

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



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SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE following Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1976:—

January 14th	Lecture: "Getting to the Root of the Family Tree", by Miss E. M. Tillman.
February 11th	Lecture: "Transport in Leatherhead", by Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne.
March 13th	Visit to St. Paul's Cathedral. Leader: Mrs. C. Barrett.
March 26th	THE 29TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.
April 24th	Visit to West Horsley Place, by kind permission of the Duchess of Roxburgh. Leader: Mrs. C. Barrett.
April 28th	Lecture: "Local History", by Mr. Norman Nail, member of the Ewell and Nonsuch Society.
May 23rd	Visit to Lacock Abbey and Bath. Leader: E. S. Barnwell.
June 19th	Visit to Ashwell Village, Hertfordshire. Leader: G. Hayward.
September 18th	Visit to Dorset. Leader: G. Hayward.
October 2nd	Visit (repeat) to West Horsley Place. Leader: Mrs. C. Barrett.
October 15th	The Dallaway Public Lecture: "Aerial Photography and Archaeology", by Mr. John Hampton, F.S.A., at City of London Freeman's School, Ashted.
November 10th	Lecture on the Society's Records by Mr. David Bruce, Hon. Records Secretary.
December 8th	Leatherhead Historical Miscellany. Contributions by members.

Number 9 of Volume 3 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Council Offices on 26th March 1976

THE Report of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1975 were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected. The Accounts for the year 1975 are printed on page iii of the cover.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1976

Vice-President: J. G. W. LEWARNE

Chairman: S. E. D. FORTESCUE

Hon. Secretary: G. HAYWARD

(Ypriana, Cobham Road, Leatherhead. KT22 9JE. Tel: Leatherhead 72674)

Hon. Treasurer: J. R. BULL

(98 Woodfield Lane, Ashted. Tel: Ashted 72800)

Hon. Editor: F. B. BENDER, F.S.A.

(Duntisbourne, Reigate Road, Leatherhead. Tel. Leatherhead 72711)

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

WE ARE indebted to Professor W. R. Streitberger of the University of Washington at Seattle for the following three notes. The first of them, that concerning Leatherhead Bridge, is from the Loseley MSS., Volume 3, No. 27, at Loseley Manor and is here printed by kind permission of J. R. More-Molyneux, Esq., the owner. The two others, those concerning The Mansion, were brought to Professor Streitberger's attention by Professor Mark Eccles. Both of these latter are from documents in the Public Record Office and the official references are given.

EDMUND TYLNEY'S BEQUEST FOR THE REPAIR OF LEATHERHEAD BRIDGE

Letter from Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, to Sir George More. From Hampton Court, 3 October 1613. ". . . that Bridge of Lethered . . . hath been of late yeares suffered to . . . decay . . . as that his Mats people that haue occasion to trauaill in thosparts, cannott many tymes [cross over] . . . And wheras Edmund Tylney Esqr Late Mr of the Revels did by his will give the some of Cli [one hundred pounds] towards the reparacon of the sayd bridge (that matter coming lately in question before me) I have taken order that the same shallbe satisfied by his Executor, and to bee in a redines to bee disposed according to the wille and good intent of the donor . . . reparacon now will requyre a farre greater Some then that wch hath been giuen by that deceased gent . . . by reason that that passage is so needfull and necessary for many of his Mats people dwelling in those parts in ther trauaill to the city of London and to the usuall marketts in that Countye [repair will be accomplished by a general charge on the whole county]."

It may be remembered that in *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 6 at p. 162 we mentioned similar complaints about the bridge which were brought up at Quarter Sessions in 1661 and 1665, some half a century later, and it is natural to speculate as to whether Thomas Tylney, Edmund's excutor, was ever induced to release the money left for repair.

EDMUND TYLNEY AND THE MANSION

C 24/338/19. Depositions taken on 29 Oct. 1607 on behalf of Elizabeth Cartwright, widow and plaintiff vs. Edmond Tyllney. Thomas Goodman the elder of Leatherhead testifies that about 18 years ago he witnessed Tyllney's purchase of the lease of capital message in Leatherhead wherein he now dwelleth, with household stuff, from Elizabeth with the consent of her husband Peter Cartwright. For this Edmond gave a deed poll to trustees to give an annuity of £15 from his lands in Surrey and Middlesex [deed engrossed 25 May 1589]. Thomas Prescott heard that this purchase, for only £100 "was a very great penyworth vnto the defendant."

C 2 Jas.I E6/29. Suit between Sir Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, and Lord and Lady Eure and Thomas Tyllney, 1616. Thomas says that he paid Edmond an annuity of 50 marks per year for nine years before he died on Edmond's promise to bequeath to him his house and lands, which otherwise Edmond would have to sell to maintain himself. Howard claims the land by secret conveyance to Edmond's heirs and in default of heirs to Sir Charles. Charles won this suit in King's Bench.

The case of 1607 fills a gap in our knowledge of the descent of ownership of The Mansion, as Elizabeth Cartwright's name was previously unknown to us. I have not been able to find further information about Elizabeth and her husband Peter, and would be grateful if any member coming on such could let me know. Edmund Tylney's purchase of the *lease* in 1589 must have been followed by subsequent purchase of the freehold for otherwise he could not have conveyed it to his heirs or in default of heirs to Charles Howard.

F. B. B.

THE ORIGINS OF LEATHERHEAD PARISH CHURCH

By W. J. BLAIR

THE EARLY HISTORY of Leatherhead church has always seemed straightforward enough. In 1086 Domesday Book records that the church of *Leret* (undoubtedly Leatherhead)¹ and forty acres, appurtenant to the royal manor of Ewell, are held by Osbern de Ow and worth 20s yearly.² Soon after 1100, the Conqueror's minister Eudo Dapifer included the church among the endowments of the newly founded Colchester Abbey. Colchester held it till the late thirteenth century, when it was surrendered to the crown after a Quo Warranto action initiated in 1279 on the grounds that it was "founded on the royal fee". The evidence as it stands seems unambiguous: the church was a royal foundation on a royal estate, granted by the crown during the reign of William Rufus to his father's great servant Eudo.³

One document not previously considered, however, casts serious doubt on this interpretation, and the purpose of the present article is both to assess the origins and status of the Domesday church and to reconsider, in the light of the additional evidence, its identification with the modern parish church of Leatherhead. Many of the relevant documents in the Colchester Abbey Cartulary have already been reprinted in these *Proceedings*, but lack of arrangement and the heavy medieval falsification of some of the texts makes them difficult to use; it is also now necessary to see them in the context of the new material. For convenience, therefore, summaries in chronological order of all relevant charters up to the mid-twelfth century, with references and textual comments, are given as an appendix and cited here by bracketed numbers.

The ecclesiastical structure of mid-Saxon England was based on "minster parishes": largish areas, often closely related to hundreds, each served by a group of priests based on one central minster church. The smaller parishes of the middle ages and after originate from the great increase in proprietary estate churches during the later Anglo-Saxon period, when secular lords took the initiative in church-building by providing places of worship for their own tenants. Thus by 1086 nearly all English churches belonged to one of two classes: the "old minsters", and the far more numerous private churches which served individual estates and were generally listed by the Domesday commissioners (when they mentioned them at all) among the lord's ordinary manorial appurtenances. "Old minsters" can often be recognised in the Domesday record, both because they are generally founded on royal or episcopal manors, and because they are frequently listed independently with separate descriptions, valuations, tenants and tax-assessments, rather than as mere appendages of estates.⁴

The one church that stands out, on these criteria, from among the others in the Domesday entries for our area of central Surrey is that of *Leret*: it is appurtenant to the royal estate of Ewell (which followed the Kentish pattern of a head manor with scattered dependencies), it is listed with a separate tenant and an independent endowment of forty acres, and (although it apparently had no individual tax obligation) an annual value is recorded. We know that Leatherhead contained an ancient royal estate, for in c. 880 King Alfred left to his son his land in *Leodridan*;⁵ the forty acres may perhaps have been a fragment of this holding, attached to another royal manor when the rest was alienated. It therefore looks very much as though the church of *Leret* originated as the "old minster" of the area, perhaps serving a "parish" roughly equivalent to the Domesday hundreds of Cophthorne and Effingham.

But the identification of this with the present parish church is not so straightforward as it appears. As well as being a royal servant, Eudo was son-in-law to the great landowner Richard fitzGilbert, Domesday tenant of the important Leatherhead manor of Thorncroft. Eudo's grant to Colchester (3) describes the church as "in *Turnecruft* the church of that vill

and one hide of land". Although the deed is heavily falsified the phrase recurs in apparently genuine royal confirmations (6, 10), and is in any case too surprising to seem a likely forger's invention. Added to this is the topographical evidence: the church stands south of the town, in a block of land which may once have formed part of the compact Thorncroft demesne, and recent work seems to show that the eleventh-century manor of Thorncroft comprised the entire southern half of the parish, in which this block lies.⁶ On these grounds, I suggested in a recent survey of the town centre that the parish church in fact originated as the estate church of Thorncroft.⁷ This suggestion has now been supported from an unexpected source.

In the Leatherhead tithe-award of 1840, a group of fields identifiable with the late medieval Thorncroft demesne are listed as owing two-thirds of their tithes to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. This reflects one of those extraordinary instances of continuity which students of English local history are occasionally able to reveal: records of the Dean and Chapter preserved at Windsor Castle identify the endowment (which they inherited at the Dissolution) with a pre-Domesday grant, made by Richard fitzGilbert to Bec Abbey, of two-thirds of the demesne tithe from a group of his Surrey manors including *Torncrofht* (1). In 1319 the Rector of Leatherhead, Alexander le Convers, acknowledged, after a dispute, Bec's right to two-thirds of the tithes from "certain cultures called *Bochard, Haukehull, Thornecrofte*, and from a great field before the door of the manor called *Thornecrofte, Muchlemersch and Lytellmersh, Holbowr*", together with . . . *Konchedmed and le Meremowe*":⁸ these fields are broadly identifiable with those listed in the 1840 award.

As well as being a sparsely documented period, the eleventh century is one in which relations between the church and lay lords were in a state of flux, and the implications of Richard's grant are not wholly clear. It belongs, however, to a well-known class of benefactions which reflect the decay of minsters under the pressure of the proprietary system. In the late Saxon period, the threat to the "old minsters" presented by the diversion of ecclesiastical revenues to new estate churches was met by legislation, which acknowledged the right of lay lords to found churches while upholding the prior claims of the minsters. The late tenth century laws of Edgar stipulate that a thegn who has on his estate a church with a graveyard (that is, a church serving a community), lying within an "old minster" district, may endow it with one-third of his demesne tithes, the other two-thirds still being due to the minster.⁹ By the Conquest, however, the two-thirds had often ceased to be paid, and in the succeeding decades the freeing of estates from minster dues was carried much further by the invaders: as Sir Frank Stenton wrote, "the Norman lord of a village, unlike the thegn of Edgar's laws, was free to give two-thirds of his demesne tithes to any religious object which pleased him, without regard to the vested interests of any ancient minster. Such tithes formed an important part of the endowments of the new English monasteries of the twelfth century."¹⁰

In granting away two-thirds of the Thorncroft demesne tithes Richard was thus probably diverting the dues of an "old minster", the other third presumably representing, in accordance with general practice, the endowment of a church already existing on his estate. It is worth noting that of his seven other Surrey manors two-thirds of whose demesne tithes are granted to Bec in the same charter, all probably had manorial churches. In three cases (Betchworth, Walton-on-Thames and Woodmansterne) these are specifically listed in Domesday Book among the manorial appurtenances, and two others (Blechingley and Chipstead) are later known to have had churches in the patronage of Richard's successors as lords of the manor; Chivington (a hamlet of Blechingley) may either have had its own church since destroyed, or have been served by a church on Richard's Blechingley estate. The seventh manor, Talworth, was a holding of Richard split between sub-tenants by 1086 and probably served by his church at Long Ditton; apart from this and Chipstead (in the sub-tenancy of William nephew of Bishop Walkelin), all the estates were held directly by Richard himself.¹¹ Every case, therefore, involves some evidence or pre-

sumption of a proprietary church in Richard's ownership, and since the Domesday listing of churches is demonstrably inconsistent and incomplete,¹² the fact that one is not specified for every manor signifies nothing.

