity that papermaking allowed for women to earn a proper wage was seized upon by wives (eight here), daughters (four), sisters and sisters-in-law (four), niece and visitor (one apiece). It also gave Elizabeth Costen and Mary Fissenden, young widows, a job other than the more usual 'washerwoman' to which they might otherwise have had to turn. What is also clear is the transfer to people born locally and to a greater variety of occupations under one roof. Wives and children supplemented their husband's/father's incomes as 'agricultural labourer', 'lime labourer' 'gardener', 'groom', or whatever. Very few workers now retain the Buckinghamshire connection. The Baker, Beadle, Chittenden, Costen, Dartnall, Goodhew, Hadlow, Kidwell, Lawrence and Mecoy families remained in Snodland. Those who had moved on by the 1861 census were Austin, Barton, Bowry, Endsor, Harden, Hazell and Norris. Jane Wood was a niece of John Norris and married Richard Wooding at Snodland on 19 June 1854, where they remained. The death of Phoebe Muddle in 1854 may have prompted her family to move, although her son Thomas remained for a while, working as a lime labourer.<sup>47</sup> The Weedens moved on too, but other members of the family remained in Snodland, some as papermakers.

In 1854 the business passed into the hands of Charles Townsend Hook, whose name it still bears.

Snodland Mill seems to have begun as a small enterprise, but grew steadily during its first hundred years, mixing local workers with expertise brought in from more distant parts. There was a particular 'invasion' from Buckinghamshire between 1823 and 1845, but by the mid-nineteenth century there was less reliance on this 'foreign' skill. Most workers seem to have stayed for a relatively short time before moving on to other mills. It was not until after the Hook family took over that the new techniques of manufacturing paper from straw/esparto grass rather than rags came into play. Increasing use of machinery brought in the first 'engine drivers' to run the steam plant.

There is no doubt that the principal employers in Snodland in both papermaking and lime working were a powerful force in controlling the social life of the community. In their time Jasper Crothall and the two Isaac Wenmans served their turns dutifully as churchwardens and overseers. We see less of William Spong, although he was not an absentee gentleman until his retirement from the scene in 1823. With William Joynson (1823-1833) and John Clark (1834-1840) we meet two managers who were passionately involved with the Non-Conformist Church, which they promoted and established in Snodland. It would appear that many of their workforces were also active members of such churches, both in Buckinghamshire and in Kent. Even after they had moved away from Snodland the Joynsons continued to foster the 'Independent Church' in Snodland and William in particular provided money for a new chapel and school in the 1850s. This involvement with both papermaking and religion seems to have created a very close-knit community at the mill between about 1823 and 1845. So far as the lists of members of the Independent Church show, the link was dissipated after that. But the arrival of the Hook family in 1854 led to a new involvement: they were followers of the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg and soon built up a Swedenborg Society in Snodland which in turn flourished for more than a

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<sup>47</sup> The Muddles were originally from Isfield, Sussex, where there was a paper mill: see Shorter, *Studies on the History of Papermaking...* 'Paper Mills in Sussex', 172.

hundred years. Initially they formed this with three other families who had come with them from Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.