Taken in conjunction with the Colchester evidence this grant is therefore a very strong indication, if not certain proof, that Thorncroft possessed a manorial church before 1086, which subsequently passed as a marriage-portion with Richard's daughter Rose to Eudo Dapifer, was granted by him to Colchester Abbey soon after 1100, and is identical with the present parish church of Leatherhead. If this is so, the church held by Osbern de Ow of the royal manor of Ewell in 1086 clearly cannot have been the same building, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that we see here an "old minster" in the last stages of its decline. The tithes of its former "parish" had been granted away by lay lords, its pastoral functions and dues had lapsed, and only the church and its appurtenant forty acres remained in the tenure of Osbern, who, it is interesting to note, was tenant also of the "old minster" of Farnham hundred.¹³ The church itself can scarcely have survived for much longer.

But its land cannot have disappeared with it, and it would be odd if the very full later medieval records of the parish contained no hint of its former history. It is therefore interesting that Ewell manor (which was granted to Merton Priory in 1158)¹⁴ did indeed have one outlying holding in Leatherhead. At an inquisition of 1343 on the death of Robert Darcy, lord of Pachenesham Magna, the jurors stated that "half of the . . . manor of Pachenesham is held of the Prior of Merton as of his manor of Ewell, by service of rendering to the same Prior yearly . . . 20s, and suit of the same Prior's court at Ewell";¹⁵ by c. 1242 Merton Priory was already in possession of 20s rent in Pachenesham¹⁶ which it retained till the Dissolution.¹⁷ Fortunately, this Merton Priory moiety of the manor is described in some detail in a stray tenant-list of c. 1380, when it comprised the barn, gatehouse and byre of the curial buildings, and tenant holdings totalling seventy-four acres, five "tenements" and a cottage¹⁸ all lying north of the bridge at Pachenesham called *Goderychesbryg*.¹⁹ Since this is presumably the later Gutters Bridge (National Grid TQ 152575), the land apparently lay in a block extending northwards from the Ryebrook towards Patsom Green, taking in the gatehouse of the moated manor-house at "the Mounts".

In such matters complete certainty is rarely possible, but when Osbern's church and forty acres, held of Ewell manor for 20s p.a. in 1086²⁰, is compared with the portion of Pachenesham Magna held of Ewell manor (alone among known Leatherhead properties) for 20s p.a. in c. 1242, the circumstantial evidence seems strong that they were in fact one and the same. In other words, it appears likely that the land north of Gutters Bridge represents the glebe of the lost church of *Leret*, let to the lord of Pachenesham and divided up into tenant holdings when the church fell into disuse.²¹

Meanwhile, as the ecclesiastical reforms of the early twelfth century modified the proprietary system and moulded the parochial structure, we may imagine that something of the minster's former status in the area passed to the Thorncroft church. It was apparently during this period that the compact early medieval estates of Leatherhead were broken up and subdivided, and a recognisable economic and topographical unit, with one main settlement, a "common field" nearby, and commons to the north and south, seems to have emerged for the first time. These factors are closely related to ecclesiastical developments: it is natural both that the main settlement should have been served by the church of the estate from which it probably grew, rather than by the old building further away northwards, and that the parish boundaries, determined by the holdings whose tithe obligation was now transferred to the former church of Thorncroft, should reflect the economic cohesion of the area.

Colchester charters enable this process to be traced to some extent. In the early twelfth century the bishop of Winchester dedicated Ashtead church (with an endowment by its lord) as a chapel subject to the priest of Leatherhead, under his jurisdiction and rendering its tithes to him (7). At about the same date, a confirmation to Colchester refers to "the

mother church of Leatherhead" (8). By now the jurisdiction of the former Thorncroft estate church must have extended over the combined parishes of Leatherhead and Ashted, and it was not till the thirteenth century that the area was reduced by the elevation of Ashted to independent parochial status. The changes are illustrated by the fact that after the early twelfth century (except in purely repetitive royal confirmations) it is always described as the church of Leatherhead, not of Thorncroft.

An understanding of this process makes rather less inexplicable what is perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the whole story: Edward I's claim against Colchester that the church was crown property because it was "founded on the royal fee". The principal piece of evidence for this, then as now, was presumably the reference in Domesday Book, and if the Thorncroft church had succeeded in the way described to many of the rights and attributes of the "old minster", we may well imagine that the two were confused through an error as easy in 1279 as it is seven centuries later. Domesday is known to have been used as a basis for Quo Warranto actions, and the crown attorneys, who might gain but could never lose by litigation, were not over-scrupulous in putting claims forward.²² Understandably, the royal claim has generally hitherto been taken as proof that the parish church is identical with that of Domesday, but against the cumulative contrary evidence its weight must be regarded as very slight.²³

It remains to consider the structure of the parish church in the light of the above. G. H. Smith argued that the present building incorporates the shell of an eleventh-century fabric, comprising a nave (the upper parts of the walls still remaining above the arcades pierced in c. 1200), an unfinished central tower whose west wall survives above the chancel arch, and a square chancel later lengthened eastwards.²⁴ This interpretation seems sound enough, the only doubtful aspect of the plan being the width of the tower; the masonry visible externally on the east wall of the south transept perhaps suggests that it was slightly wider than the chancel but narrower than the nave (see colophon). It may be added that much of the south wall of the original chancel seems to survive in the present fabric, built of rough ashlar with two tile-courses and containing the possible remains of an original window.

Smith's assertion that this building is pre-Conquest, however, may be questioned. The central-tower parish church plan is just as common after 1066 as before, if not more so, and the wall thicknesses (forty inches in the nave, fifty-eight in the tower and thirty-four in the chancel) are inconsistent with the general run of Anglo-Saxon churches, whose walls are usually less than three feet thick.²⁵ Although not conclusive, therefore, the architectural evidence points to Richard fitzGilbert as the builder of the present fabric in the late eleventh century. It is worth noting that his other demesne manor of Betchworth, not far away and historically associated with Thorncroft, possesses a central-tower church datable to the post-Conquest period on the evidence of a reset tower arch. It would be interesting to investigate whether Richard provided other estates with new churches more elaborate than the simple two-cell pattern.

A much more important archaeological problem, however, is presented by the other church, for if it was indeed an "old minster" its discovery and excavation would be an important addition to the Anglo-Saxon history of the area. Its connection with the royal estate rather than with Thorncroft suggests that it stood in the north-western, "non-Thorncroft" part of the parish, and if the later Merton Priory land can be identified with the Domesday holding, the site may be expected to lie somewhere in the area north of Gutters Bridge and west of "the Mounts". Detailed fieldwork might provide an answer which would amply repay the trouble.

Thanks are due to the Rev. Canon J. A. Fisher, Custodian of the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, for allowing me access to documents in his care, and to the Rev. H. E. J. Cowdrey of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, for his helpful comments.

NOTES

1. *Lered, Lereda* in the twelfth century; see J. E. B. Gover *et al.*, *The Place-names of Surrey*, English place-name society vol. XI (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 78–9.
2. *Domesday Book I* (Record Commission 1783), 30c.
3. See H. E. Malden in *Surrey Archaeological Collections XXXVIII* (1930), pp. 203–5; G. H. Smith in *Proceedings III*, 2 (1968), p. 70.
4. See Frank Barlow, *The church in England 1000–1066* (London, 1963), p. 187.
5. F. Harmer, *Select English historical documents of the ninth and tenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 15–9.
6. For a fuller discussion of these questions see W. J. Blair, *Discovering early Leatherhead* (Leatherhead & District Local History Society 1976), p. 4; W. J. Blair, *The pattern of settlement and tenure in a Surrey parish: medieval and pre-medieval Leatherhead* (Oxford undergraduate Modern History thesis, 1976).
7. Blair, *Discovering early Leatherhead*, *loc. cit.*
8. Windsor, Arundel White Book ff. 139–140^v.
9. Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 195; F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1947), pp. 155–6; G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Development of the parochial system from Charlemagne to Urban II*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 6, 2d ed. (York, 1970), p. 14.
10. Stenton, *loc. cit.*; cf. R. Lennard, *Rural England* (Oxford, 1959), p. 300.
11. For details see the *Victoria history of the county of Surrey*, descents of advowsons under relevant parishes.
12. Lennard, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 288–94.
13. See W. Page in *Archaeologia*, vol. LXVI, p. 82.
14. C. A. F. Meekings and P. Shearman (ed.), *Fitznells Cartulary*, Surrey Record Society, vol. XXVI (Guildford, 1968), p. xxiii.
15. Text and translation in *Proceedings III*, 9 (1975), pp. 292–3.
16. A. T. Ruby in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. LV (1958), p. 8.
17. *Valor Ecclesiasticus II* (Record Commission, 1814), p. 48.
18. Domesday “acreeges” are conventionalised fiscal units impossible to relate to geographical reality; the discrepancy in area between Domesday Book and the terrier of c. 1380 therefore presents no problems.
19. Text and translation in *Proceedings III*, 9 (1975), pp. 296–7.
20. Domesday valuations nearly always represent the value to the lord whose *terrae* are being considered (Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 191). If the church was pastorally moribund to the extent of losing its ecclesiastical dues before 1086, it is thus quite plausible that its value then should correspond with the rent of the land two centuries later.
21. Two fragments of sandstone with Norman mouldings, unlikely in this region to come from a domestic building, were found in the excavation of the moated site at “the Mounts”.
22. D. W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto proceedings in the reign of Edward I* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 53, 40.
23. G. H. Smith (*Proceedings II*, 7 (1963), p. 211) states that two centuries after Domesday, the priest of Leatherhead was not summoned to either of the local manor courts but was always cited to attend that of Ewell. However, no reference is given and I have been unable to verify this.
24. *Proceedings II*, 7 (1963), pp. 211–3.
25. H. M. and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1965), p. 12.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE DOCUMENTS

Arundel	Windsor, Dean and Chapter Archives: Arundel White Book (unpublished fifteenth-century cartulary).
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
Moore	S. A. Moore (ed.), <i>Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria</i> , vol. I (Roxburghe Club, London, 1897).
<i>Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society</i> , vol. III, No. 2 (1968).
<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> ; vol. I (ed. H. W. C. Davis, Oxford, 1913), and vol. II (ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, Oxford, 1956).

1. Richard son of Count Gilbert to the church of St. Mary of Bec in Surrey. Grant of everything he had in *Totyngke* [Tooting Bec] and *Stretham* [Streatham]; three virgates of land in *Havertinesham* [Hersham]; two parts of the tithe from his demesne in *Blatumgeleya* [Blechingley], *Civentiona* [Chivington], *Wodem'schorn'* [Woodmansterne], *Tollesworth'* [Talworth], *Chipstede* [Chipstead], *Beych'word'* [Betchworth], *Torncrophi'* [Thorncroft] and *Waleiona* [Walton-on-Thames]; a villain in *Blaicomgeleya* [Blechingley]; a house in *Southwer'* [Southwark]; [and other holdings in other counties, named]. Witnesses: Roger and

Gilbert, sons of the said Richard; William Giffard; Rahere; William Abernoun; Stephen the chaplain. (Arundel f.127^v. *Before Domesday Book (1086), which lists Tooting and Streatham as Bec holdings.*)

2. William I to Bec Abbey. Confirmation of various grants, including Richard fitz-Gilbert's Surrey endowments as listed in (1); the spelling *Thornecroft* is used. (Arundel ff.153–153^v. *Full text printed by H. E. Salter in E.H.R. XL (1925) pp. 74–5, who shows on internal evidence that the document dates from between the compilation of Domesday Book in 1086 and the Conqueror's death in September 1087.*)

3. Eudo Dapifer to Colchester Abbey. The foundation charter, granting a long list of endowments, including "land of Ranulf de Broch, and in *Turnecroft* the church of that vill and one hide of land". (Moore pp. 1–4. *Before Eudo's death (probably 1119), and after the accession of Henry I (1100) on the internal evidence of the charter in its present form. However, it is heavily interpolated, if not a total forgery; see J. H. Round in E.H.R. XVI p. 725.*)

4. William II to the Church of St. John of Colchester. Confirmation of grants by the founder Eudo Dapifer, including the church of *Leddrede*. (Moore p. 18, *Proc. III*, p. 60. *Generally considered a forgery; see Regesta I p. 109, and Round in E.H.R. XVI p. 725. At all events, a confirmation by William II (1087–1100) is inconsistent with the initial grant (3) which purports to date from the reign of Henry I.*)

5. Henry I to the Church of St. John of Colchester. Confirmation of Eudo's endowments as in (3), including "land of Ralph Broc, and in *Tornechroft* the church of that vill and one hide of land". (Moore pp. 11–14. *The witness-list dates the charter to 1104. See Regesta II p. 39; Round considers genuine (E.H.R. XVI pp. 722–3), but this is disputed by Armitage Robinson, Gilbert Crispin p. 160.*)

6. Henry I to the Church of St. John of Colchester. Confirmation of Eudo's endowments as in (3), including "land of Ralph Broch, and in *Turnecrofte* the church of that vill and one hide of land". Dated at Rochester, 1119. (Moore pp. 4–10. *See Regesta II p. 146; Round (E.H.R. XVI p. 723; Geoffrey de Mandeville pp. 424 ff.) considers genuine, though with interpolations, and dates June–October 1119.*)

7. William [Giffard] bishop of Winchester to all the Church's faithful. Notification that he has dedicated the church of *Essestede* as a chapel subject, with all customs belonging to it, to the church of *Liered*; and he forbids any priest to sing mass there without the permission of the priest of *Liered* to which that chapel belongs, together with a virgate of land which Laurence gave to him in dedication and with all the tithes of the demesne and peasants (*rustici*). (Moore p. 78, *Proc. III*, p. 64. *During Giffard's episcopacy, 1107–29.*)

8. William [Giffard] bishop of Winchester to Stephen the archdeacon and Aubrey the deacon. Order that Gilbert abbot of Colchester shall have peaceful possession of the church of *Leddrede* with all its appurtenances (*appendiciis*), as Aubrey witnesses that Eustace de Broc quitclaimed to Gilbert in the presence of himself and of Fulk sheriff of Surrey; and if anyone claims the church against Gilbert he shall not reply for it except in William's presence. Stephen and Aubrey are to require him [*i.e.* Eustace] to return to the mother church of *Leddrede* all appurtenances which Gilbert can show to have been alienated from it wrongfully. (Moore p. 78, *Proc. III*, p. 64. *During Giffard's episcopacy, 1107–29.*)

9. "Cirograph of the church of *Leddrede*". Gilbert abbot of Colchester to Stephen the archdeacon and Alwin [*recte* Aubrey?] the deacon, and all the clerks and laymen of Surrey. Gilbert grants to Osbern the priest, after discussion with him, that he shall hold the church, with all its appurtenances except the church of *Estede*, at a rent of 50s p.a. at Easter and Michaelmas in equal portions; Gilbert retaining the church of *Estede* at his pleasure, Osbern shall pay at the stated terms, and shall be diligent in recovering alienated parts. No man shall participate in the church in any way which might harm Gilbert without his consent. (Moore p. 512, *Proc. III*, p. 68. *During Gilbert's abbacy, c. 1105–c. 1125.*)

10. Henry II to the Church of St. John of Colchester. Confirmation of Eudo's endowments as in (3), including "in *Turnecruffte* the church of that vill and one hide of land". (Moore pp. 14-7. *The witness-list dates the charter to 1154-61.*)

11. Pope Alexander III to the abbot and monks of Colchester. Assent to their just requests concerning "the church of *Leddrede* with the chapel of *Estede* [and two other churches, named], which they may hold in perpetuity. (Moore p. 71, *Proc. III*, p. 62. *During Alexander's papacy, 1159-81.*)

The later documents, repetitive and of little relevance to the present problem, are given by Moore and mostly reprinted with translations in Proc. III, No. 2.

THE EARLY MANORIAL RECORDS OF LEATHERHEAD

By W. J. BLAIR

PART IV—THREE RENTALS OF PACHENESHAM MAGNA

IN THIS part we print Pachenesham Magna rentals for 1418, 1474/5, and 1509. These rolls are fortunately long and detailed, and since the rents remained fixed throughout this period it is possible, with a few exceptions, to correlate the entries in all three; their existence therefore goes some way to compensating for the almost total lack of fifteenth-century court rolls.

The 1418 rental, the most interesting and complete, is neatly written on a long roll of parchment. Changes of tenants and other notes are scrawled on in later hands, and at the end of the roll two long memoranda, now largely illegible, have been added. As well as giving a complete survey of tenant land, this document contains an unique and important list of the former Pachenesham Magna demesne, now carved up into parcels let at farm (tenements 143-156).

The other two, on paper rolls, follow closely the wording (and in some places the order) of the first, and were clearly compiled using either it, or a similar document now lost, as an exemplar. Both are rather carelessly written (there are several minor mistranscriptions), and the copyists followed the earlier descriptions uncritically; thus the "newly built corner shops" of 1418 are still described as new nearly a century later! Once more, slightly later hands have in both cases updated some of the entries.

For reasons of space and economy, it has been decided to abandon the full transcripts and translations printed in previous issues. The three rentals are given here in the form of calendar abstracts, condensing the entries to a standard form but preserving all material information obtainable from these very formalised and repetitive documents. As before, material inserted in later hands is printed in angle brackets.

For ease of reference, the individual tenements have been numbered consecutively in the first rental, and identified with the same numbers in the other two. Tenements in the 1474/5 and 1509 rentals which cannot be identified in that of 1418 are marked with a question-mark.

The dating of the second rental needs some comment. Since only the words . . . *quarti quartodecimo* . . . are legible in the heading, we have a choice between the fourteenth year of Henry IV (1412/3) and the fourteenth of Edward IV (1474/5). However, internal evidence leaves no doubt whatever that this roll dates from after the rental of 1418, and we can therefore be confident that 1474/5 is the correct date. Rather oddly, the document contains (in a later hand) a memorandum concerning Ralph Bussh, an early fifteenth century lord of the manor:

we can only assume that this was transcribed from some earlier record or had some purpose not directly related to the rental itself.

Thanks are due to Dr. D. B. Robinson, Surrey County Archivist, for permission to publish these documents, which are in his custody at the County Record Office.

X. Rental of Pachenesham Magna, 1418. (S.R.O. S.C. 59/2/2)

recto

Rental of the manor of Pachenesham, renewed and examined in the first court with view of frankpledge of William Massy, held 1 October 6 Henry V [1418].

- 1 William Wymeldone: Half the land called le Grovelond; 9^s 5^d p.a. at 4 terms (and
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ suit).
- 3 A field of Grovelond called le Hamme at Aperdele; 14^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 4 A piece of land at Porstrete; 5^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 5 3 half-acs. in Medefurlang; 3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. in le Overhulle, and $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. which is "hedlond de Lombeseye"; 1^d p.a.
at Michaelmas.
- 7 3 ac. of meadow (once of John Bysshop) in the middle of Leddrede com-
mon meadow; 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 8 A croft at the end of Longe Aperdele; 3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 9 A tenement opposite Leddrede church (once of Robert atte Canoun');
4^d p.a.
- 10 The Rector of Mykelham: A croft called Ranlee on Kyngesdownne; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 11 The Prior of Reygate: A field called Cokele; 12^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 12 Henry Wolastone: Oxencroftes; 2^s p.a. at 4 terms.
- 13 A field called Katerynesfeld; 3^s 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 14 A tenement with adjoining garden in which he lives; 4^s p.a. at 4 terms (and
common suit).
- 15 The Prior of Ledes: A croft of <le> Grovelond called Moryscroft; 2^s p.a. at 4 terms.
- 16 Robert Tanner: His tenement in which he lives, and various lands pertaining to it;
3^s 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 17 A cottage next to his tenement; 2^s 1^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 18 2 ac. (formerly of Richard Tanner); 6^d p.a.
- 19 A plot of land next to le Chirchestyle; 4^d p.a.
- 20 William Kretell <now . . . Kemp>: A tenement and 4 ac. at Buntayneslond (once of
Thomas Hayward); 4^d p.a. (and common suit).
- 21 A tenement (formerly of Cecily Chaundeler) with adjoining curtilage and
 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at the end of the said curtilage; 7^d p.a. at 4 terms (and homage and
common suit).
- 22 A curtilage (formerly of Alice Norays); 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Falteye; $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 24 John Squyer: 1 ac. at le Lymeost (once of Adam Foty); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 25 A house with 1 ac. next to Leddrede church; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 26 1 ac. on le Wythe; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas. <1^d For Ferynge 3^d>
- 27 A tenement next to a tenement once of Thomas atte Novene; 3^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 28 Joan formerly wife of Thomas atte Novene: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Brodeweys;
3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 29 Thomas Seton: A house with adjoining garden which is a parcel of the said tenement
(formerly of the said Thomas atte Novene); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.

- 29 A tenement (formerly of Richard Smyth); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 30 Richard Freke: 1 ac. next to le Wydegate (formerly of John Rede); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 31 Adam <William> Hyde: 1 ac. (once of John Frydlee) next to Leddrede church; 4^d p.a.
at 4 terms.
- 32 1 ac. next to the said acre; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 33 A piece of land containing 6 ac. called le Brodelond; 12^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at the N. end of the said Brodelond; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 35 1 ac. next to Dame Annes Crouche; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 36 2 ac. (once of William Tangle) at the N. end of Bukhaghe, i.e. at the end
of the vill of Leddrede next to the road from Leddrede to London; 6^d p.a.
at 4 terms.
- 37 1 ac. at Shoveslane; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas (and common suit).
- 38 John atte Grove <Randolf> <now Symondes>: A garden (formerly of Henry Basse,
once of William Tangle) called Bukhaghe, at the E. end of Leddrede;
2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 39 Maud formerly wife of John Kempe: A tenement in which she lives (once of Robert
Canoune, previously of Henry Payne); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 40 Thomas Wrenne: A curtilage (once of Robert Canoune), between the newly built corner
shops (*inter shops angulares de novo edificat*) on the S. which are held
by Richard Waleys according to the custom of the manor; 12^d p.a. at
4 terms, by information of Richard Ware (and common suit).
- 41 John atte Grove <Randolf>: 2 ac. at Wyngate (formerly of John Glover); 4^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 42 A tenement with adjoining garden and 2 ac. at the end of the said garden
(once of Gilbert atte Persounes); 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 43 Richard Waleys <now Symondes>: A tenement (formerly of John Kempe, previously
of William Wrenne); 2^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 44 A tenement in which he lives; 12^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 45 1 ac. in la Farnebetme; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 46 1 ac. around Dame Anneys Crowche (which he had from John Castell
in exchange for another acre); 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 47 Thomas Walter: 1 ac. in le Walwort (formerly of William Busshope); 2^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 48 Nicholas Couper: A tenement (formerly of Andrew Souter) next to a tenement in
which Richard Waleys lives; 8^d p.a. at 4 terms. <Now in the lord's hand.>
- 49 2 tofts next to a tenement of John Derlyng; 8^d p.a. at 4 terms (and
common suit).
- 50 John Benet: A tenement called le Stokhou; $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 51 The former wife and heirs of William Leddrede: A capital tenement (formerly of
Thomas Baker); 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 52 A tenement called Heynes; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 53 A croft called le Est croft on which a barn is built; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 54 A plot of land between the said croft on the S. and the royal road on the
E; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 55 2 ac. at Rethercrouche; 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 56 2 ac. at le Mulleweye; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 57 1 ac. at le Blakegrove; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 58 3 ro. in le Farnybetme; 2^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 59 From the tenant(s) of the tenement in which Thomas atte Welle lived <now Thomas
atte Welle son and heir>; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).

- 60 1 ac. at Falteye (formerly Bassote Bonereye); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 61 1 ac. on le Whetecroft (which he bought from William Tangle); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 62 A curtilage called Bassote Haghe; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 63 John atte Welle senior, son and heir of Roger atte Welle: A tenement with adjoining garden in which he lives (formerly Gaveleres); 2^s p.a. at 4 terms (and heriot, relief and common suit).
- 64 A tenement called Chukkestenement; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 65 A croft called Tybbele; 12^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 66 John atte Welle junior: Half of Grovelond; 9^s 5^d p.a. at 4 terms (and $\frac{1}{2}$ common suit).
- 67 2 ac. at Wyngate (formerly of Robert Canoune); 3^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 68 A field called Tybbele; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 69 John Sterre <Poukes junior>: A tenement at the E. end of the vill of Leddrede, with certain land in the field of Leddrede and $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Falteye; 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d at 4 terms (and suit).
- 70 Ralph Wymeldon: A toft at le Townesende next to a tenement of John Sterr; 3^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 71 A tenement (once of William Squyer) next to a tenement of William Hevene; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 72 Margery formerly wife of Edmund Barat <Simon Godman>: A tenement in which she lives; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 73 A croft called Shyreves croft; 4^s p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 74 A piece of meadow next to the common bank of Leddrede; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 75 Thomas Seton <George>: 2 ac. (formerly of Thomas atte Lee), below a curtilage once of William Squyer and next to a croft of the said William; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 76 1 ac. (once of John Glover) at the end of the said croft; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 77 1 ac. called Tyremannesaker above Wydegate; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 78 The former wife of William atte Lote and Beatrice formerly wife of William Ware <Thomas Grofham>: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Haghese ende (formerly of William Bromle); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 79 The same wife of W. atte L.: A piece of land (once of John Hore) in le Gredene; 3^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 80 The tenant and heir of Peter Baker: A tenement; 5^s p.a. at 4 terms (and heriot, relief and suit).
- 81 Thomas Hayward: 1 ac. at Lombeseye; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 82 Simon Wrenne: A road next to his tenement; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 83 From the tenant of a curtilage (formerly of Thomas atte More) next to a tenement formerly of Thomas Baker; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 84 1 ac. at le Hyde putte; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 85 Simon Wrenne: A tenement with garden and 1 ac. enclosed at Pachenesham (it is not known whether by charter or by copy); 12^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit and 3 dyas in autumn). <Distrain to show.>
- 86 William Hendone: 1 ac. at le Tounesende; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 87 A tenement next to the abovementioned curtilage of Thomas atte More; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 88 John Bowet: A tenement and a garden with land at the end of the garden (formerly of John Bysshop); 12^d p.a. at 4 terms.

- 89 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. with adjoining garden, next to the said lands which lie together at
the end of the said garden; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 90 A barn (formerly of John Pater noster); 2^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 91 Edmund Redstone <Pouke senior>: A toft with a croft called Cokescroft; 5^d <6^d> p.a.
at 4 terms (and suit).
- 92 A tenement (formerly of William Whyte, once of John Patrik); $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 93 Beatrice formerly wife of William Ware (Grofham): A tenement in which she lives
on le Berwe (once of William Ewell); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas (and suit).
- 94 The former wife of William atte Lote <Grofham>: A curtilage (formerly of Alice
Pynchoun) on le Berwe next to a tenement formerly of John George;
1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 95 From the tenant <Robert Garlund> of a new tenement (formerly of John George) on
le Berwe; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 96 Thomas George: A tenement (which John George his father acquired from John
Castell); $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 97 The wardens of Leddrede bridge: 1 ac. in Gredene next to land of Robert atte
Canoun; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 98 Richard Ware: His tenement in which he lives and various other lands, whereof 1 ac.
is of Buntaneslond and $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. lies at Stertylond; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 99 1 ac. (once of William Cokat) on Durle next to land of Kylbourne Priory;
4^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit, heriot and relief).
- 100 Roger Bromlegh: $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. meadow in Lytelmede; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 101 1 ac. next to le Grenepathe at Lombeseye; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 102 3 half-acs., whereof $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. lies at Blakegrove, $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Rethercrouche, and
 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Falteye; 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 103 The Prioress of Kylbourne: Various lands and tenements in Leddrede; 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at
4 terms (and common suit).
- 104 The former wife of Adam Hyde <William>: $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. (once of Robert atte Gate) above
Leddrede churchyard; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 105 From the tenant of $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Cheldecote (formerly of John Broun junior); 1^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 106 Nicholas Randolff: Le Buttes; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 107 Slaghurst, containing 11 ac.; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms (and homage). <Distrain
for homage.>
- 108 John atte Hale: A meadow called le Halemede; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 109 Thomas Rothale: Le Lombhurst; 1^d p.a.
- 110 Certain lands next to Bekeneye; 2^s p.a.
- 111 Thomas Longe <Bellemán>: A toft opposite Bradmere; 1^d p.a. <More>
- 112 A toft (formerly of Robert Payne) next to his tenement; 1^d p.a. <Bellemán>
- 113 William Wymeldon: A tenement with certain lands in the common field called Smythes-
tenement; rendering to the lord yearly various customary works worth
13^s 4^d, which were so demised at farm to the tenant of the said tenement
by the said William in the time when he was farmer of this manor, as
appears by a rental made by the said William. <It seems to the lord and
his council that the rent and services are acceptable to them.>
- 114 John atte Lyghe <now J. Legh of Adyngton>: A croft (once of William Randolff) at
Porstrete; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 115 Joan Chyryngtone: A garden at Bradmede next to the common of Leddrede, abutting
on the royal road to Kyngeston on the N; . . . p.a. at Michaelmas.

- 116 The Prior of Merton: A field called Lyndene; 1 lb. cumin p.a. at Michaelmas (and homage and common suit).
 117 William Asshurst: Land called Bordlond in the manor of Farnecombe; 1 lb. pepper p.a. at Christmas (and homage).

verso

- 118 William . . . : . . . on Lombheye between land of Thomas Hayward on either side; 2^d p.a.
 119 A parcel of a house situated opposite le Marlyngput of Leddrede; ½^d p.a.
 120 John Wrenne: A parcel of the said house; ½^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
 121 A tenement (once of Nicholas Couper) next to the said house; 1 gillyflower p.a. at Michaelmas.
 122 John Derlyng <now John Clerk, Citizen and Skinner of London>: A tenement in which he lives; 8^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
 123 William Wymeldon: An empty plot once built on with a tenement and a shop and held by Richard Smyth; 4^s 10^d p.a.
 124 A tenement (once of John <Byssshop>) between a garden once of Maud Hogg and a tenement in which John Byssshop lives; 2^s p.a.

Total of rents of assize: 104^s 2½^d, 1 lb. pepper, 1 lb. cumin, 1 gillyflower, and 9^d for 3 days in autumn.

Rents of villein lands and tenements

- 125 William Chaumpenes: A virgate of villein land (once of Gilbert Herve); 5^s p.a. at Easter and Michaelmas (and suit and heriot).
 126 Nicholas Goly <now Thomas Wrenne>: 3 tenements and villein land which he holds by copy for 12 years; 12^s p.a. at the said feasts (and suit). He shall maintain his tenement properly, by pledge of Nicholas Baker.
 127 Richard Radford: A virgate of land and meadow called Blakeslond at Pachenesham, held by copy to himself, Alice his wife <Robert Dene> and his heirs; it was accustomed to render to the lord only 10s, and now it renders 12^s p.a. at the said feasts and suit and service such as the other tenants make of the same tenure.
 128 Simon Wrenne: Half a virgate of villein land (in what status is unknown); 5^s p.a. at the said feasts (and suit).
 129 John Compton <now William Baker>: A villein tenement with certain crofts appertaining to it called Wisdomes; 2^s 2^d p.a. at the said feasts (and suit; and now 2^d for entry).
 130 Richard War: 2 tofts with crofts (of John Lytelknaven) at Pachesham <now J. More[?]>; 12^d p.a.
 131 A piece of land <now . . . Weyland[?]> above le Marlyngputte, 2 ac. in le Netherhull, and 1 ac. and 3 ro. in le Overhulle (in what status is unknown); 20^d p.a. at the said feasts.

[The above holdings of Richard Ware are labelled "now Richard Waleys" against a marginal bracket.]

- 132 John Wynelme <Bartholomew Alyngham>: A tenement once Weremannes, 4 ac. at Barerse, and 3 ac. at Falteye, held by copy; 2^s 8^d p.a. at the said feasts (and suit and heriot).

- 133 John Benet <now Agnes Benet>: A curtilage once of John Couper with 9 ac. of villein land, held <by copy> for one virgate; 8^s p.a. at the said feasts (and suit and heriot).
- 134 John Wrenne <Pouke junior>: Croxtoneshaghe, held by copy; 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas (and suit).
- 135 Richard Waleys <Denef[?]>: New corner shops (*novas shopas angulares*) in le Chirchelane, held by copy; 2^s 2^d at the said feasts (and suit).
- 136 Thomas George <Godman>: A plot of land with a garden called Kyppynges; 3^s 3^d p.a. at the said feasts.
- 137 Edmund Redstone <More>: A parcel of the said plot; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 138 John atte Grove <Roger Ware[?]>: Various lands and tenements with appurtenances called Huntstenement; 13^s 4^d p.a. at the said feasts (and suit).
- 139 Thomas George: A garden in le Marlyngputte; 6^d p.a. <In the lord's hand.>
- 140 A parcel of pasture in Lytelbrede; 6^d p.a. <The same.>
- 141 Robert Tanner <. . . Wylons[?]>: A garden opposite Leddrede church; 8^d p.a. at the said feasts.
- 142 John atte Welle in le Hole <. . . Broun>: 5 ac. of villein land in Tybbele and Whitehulle; 2^s p.a. at the said feasts (and suit).

Rents of the farm of the lands of the manor, with the mill

- 143 The watermill was accustomed to render yearly £4 13^s 4^d; now £4 p.a.
- 144 The Rector of Mykelham, who formerly held a meadow called le Launde and 6 ac. in the common field of Leddrede, was accustomed to render 19^s 8^d p.a.
- 145 John atte Welle son of Roger atte Welle <Waleys>: Le Roydon and le Persounesmede; 40^s p.a. at Easter and Michaelmas, according to the new agreement made with John Bacheler the lord's bailiff.
- 146 John Wynelme <Thomas atte Well>: Le Duffeld, at yearly terms; 18^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 147 Richard Waleys <Nicholas Randolf>: Le Parkffeld, Boveneyesffeld, 10 ac., Boveneyes Roydon, and 3 ac. meadow with an old garden; £3 p.a. at the said feasts.
- 148 Roger Ockesdon' <Nicholas Randolf>: A parcel in Medefurlang, le Impehaghe, and Boverych; 4^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 149 Simon Wrenne: A parcel of land in Medeffurlong <William Baker>, held for terms of years; 3^s p.a.
- 150 A field called Rowhurst <Richard Wrenne> with 1 ac. in the common field; 14^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 151 Ralph Wymeldone <Thomas Grofham>: Meggemerssh; 10^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 152 Richard Ware <William Baker>: A pigeon-house, Newehulleres <N. Randolf>, a parcel in Medeffurlonge, a garden of the manor, "le Pondes", and a croft called le Est croft; 31^s 4^d p.a. at the said feasts.
- 153 Thomas Hayward <now Agnes . . .>: Werecroft and Weremed; 9^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 154 Henry Berde: Marbelycroft; 3^s p.a. at the said feasts. <In the lord's hand.>
- 155 Edmund Reedstone <Grofham>: Le Innehome; 10^s p.a. at the said feasts.
- 156 John Pouke <junior>: Land called le Oldehulleres, a parcel of land in Medeffurlong, and ½ ac. in Pysebreche; 7^s 6^d at the said feasts.

Total of rents and farms of 'inland' and 'outland' (*infra et extra*):
£25 7^s 2½^d, 1 lb. pepper, 1 lb. cumin, 1 gillyflower, and 9^d for three days in autumn.

Decays of rent

- 157 From $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. and 1 ro. (formerly of John Couper, once of Adam Foty) at Good3isdene;
2^d.
- 158 From 2 ac. next to the church at Styrtylonde; 5^d.
- 159 From a tenement in which John Barbour once lived; 4^d.
- 160 From 1 ac. at Ellenstubble (once of John Souter); 1^d.
- 123 And nothing here concerning decay of rent from a tenement and shop (once of Richard Smyth), for 4^s 10^d; for it was paid to John Bacheler the lord's bailiff during the time that he was in the lord's service by William Wymeldone, the lord's tenant at that time.
- 124 And nothing here now for the council concerning decay of rent from a tenement (formerly of John Bysshop) between a garden once of Maud Hogge and a tenement in which John Bysshop lives, for 2^s; for it is written above, among the rents of assize of free tenants.
- 161 And nothing here concerning decay of rent of 3^d <and one suit> for a tenement of John Feryng which John Aperdele now holds; but it is not written above because the bailiff . . .
- <Surrey. John Agmondesham . . . part of the manor of Pachensham against John . . . 13 Henry VII in roll 150 . . . in [Letherhede *struck out*] the vill of Pachensham in a certain . . . Robert Darcy and . . . in half the manor of Pachensham . . . rendering 20^s p.a. and suit at the court . . . of Ewell every three weeks . . . morrow of . . . 1410.>
- <Memorandum that at an inquest in full court . . . land at le Ver of Derlee and 5[?] . . . (formerly Wales) . . . formerly rendered 9^d . . .>

XI. Rental of Pachensham Magna, 1474/5. (S.R.O. S.C. 6/26.)

recto

“ . . . *quarti quartodecimo* . . . ”

- 1 William Wymbildene: Half the land called le . . . ; . . . p.a. (and suit).
- 2 The same John [*sic*]: A field of Grovelounde called . . . ; . . . p.a. at 4 terms.
- 3 A piece of land at Postrete; . . . p.a.
- 4 3 half-acs. in Medefurlon[ge]; . . . p.a.
- 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. in le Overhill, and $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. which is “le hedlounde de Lombeseye”; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 7 A croft at the end of Long Aperdelle; 3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 8 A tenement opposite Lederhedde church (once of Robert atte Canounne); 4^d p.a.
- 6 <Richard Wymbeldone> [*blank*] Hermyngtone: 3 ac. meadow (formerly of Richard Wimbyldone, once of Isabel Wymbyldone) in the middle of Lederhede common meadow; 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 71 A tenement and certain lands called Sqwyer; 6^d p.a.
- 70a? A garden at Townesende next to the royal road from Gylforde to London; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 10 The Prior of Reygate: A field called Cokele; 12^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 11 Henry Wolastone: Oxcroftes (now in the King's hand); 3^s p.a. at 4 terms.
- 9 The Rector of Mykelham: A croft called Ranle on Kyngesdoune; 6^d p.a.
- 12 Roger Skete: A field called Katerynesfelde (once of Henry Wolastone); 2^s 4^d p.a.
- 13 A tenement adjoining Lederhedde church with a great garden adjacent; 4^s p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).

- 42 A tenement with adjoining garden and 2 ac. at the end of the said garden (once of John atte Grove, previously of Gilbert atte Persounes); 6½^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 47 1 ac. in e Walwort (formerly of Thomas atte Welle <Walter>, previously of William Buschope); 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 59 John Skete [*substituted for the same Roger*]: A tenement at Sharnewelle (formerly of Thomas atte Welle); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit).
- 60 The same <John>: 1 ac. at Faltey (formerly of the same Thomas) called Bassote Bonereye; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 61 1 ac. on le Whetecrofte; 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 62 A tenement called Bassotehaghe; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 63 A tenement with adjoining garden in which John Skete lives (formerly of Henry Mountagu, previously of John atte Welle) in le Hole (and he was son and heir of Roger atte Welle and it was once Gaveleres); 2^s p.a. at 4 terms (and heriot, relief and suit).
- 64 A tenement called Chukkestenement; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 108 <A meadow called Halemede (formerly of Slyfeld); 6^d p.a.>
- 138 A tenement at Pachenesham and 10 ac. (once Hunttystenement, previously of Henry atte Water); 2^s p.a. (and suit).
- 65 A croft called Tybbele, now in the lord's hand, accustomed to pay 12^d p.a.
- 14 The Prior of Ledes: A croft of le Grovelounde called Moriscroft; 2^s p.a. at 4 terms. [*Marginal note "wife of Belle"*]
- 15 John Kekowe: A tenement and various lands (formerly of Richard atte Deane, once of Robert Tanner); 3^s 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 16 A cottage next to the said tenement; 2^s 1^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 17 2 ac. (formerly of Richard Tanner); 6^d p.a.
- 18 A plot and parcel of land next to le Chirchestile; 4^d p.a.
- 43 Richard at Dene: A tenement (formerly of Richard Waleys, previously of John Kempe, once of William Wrenne); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 44 A tenement (once of Richard Waleys); 12^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit).
- 45 1 [tenement *struck out*] ac. in Farnebetme; 2½^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 46 1 ac. lying around Dame Anneys Crouche (which he had from John Castelle in exchange for another acre); 2½^d p.a.
- 66 John atte Welle of Heblee [*sic*]: Half of Grovelonde <at [?] Stone Downe>; 9^s 5^d p.a. at 4 terms (and ½ common suit).
- 67 2 ac. at Wingate (formerly of Robert Canon); 3^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 68 A field called Tyble; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 19 Walter Romyng: A tenement and 4 ac. at Bunteyneslonde (once of William Kretelle, previously of Thomas Heywarde); 4^d p.a. (and common suit).
- 20 A tenement (formerly of Cecily Chaundeler) with adjoining curtilage and ½ ac. at the end of the said curtilage; 7^d p.a. at 4 terms (with homage and common suit).
- 21 A [tenement *struck out*] curtilage (formerly of Alice Noreys); 6^d p.a. at 4 terms. ½ ac. at Falteye; ½^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 31 William Hide <Wylberforth>: 1 ac. (once of Adam Hide) next to Lederhede church; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 32 1 ac. adjoining the said acre; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 33 A piece of land containing 6 ac. called Brodlonde; 12^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 35 ½ ac. at the end of Dame Anne Crowche; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.

- 36 2 ac. (once of William Tangle) at the N. end of Bochaghe (i.e. Brewster-shaghe) at the end of the vill of Lederhede, next to the road from Lederhede to London; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 37 1 ac. at Shoveslane; 2^d p.a. (and common suit).
- 38 ½ ac. at the N. end of the said Brodlounde; 2^d p.a.
- [*The above seven entries are labelled “. . . forth” against a marginal bracket.*]
- 39 John Brewster: A garden (formerly of John atte Grene, previously of William Tangle) called Bukhagh', at the E. end of the vill of Lederhede; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 40 Juliana formerly wife of Thomas Smyth: A tenement (once of William, previously of Robert Cannoun); 1^d p.a.
- 41 John Brewster: 2 ac. at Wyngate (formerly of John ate Grene, previously of John Glover); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 51 John Trevilyan: A tenement (formerly of Thomas Lederede, previously of Thomas Baker); 2^d p.a.
- 52 A tenement called Heynes; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- 53 A croft called Westcroft, on which is built a barn; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 54 A plot of land, between the said croft on the S. and the royal road on the E.; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 55 2 ac. at Rethercrowche; 3½^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 56 2 ac. at Myllewey; 1½^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 57 1 ac. at Blakegrove; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 58 3 ro. at Farnybetme; 2^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 23 [blank] Wymbeldone: 1 ac. at le Lymost (formerly of John Squyer, once of Adam Fotye); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 24 A house with 1 ac. next to Lederhede church; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 25 1 ac. on le Wyth; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 26 A tenement next to a tenement once of Thomas atte Novene; 3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 27 Joan formerly wife of Thomas atte Novene <Thomas at Dene>: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Brodweye; 3^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 28 Roger Skete: A house with adjoining garden (formerly of Thomas Setone) which is a parcel of the said tenement (formerly of the said Thomas atte Novene); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 29 A tenement (formerly of Richard Smyth); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 30 Richard Freke <Benettes>: 1 ac. next to le Widgate (formerly of John Rede); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 69 Walter Romyng: A tenement at the E. end of the vill of Lederhede, with certain lands in the field of Lederhede, and ½ ac. at Falteye (formerly of John Sterre); 10½^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 72 Richard Godman: A tenement in which he lives; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 74 A piece of meadow next to the common bank of Lederhede mede; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 73 A croft called Shyrevescroft; 4^s p.a. at 4 terms (and suit).
- 75 John Manuelle: 2 ac. (formerly of Thomas Setone, previously of Thomas at Lee) below a curtilage once of William Squier and next to a croft of the said William; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 76 1 ac. (once of John Glover) at the end of the said croft; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.

- 2 < lying at the end of the said croft, and 3½ ac.
on the E. side next to a croft of the said Squyer; 20 . . . >
- 77 Richard atte Dene < G . . . >: 1 ac. called Tyremannes acre above le Widegate; 1^d p.a.
at Michaelmas.
- 78 John Ware: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Haghes ende (formerly of William atte Lote
and Beatrice formerly wife of William atte Ware, once of William
Bromele); 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 79 A piece of land (formerly of the said William Ware's wife, once of John
Hore) in le Gredene; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms. [*Marginal label* "Groffham"]
- 80 The heirs of Peter Baker: A tenement; 5^s p.a. at 4 terms (and heriot, relief and suit).
- 81 Thomas Heywarde: 1 ac. at Lombeseye; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 82 Simon Wrenne: A road next to his tenement; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 83 From the tenants of a curtilage (formerly of Thomas atte More) next to a tenement
formerly of Thomas Baker; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 84 1 ac. at le Hidepite; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 85 Simon Wrenne: A tenement with garden and 1 ac. enclosed at Pachenesham; 12^d p.a.
(and suit and 3 days in autumn). [*Marginal note* "in the lord's hand?"]
- 86 William Hendon: 1 ac. at le Townnesende; 2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 87 A tenement next to the abovementioned curtilage of Thomas atte More;
2^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- [*The above two entries are labelled "John Skete" against a marginal bracket.*]
- 88 John Bowet: A tenement and a garden with land adjoining at the end of the said garden
(formerly of John Byschope); 12^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 89 ½ ac. with adjoining garden, next to the said lands which lie at the end of
the said garden; 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 90 A barn (formerly of John Paternoster); 2^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 91 John Garlonde: A croft called Cokescrofte (formerly of Edmund Redstone); 5^d p.a.
at 4 terms.
- 92 A tenement (formerly of William Whight, once of John Patrike); ¼^d p.a.
at Michaelmas.
- 93 Beatrice formerly wife of William Ware: A tenement in which she lives on le Berewe
(once of William Ewelle); 4^d p.a. at Michaelmas (and suit).
- 94 The former wife of William atte Lote: A curtilage (formerly of Alice Pynchoun) on le
Berewe, next to a tenement formerly of John George; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 95 The tenants of a new tenement (formerly of John George) on le Berewe; 2^d p.a. at
Michaelmas.
- 96 Thomas George: A tenement (formerly of John George his father, acquired from John
Castelle); ¼^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 97 The Wardens of Lederhede bridge: 1 ac. in Gredene next to land of Robert atte
Canoun; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 98 John Ware: His tenement in which he lives and various other lands, whereof 1 ac. is
of Buntayneslonde and ½ ac. lies at Stertylonde; 4^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 99 1 ac. (once of William Cokat) on Durl next to land of Kylburne Priory;
4^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit, heriot and relief).
- 100 Thomas atte Deene: ½ ac. of meadow in Litylmede (once of Roger Bromlegh); 2^d p.a.
at Michaelmas.
- 102 3 half-acs., whereof ½ ac. lies at Blakegrove, ½ ac. at Rethercrouche, and
½ ac. at Falteye; ¼^d p.a. at Michaelmas.

- 103 The Prioress of Kylburne: Various lands and tenements in Lederhede; 13½^d p.a. at 4 terms (and suit).
- 104 The former wife of Adam Hide: ½ ac. (once of Robert atte Gate), above Lederhede churchyard; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 105 The tenants of 1 ac. at Sheldecote (formerly of John Broune junior); 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 106 John Rippyngden: Le Buttes (formerly of Nicholas Randolff); 5^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 107 . . . land; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms (and homage).
- 108 . . . Slyffylde called le Hallemede; 6^d p.a. at 4 terms.
- 110 . . . Bekeneye ([once of Thomas *struck out*] formerly of Edmund . . .) . . . 2^s . . .
- 109 . . . 1^d . . .
- 111 . . . Bradmer; 1^d p.a.
- 112 . . . his tenement; 1^d p.a.
- 114 . . . [once of ?] William Randolff, lying at Portestrete; 4^d p.a.
- 115 . . . Bradmere next to the common of Lederhede, and it abuts Kingstone on the N.; 1^d p.a. at Michaelmas.

verso

<Memorandum that Ralph Bussh holds the manor and vill of Lederede as of the Honour of Dover, by service of . . . p.a.; to which manor pertain 8 marks in rents and services, and £11 11^s 8^d in farms of land to various men distributed by parcels, and £4 in the farm of a watermill.>

- 116 The Prior of Mertone: A field called Lyndene; 1 lb. of cumin p.a. at Michaelmas (and homage and common suit).
- 117 William Asshurste: Land called Brodlande in the manor of Farnecombe; 1 lb. of pepper p.a. at Christmas (and homage).
- 118 William Masone: 1 ac. on Lombeseye between land of Thomas Heywarde on either side; 2^d p.a.
- 119 A parcel of a house situated opposite le Marlyngpyt of Lederhede; ½^d p.a.
- 120 John Wrenne: A parcel of the said house; ½^d p.a.
- 121 A tenement ([formerly of William Coupere *struck out*] once of Nicholas Coupere) next to the said house; a gillyflower p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 122 John Derlyng: A tenement in which he lives; 8^d p.a. at 4 terms (and common suit).
- ? John Groffham: His tenement on le Berewe, and various other lands lying in the field of Lederhede; 18^d p.a. at Michaelmas.
- 123 John Wymbeldone: An empty parcel once built on; [*no rent stated*].
- ? <John Manuelle; 3^s 4^d p.a.>

<£3 13^s 9^d>

Total £4 6^s 3^d

<Memorandum that a demise was made by R[alph] son of John B[ussh?] of the manor of P[achenesham], on 8 . . . 10 Henry VII [1494/5]; to hold for fifteen years from Michaelmas before that date, at rent of £14 p.a.>

XII. Rental of Pachenesham Magna, 1509. (S.R.O. S.C. 59/2/3.)

recto

Rental of the manor of Pachensham, renewed there by the tenants on Tuesday after the Ascension, 1 Henry VIII [22 May 1509].

- 1 John Downe: Half the land called Grovelond; 9^s 6^d p.a. (and suit).
2 A field . . . Aperdele called le Hamme; 14^d p.a.
3 A piece of land at Portestrete; 5^d p.a.
4 3 half-acs. in Medffurlong; 3^d p.a.
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. in le Overhill, and another $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. which is "le hadlong de Lombesey";
1^d p.a.
7 A croft at the end of Long Aperdele; 3^d p.a.
8 A tenement opposite Letherhede church (once of Robert at Canoun');
4^d p.a.
23 1 ac. at Lymost (once of Adam Foty . . .)
25 1 ac. on le Withe; 1^d p.a.
66 John at Welle: The other half of Grovelond; 9^s 5^d p.a. (and suit).
67 2 ac. at Wyngate (formerly of Robert Canoun'); 3^d p.a.
68 A field called Tybbele; 6^d p.a.
9 The Rector of Mykelham: A croft called Ranles on Kynges down'; 6^d p.a.
10 The Prior of Reygate: A field called Cokele; 12^d p.a. (and suit).
14 The Prior of Ledis: A croft of Grovelond called Moriscroft; 2^s p.a.
116 The Prior of Morton': A field called Lyndon'; 1 lb. of cumin p.a. (and suit).
103 The Prioress of Kylburn': Her various lands and tenements in Letherhede; 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a.
11a The tenant(s) of Oxencroftes (formerly of Henry Wolleston'); 2^s p.a. (and military
service).
12 John Richardeson: A field called Katerynfeld; 3^s 4^d p.a. (and military service).
26 A tenement next to a tenement of Thomas at Novene; 3^d p.a.
28 A house with adjoining garden which is a parcel of the tenement of Robert
Garlond (once of the said Thomas at Novene); 1^d p.a.
29 A tenement (once of Richard Smyth); 1^d p.a.
42 A tenement with adjoining garden, and 2 ac. at the end of that garden
(once of Gilbert at Persounes); 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a.
81 1 ac. at Lombesey (once of Peter Baker); 2^d p.a.
108 A meadow called le Halemede (once of John at Halle); 6^d p.a.
84 1 ac. at la Hide putte; 2^d p.a.
13 William Skete: A tenement with adjoining garden (once of Henry Wulleston'); 4^s p.a.
(and suit).
59 A tenement (once of Thomas at Welle); 4^d p.a. (and suit).
60 1 ac. at Faltey (once of the said Thomas at Welle, previously Basset
Bonereys); 1^d p.a.
61 1 ac. on le Whet croft (once of the said Thomas, previously of William
Tangle); 4^d p.a.
62 A curtilage called Bassetes hegh (once of the said Thomas at Welle);
1^d p.a.
63 A tenement with adjoining garden (once of John at Welle son and heir
of Roger at Welle, previously Gabeleres); 2^s p.a. (and suit, heriot and
relief).

- 64 A tenement called Chukkistenement (once of the said John at Welle);
5^d p.a.
- 65 A croft called Tibbeleys (formerly of the said John); 12^d p.a.
- 86 1 ac. at le Townesend (once of William Hendone); 2^d p.a.
- 15 Henry Norbrigg: A tenement with land appertaining (once of Robert Tanner);
3^s 6^d p.a.
- 17 2 ac. (formerly of the said Robert Tanner, previously of Richard Tanner);
6^d p.a.
- ? <A plot of land next to le Chirchehall; 8^d p.a.>
- 16 Walter Clerke: A cottage next to the said Henry Norbrigge's tenement; 2^s 1^d p.a.
- 18 Joan Kyghe <now Richard Godman>: A plot of land next to le Churchestyle (once
of Robert Tanner); 4^d p.a.
- 19 John Ronyng: A tenement and 4 ac. at Bunteyns lond (once of William Kretell,
previously of Thomas Heyward); 4^d p.a. (and suit).
- 20 A tenement with adjoining curtilage and $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at the end of the said
curtilage (formerly of the said William Kretell, previously of Cecily
Chaundeler); 7^d p.a. (and suit and homage).
- 21 A curtilage (formerly of the said William Kretell, previously of Alice
Noreys); 6^d p.a.
- 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Faltey (formerly of the said William Kretell); $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p.a.
- [The above holdings of Joan Kyghe and John Ronyng are labelled "Godman" in
a later hand against a marginal bracket.]
- 6 Edward Burtone <now Stott>: 3 ac. of meadow in the middle of Lederhede common
meadow (once of William Wymolden, previously of John Bysshop);
4^d p.a.
- 24 A house and 1 ac. next to Lederhede church (formerly of John Sqwyer);
4^d p.a.
- 70 A toft at le Townesend (formerly of Ralph Wymeldon) next to a tenement
once of John Sterre; 3^d p.a.
- 113 A tenement called Smythis tenement with land appertaining lying in the
common field (formerly of William Wymeldon); 13^s 4^d p.a.
- 27 John Rypendone: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Brodewey (formerly of Joan wife of
Thomas at Novene); 3^d p.a.
- 30 1 ac. next to le Wydegate (formerly of Richard Freke, previously of John
Rede); 4^d p.a.
- 85 A tenement with garden and 1 ac. enclosed at Pachensham; 12^d p.a. (and
suit and 3 days in autumn).
- 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Cheldecote (once of John Brown'); 1^d p.a.
- 107a 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at Slaghurst (formerly of John [altered to Nicholas] Randolf);
3^d p.a. (and homage).
- 31 Erasmus Furthe <Sir Christopher More>: 1 ac. next to Letherhede church (formerly
of Adam Hyde, previously of Joan Fridelee); 4^d p.a.
- 32 1 ac. next to the said acre (formerly of the said Adam); 4^d p.a.
- 33 A piece of land, containing by estimation 6 ac., called le Brodelond
(formerly of the said Adam); 12^d p.a.
- 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ ac. at the N. end of the said piece of land (formerly of the said Adam);
2^d p.a.
- 35 1 ac. next to Demeannes Crouche (formerly of the said Adam); 2^d p.a.
- 116 A certain Oxencroftes (formerly of Henry Wullaston); 2^s p.a.

- 36 John Dene: 2 ac. (formerly of Adam Hyde, previously Tangle) at the N. end of Bukhagh, i.e. at the end of the vill of Lethrhede next to the road leading from Letherhede to London; 6^d p.a.
- 37 1 ac. at Showeslane [*altered to Sheeslane*] (formerly of the said Adam); 2^d p.a. (and suit).
- 100 ½ ac. meadow in Litelmede (formerly of Roger Bromlegh); 2^d p.a.
- 101 1 ac. (formerly of the said Roger) at Lombesey next to le Grene Path; 1^d p.a.
- 102 3 half-acs. (formerly of the said Roger), whereof ½ ac. lies at Blakes Grove, ½ ac. at Retherchowche and ½ ac. at Faltey; 1½^d p.a.
- 38 John Symond: A garden (formerly of John at Grove, previously of Henry [*replacing John struck out*] Basse) called Bukhagh, at the E. end of the vill of Lederhede: 2^d p.a.
- 41 2 ac. at Wyngate (formerly of the said John Grove, previously of John Glovey); 4^d p.a.
- 43 A tenement (formerly of Richard Waleyn, previously of John Kempe) on the N. side of his tenement; 2^d p.a.
- 39 Robert Dene: A tenement (formerly of Maud Kempe, previously of Robert Canounⁿ); 1^d p.a.
- 48 A tenement (formerly of Nicholas Cowper, previously of Andrew Sowter) next to a tenement formerly of Richard Waleys; 8^d p.a.
- 49 2 tofts (formerly of the said Nicholas) next to a tenement formerly of John Darlyng; 8^d p.a. (and suit).
- 122 A tenement (once of the said John Darlyng); 8^d p.a. (and suit).
- 40 Walter Weylond: A curtilage which he holds by copy (formerly of Thomas Wrenne, previously of Robert Canoun), lying between the newly built corner shops (*inter shopas angulares de novo edificat'*) on the S. which were once held by Richard Waleys by copy; 12^d p.a. (and suit).
- 44 John Lygh, knight: A tenement (once of Richard Waleys, previously of John Kempe, previously of William Wrenne); 12^d p.a. (and suit).
- 45 1 ac. in le Farnbetme (formerly of the said Richard Waleys); 2½^d p.a.
- 46 1 ac. around Demeanys Crowche (formerly of the said Richard Waleys, previously of John Castell); 2½^d p.a.
- 75 2 ac. (formerly of Thomas Setone, previously of Thomas Lee) below a curtilage once of William Squyer and next to a croft of the said William; 5^d p.a.
- 76 1 ac. at the end of the said croft (formerly of the said Thomas Setone, previously of John Glover); 6^d p.a.
- 77 1 ac. called Tyremannes acre on Wydegate (formerly of the said Thomas Seton); 1^d p.a.
- 80 A tenement with appurtenances (formerly of Peter Baker); 5^s p.a. (and heriot, relief and suit).
- 83 A curtilage (once of Thomas at More) next to a tenement formerly of Thomas Baker; 1^d p.a.
- 87 A tenement (formerly of William Hendon) next to the said curtilage; 2^d p.a.
- 47 John Skete: 1 ac. (formerly of Thomas Walter) in le Wallewort; 2^d p.a.
- 104 ½ ac. (formerly of the wife of Adam Hyde) lying above Letherhede churchyard; 1^d p.a.
- 50 Agnes Benet: A tenement called Stokehows (formerly of John Benet); ½^d p.a.

- 51 John Trevelyian: A capital messuage (formerly of William Lederhede); 2^d p.a.
 52 A tenement called Heynes (formerly of the said William); 6^d p.a. (and suit).
 53 A croft called le Estcroft, on which is built a barn (formerly of the said William Lederhede); 5^d p.a.
 54 A plot of land between the said croft on the S. and the royal road on the E.; 4^d p.a.
 55 2 ac. at Rethercrouches (formerly of the said William); 3½^d p.a.
 56 2 ac. at le Mullewey (formerly of the said William Lederhede); 1½^d p.a.
 57 1 ac. at le Blakegrove; 1^d p.a.
 58 3 ro. in le Fernybetme (formerly of the said William Lederhede); 2^d p.a.
 69 John Pouk junior <Richard Waleys[?] holds it>: A tenement at the E. end of the vill of Lederhede, ½ ac. at Faltey, and certain other lands in the field (formerly of John Sterr); 10½^d p.a. (and suit).
 71 [blank] Smetherst: A tenement (formerly of Ralph Wymoldon, previously of William Squyer) next to a tenement once of William Heven; 6^d p.a. (and suit).
 72 Richard Godman: A tenement (once of Edmund Baret); 6^d p.a.
 73 A croft called Sherifes Croft (formerly of the wife of [Adam Hyde ~~deleted~~] the said Edmund); 4^s p.a. (and suit).
 74 A piece of meadow (once of the said Edmund) next to the common bank of Lederhede; 4^d p.a.
 78 Thomas Groffam: A tenement and 1 ac. at le Haghes ende (formerly of William at Lote and Beatrice Ware, previously of William Bromley); 4^d p.a.
 79 A piece of land in le Greneden' (formerly of the said William Lotte, previously of John Hore); 3^d p.a.
 82 John Wrenne: A road next to his tenement (formerly of Simon Wrenne); 1^d p.a.
 88 Edward Hodgeson: A tenement and garden with land at the end of the said garden (formerly of John Bowett, previously of John Bisshope); 12^d p.a.
 89 ½ ac. with adjoining garden, next to the said lands which lie together at the end of the said garden; 5^d p.a.
 90 A barn (formerly of the said John Bowett, previously of John Pater noster); 2^d p.a.
 91 John Pouk' senior <West holds it>: A toft with a croft called Cokes Croft (formerly of Edmund Redstone); 5^d p.a. (and suit).
 92 John <Robert> Garlund: A tenement (formerly of Edmund Redstone, previously of John Patrik); ¼^d p.a.
 93 Thomas Groffham: A tenement (formerly of the wife of William Ware) on le Berowe (once of William Ewell); 4^d p.a. (and suit).
 94 A curtilage (formerly of William at Lote, previously of Alice Pynchon) on le Barowe next to a tenement once of John George; 1^d p.a.
 95 Eleanor Birt [*altered to* Michell]; A new tenement on le Barowe <hill> (once of John George); 2^d p.a.
 96 A tenement (formerly of Thomas George, once of John Castell); ¼^d p.a.
 97 The wardens of Lederhede bridge <Shany Wales and Stephen Rommyng>: 1 ac. in Grenedon' next to land once of Robert at Canoun'; 1^d p.a.
 98 John Man': A tenement and various lands (formerly of Richard Ware), whereof 1 ac. is of Buntayns londes and ½ ac. lies at Stirtylond; 4^d p.a.
 99 1 ac. (formerly of the said Richard Ware, previously of William Cokat) on Durle, next to land of the Prioress of Kylburn; 4^d p.a. (and suit, heriot and relief).

- 106 John Agmondesham: Le Buttes (formerly of Nicholas Randolph); 5^d p.a.
 1076 5½ ac., a parcel of Slaghurst; 3^d p.a. (and homage).
 109 [blank] Castelton: Le Lomhurst (once of Thomas Rothale); 1^d p.a.
 110 Certain lands next to Bekeneyns (once of the said Thomas Rothale) called Champeneys; 2^s p.a.
 111 [blank] Belleman <More>: A toft opposite Bradmere (formerly of Thomas Long); 1^d p.a.
 112 A tenement (formerly of the said Thomas Long, previously of Robert Payn); 1^d p.a.
 114 William Atclyf <Hall holds it>: A croft (formerly of John at Lygh, previously of William Randolph) at Portstrete; 4^d p.a.
 115 A garden at Brademede next to the common of Lederhede, abutting on the royal road to Kyngeston on the N. (once of Joan Chyryngton); 1^d p.a.
 117 John Skynner: Land called Burdelond in the manor of Fernecombe (once of William Asshurst); 1 lb. of pepper p.a. at Christmas (and homage).
 118 Robert Powke <Richard Sakers holds it>: 1 ac. on Lombeseye (formerly of William Mason) between land once of Thomas Heyward on both sides; 2^d p.a.
 119 A parcel of a house situated opposite le Marlyngpute of Lederhede (formerly of the said William Mason); ¼^d p.a.
 120 Another parcel of the said house (formerly of John Wrenne); ½^d p.a.
 121 A tenement next to the said house (formerly of the said John Wrenne); 1 gillyflower p.a.
 ? William Shore: A messuage in le Chirchelane next to land formerly of Canoun; 1^d p.a.
 123 A parcel of land once built on with a tenement and a shop (once of William Wymoldon, formerly held by Richard Smyth); 4^s 10^d p.a.
 124 A tenement (formerly of the said William Wymoldon, previously of John Bisshop) between a garden once of Maud Hogge and a tenement in which the said John Bisshop once lived; 2^s p.a.

Total of rents of assize: 106^s 4½^d, 1 lb. of pepper, 1 lb. of cumin.

Customary rents

- 125 [blank] Castleton: A virgate of customary land (once of William Chaumpeneys, previously of Gilbert Herve); 5^s p.a. (and suit, heriot etc.).
 126 John Skete: Land and customary tenements (formerly of Thomas Wrenne, previously of Nicholas Goly); 12^s (and suit and heriot).
 127 John Lygh, knight: A virgate of land and meadow called Blakeslond at Patensham (once of Richard Radford); suit, heriot and rents as in court of 17 Richard II [1393/4] and 14 Henry IV [1412/3]; 12^s p.a.
 128 John Rypendon: A half-virgate of customary land now at farm (once of Simon Wrenne); 5^s p.a. (and suit).
 129 William Baker: A customary tenement, and certain croft(s) belonging to it, called Wisdoms (once of John Compton); 2^s 4^d p.a. (and suit).
 130 Walter Weylond: 2 tofts with a croft (once of John Litelknav, afterwards of Richard Ware) of Pachensham; 12^d p.a.
 131 A piece of land above le Marlyngpitte, 2 ac. in le Netherhull, and 1 ac. and 3 ro. in le Overhull (once of the said Richard Ware); 20^d p.a. (and suit).

- 132 Bartholomew Alyngham: A customary tenement (once Waremans, afterwards of John Wynelmo), 4 ac. at Barerse, and 3 ac. at Faltey (formerly of the said John Wynelmo); 2^s 8^d p.a. (and suit and heriot).
- 133 Agnes Benet: A curtilage (formerly of John Benet, previously of John Cowper), with 9 ac. of customary land (once of the said John); 8^s p.a. (and suit and heriot).
- 134 [blank] Powke junior: Croxtons hawgh (once of John Wrenne); 4^d p.a. (and suit).
- 135 Robert Dene: New corner shops (*pro novis shopis angular'*) in le Chyrchelane (once of Richard Waleys); 2^s 2^d p.a. (and suit).
- 136 Richard Godman: A plot of land with a garden called Kyppynges, on the E. side of his messuage, on which is built a barn; and 3 ac. of customary land lying in one block against Spythegge between Furdes land on the S. and land of John Hagmondesham (once Huntis) on the other side, and the W. head abuts on a headland (*capitorium*) of the said John Agmondesham; and the said plot and garden and 3 ac. were once of Simon Godman; 3^s 4^d p.a. (and suit).
- 137 [blank] More: A parcel of the said plot; 1^d p.a.
- 138 The tenant(s) of the customary land called Huntis tenement (once in the hands of John Powke, afterwards of Richard Waleys, by copy of court of 20 Henry VI [1441/2]); 13^s 4^d p.a. (and suit).
- ? The tenant(s) of the customary land called Webebelond (once held by Simon Wrenne and Maud his wife, as in court of 2 Henry VI [1423/4]); 20^d p.a.
- 139 A garden in le Marlyngpitte (once of Thomas George); 6^d p.a.
- 140 A parcel of pasture in Lytelbrede (once held by the said Thomas George); 6^d p.a.
- 141 Henry Norbrigge: A garden (once of Robert Tanner) opposite Lederhede church; 8^d p.a.
- 142 John Downe: 5 ac. of customary land in Tibbele and Whithull (once of John at Welle) in le Hole, 2^s p.a. (and suit).
- ? 2 ac. lying below le Kynges downe next to land of John at Welle on the N., a parcel of the demesne lands of this manor; 12^d p.a.
- Total: 75^s 3^d
- Total of rents of both free tenants and villeins: £9 19½^d, 1 lb. of pepper, 1 lb. of cumin.

CORRIGENDA TO PART I, No. 1

Since the publication of this text (Pachenesham Parva, rental c. 1300) a few errors have been noticed, and comparison with other local medieval records has enabled a number of doubtful readings to be confirmed and contractions in names to be expanded. The following amendments should now be made:

For per an read par an and for K.R.O. read S.R.O. throughout; p. 223 l. 4, *for rolls read roll is*; p. 225 ll. 37-8, *for one and a half acres of land lie read half an acre of land lies*; p. 226 l. 38, p. 227 l. 41, p. 228 l. 26, p. 229 l. 26, *for Plu'lye read Plumlye*; p. 227 l. 21, *for la read le*; p. 228 l. 21, p. 229 l. 21, *for Scut'ich' read Scuterich'*; p. 228 l. 24, p. 229 l. 25, *for Someslane [?] read Scuveslane*; p. 230 l. 4, *for A . . . s de M'coue [?] read clerks de Mertone*; p. 231 l. 4, *for A . . . s de M'cove (?) read the Clerks of Merton*; p. 230 l. 6, p. 231 l. 6, *for Joesnc read Joefne*; p. 230 ll. 9, 38, p. 231 ll. 9, 39, *for Fordonne read Fordoune*; p. 232 l. 4, p. 233 l. 5, *for Coldenne read Coldoune*.

It should perhaps have been pointed out that the interlineated insertions in this document each refer to the *following*, not to the preceding entry.

THE "RUNNING HORSE", LEATHERHEAD

By W. J. BLAIR

THE "Running Horse" is the best known of Leatherhead's old domestic buildings, and although this is mainly due to a tradition whose authenticity is doubtful, the structure is well worth attention for its own sake. Of the four or five late medieval open-hall houses remaining in the town it is certainly the finest in quality; and although not so profusely documented as 33/5 High Street, the Merton College property discussed in the last issue of the *Proceedings*,¹ it shares with it the distinction of being the only structural medieval relic of an important element in the parish—in this case the glebeland or "Rectory manor". The survival of even a few such houses provides information about the town in this period which no document could give.

The structure

The building (Pl. I) stands at the western edge of the town, on the north side of Bridge Street and immediately east of Leatherhead bridge. It consists of a short range fronting on the street with a jettied crosswing at its eastern end. No early structure is visible externally and the walls are covered with pebbledash and imitation framing, though the roof of the main range retains five courses of old Horsham slates.

The basic fabric, discounting adaptations and the flooring-in of the open hall, is of one build, and the original plan is fairly clear. The main range (between trusses A-A1 and C-C1) was the hall, narrow in frontage in relation to its depth and spanned by a large open truss. The crosswing presumably had either a parlour or service-rooms on the ground floor (all trace of partitions has gone); the two-bay solar above ran the full depth of the wing, spanned centrally by an arched truss (P-Q) which was later closed with rough studding to divide the space into two rooms.

It may be significant that whereas all other external walls retain their timber-framing, the south-west wall of the hall (truss A-A1) seems to consist entirely of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century brick, apart from a roughly central post visible on the first floor. A building of this quality might be expected to have an additional room at this end of the hall, and although no firmer evidence is available it seems at least quite likely, by analogy with 33/5 High Street,² that a south-western bay has been demolished, the partition wall being built up with brick. If so, this must have happened before 1783, when the Gwilt map shows the "Running Horse" with its present proportions.

The two open trusses were very similar in design, though different in scale. That of the solar (truss P-Q, Pl. IV), comprising an angled tiebeam with solid braces shaped to form a depressed four-centred arch, is the best preserved, though one brace and one post are missing. The braces of the hall truss (B-B1) have been entirely removed (presumably to permit access when the hall was floored over), but the mortices show that they too were solid. Both trusses were decorated with double hollow mouldings.

The roof over the hall is mainly inaccessible, but appears to be a late rebuild of poor quality. That of the crosswing, however, retains the collar purlin and crownposts of the original structure, having in its present state two axial braces, a straight gable to the street and a long hip at the rear. It is possible that the hip, in accordance with the general late medieval practice of the area, originally faced the street; re-cut mortices for the braces show that the whole roof has been dismantled, and it may have been reversed in the seventeenth century to display the more fashionable gable.³

The framing of the rear wall is partly visible internally, and that of the south-east and north-east elevations can to some extent be reconstructed from Mrs. Dallaway's etching of 1821 (Pl. II) and Brayley's woodcut of 1850 (Pl. III) respectively. The straight, narrow

wall-braces are rather unusual in a building of this date, but the only other abnormal feature is the jowled post at the north angle (post D). It appears that the two ranges were originally of almost uniform height, the ties of the hall being on a level with the wallplates of the crosswing, but as a result of settlement and distortion the hall now appears rather lower; the drawn elevation of the north-west wall shows the original relationship. The back wall of the solar (C-D) contained a small two-bar window, now partly blocked.

In the seventeenth century the hall was floored over. Most of this area on the lower storey, now spanned by a chamfered and stopped bridging-joint, continued to serve its original purpose, but at the south-west end a narrow bay was apparently partitioned off; this was perhaps a smoke- or chimney-bay later floored in, but it may have been merely a store or pantry. Some plain eighteenth-century panelling in the front room of the wing is the only other inserted feature worth noting.

The history of the tenement

The Gwilt survey of 1782/3 lists the "Running Horse" and its curtilage (plot 119) as a glebe freehold. Although none of the medieval records of the "Rectory manor" are extant, an indirect source shows that the tenement already belonged to it by 1414. In that year Merton College granted to John Cradler on a ninety-nine year building-lease the plot of land lying between the present "Running Horse" car-park and the River Mole, now crossed by Emlyn Way.⁴ This Thorncroft holding had been given to the College by Peter Dryu of Fetcham in 1289, when it is described as a "capital messuage built at the bridge in the vill of Ledderede",⁵ and its post-medieval name "Cradlers" (not to be confused with "Cradlers" in the High Street) derives from that of its fifteenth-century tenant. The 1414 lease describes it as lying between "land of Emelina Streme" (presumably the mud-bank bordering the river) on the west, and "land of the Rectory of Lederede"—clearly representing the "Running Horse" property—on the east.

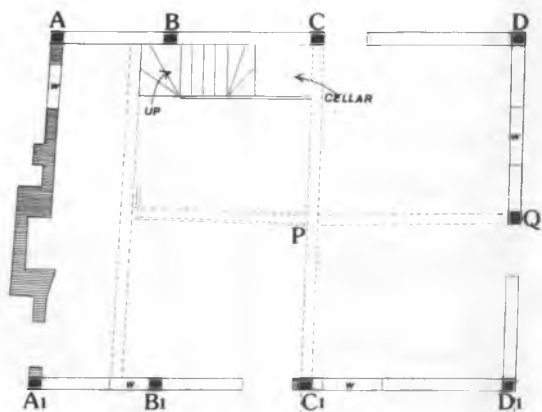
After this there is a long gap in the recorded history of the holding, during which the present house was presumably built by some prosperous tenant. In 1599, when the series of glebe-terriers begins, the Rectory held "two Little Tenements, One lying neare the Bridge foote"; subsequent tenants are listed as William Fish (1682), Mr. Hall (1708), Mr. Featherstone Hall (1712), and William Hale (1720, 1723 and 1730).⁶

However, the "Running Horse" is best known as the supposed dwelling of Eleanor Rummings, the subject of *The tuning of Eleanor Rummings*. This famous poem, written by Henry VIII's laureate John Skelton in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, satirises a local alewife:

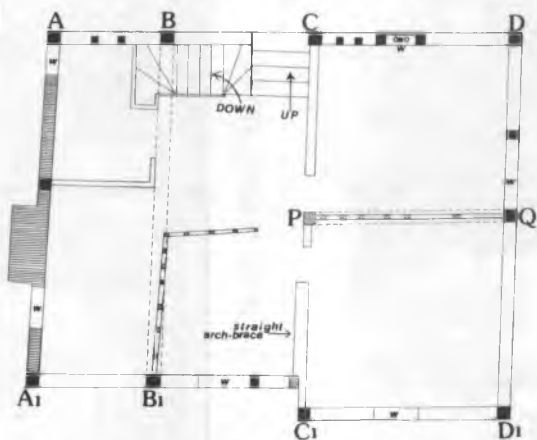
And this comely dame,
I understande, her name
Is Elynour Rummynge,
At home in her wonnyng;
And as men say,
She dwelt in Sothray
In a certayne stede
Bysyde Lederhede.

The Rummings were a long-established Leatherhead family, and there is no doubt, as Mr. John Harvey has shown, that Eleanor existed: in 1525 she was fined 2^d at the court of Pachenesham Magna for selling ale at excessive prices.⁷ The evidence for a long tradition associating her with the "Running Horse", however, is less satisfactory. She was apparently a figure of local folklore by 1673, when John Aubrey wrote of Leatherhead in his *Perambulation of Surrey* that "it was in this Towne, where *Elenor Rummings* lived and sold her good ale celebrated by *J. Skelton*",⁸ but nothing is said of any particular building. So far as I can discover, the "Running Horse" is first associated with Eleanor by Manning and Bray (1809),

THE RUNNING HORSE, LEATHERHEAD.

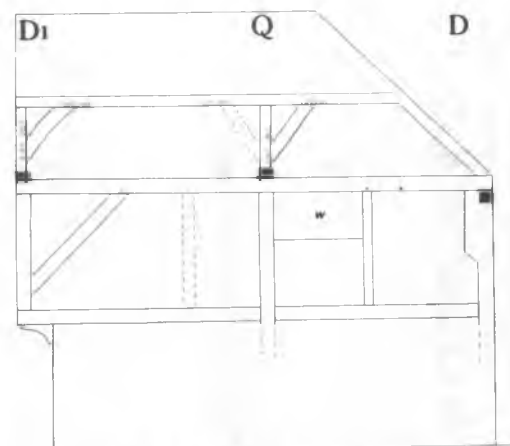


GROUND FLOOR

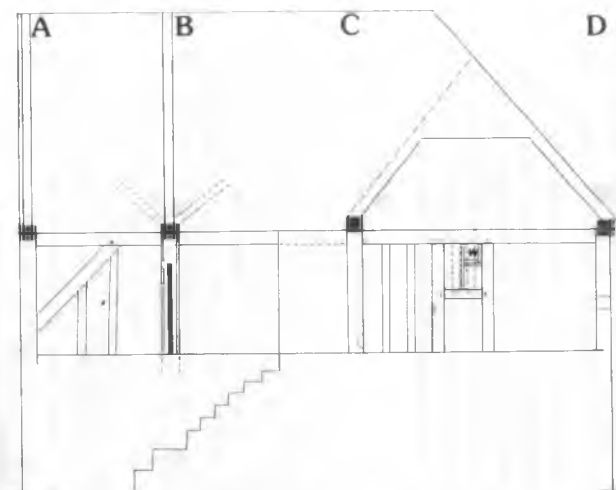


FIRST FLOOR

THE RUNNING HORSE, LEATHERHEAD.



NORTH-EAST WALL

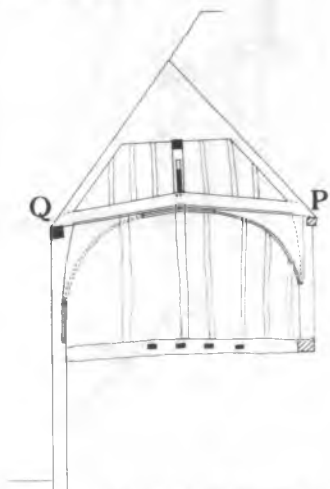


NORTH-WEST WALL (interior)

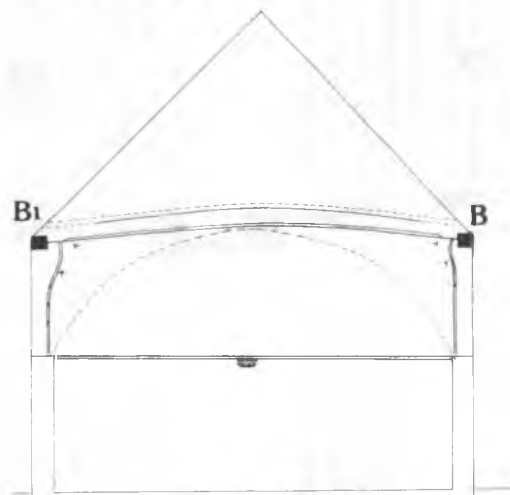


0 80 centimetres

MOULDING PROFILES



SOLAR TRUSS



HALL TRUSS

0 metres 4
0 feet 13

THE "RUNNING HORSE"



I. From the south: 1976



II. From the south: Harriet Dallaway's etching in *Etchings of views etc.*, 1821



III. From the east: Brayley, *History of Surrey*, IV, 1850



IV. The solar truss from the north: 1976

who write that "near the bridge is a small public house which has the appearance of having been that in which *Eleanor Rumming* sold the Ale celebrated by *Skelton* It belongs to the Impropriation".⁹ Twelve years later, James Dallaway comments in *Letheraeum* that the poem "is styled, '*The tunning of Elinour Rummyng*', whose domicile, near the bridge, still exists".¹⁰ Thenceforth the legend seems generally to have been taken on trust, but it looks suspiciously as though Dallaway was following Manning and Bray rather than recording a long-established local tradition. Charming though his book is, Dallaway was not the most careful or critical of historians, and he would certainly have been capable of thus transforming a conjecture into a categorical statement.

There therefore seems to be no firm evidence to associate the "Running Horse" with Eleanor Rumming, and although further material may yet emerge the identification seems inherently rather unlikely. The building certainly began life as a private dwelling of high quality, and probably did not become a public house until much later; it can scarcely have been more than fifty or sixty years old in Eleanor's day, and bears little resemblance to her squalid hostelry portrayed by Skelton.

Conclusion

The plan of the building is interesting to compare with that of 33/5 High Street. In both cases the hall is "compressed" to economise on frontage space and is flanked eastwards by a crosswing containing a two-bay jettied solar; in both cases, moreover, a further bay at the other end seems to have been originally built but later demolished. 66 Church Street, the only other reasonably complete medieval house in the town, seems from external appearance to be built on similar lines. These are not village dwellings, and the survival in Leatherhead of three such buildings, in contrast to the simpler single-range houses of the surrounding settlements, points to its distinct status as a small town in the fifteenth century. Its subsequent decline is reflected in the relatively less costly houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as also, perhaps, in the partial demolition of these two medieval houses which had presumably become too large for current needs.

At all events, the "Running Horse" was a fine dwelling in its day and is now one of the best small houses in the area. In a town with few buildings of high quality, its survival is especially fortunate.

Thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. K. Croucher for kindly allowing the building to be surveyed.

NOTES

1. W. J. Blair, "'Cradlers', Leatherhead", *Proceedings*, III, 9 (1975), pp. 298-312.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 300-3.
3. I am grateful to Miss Joan Harding for this suggestion.
4. Lease: Merton College Muniments 1914.
5. Mortgage and grant: Merton College Muniments 638, 640.
6. Glebe terriers 1599-1730: Kent Archives Office CCRC T213.
7. See J. H. Harvey in *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 October 1946, p. 521, and H. L. R. Edwards, *Skelton* (London, 1949), pp. 115-24.
8. Bodleian MS. Aubrey 4 f.53. The occurrence of Eleanor's name in a fragment of Aubrey's rough notes made on the spot (*ibid.* f.45d^r) may suggest that he heard some local tradition of her.
9. Manning and Bray, *History of Surrey*, II (1809), p. 664.
10. Harriet Dallaway, *Etchings of views in the vicarage of Letherhead* (London, 1821), p. 5.

THE DIXON FAMILY OF CHERKLEY COURT, LEATHERHEAD

By G. HAYWARD (assisted by Research Group)

PART II

JOE TAYLOR had called at Haworth on the 21st December 1849 with an invitation to Charlotte Brontë to spend Christmas with his cousins, the Dixons (these would be Abraham junior, George a younger brother, and Mary their unmarried sister). The two brothers were temporarily renting Hay Hall, Yardley, Birmingham, a fourteenth-century manor house enlarged in Tudor times. Mary Dixon, after her travels on the Continent, had at last settled down in Birmingham to keep house for her two bachelor brothers Abraham and George who were working their way up to become directors of export merchants Rabone Bros. and Company. Abraham's marriage took place on the 17th June 1847 and one of the witnesses was Mary Dixon. It is known that Mary Dixon called on Charlotte Brontë in Brussels on the 30th January 1843 and thus Mary's housekeeping duties must have begun sometime between late 1843 and June 1847.²³

The whole of the Dixon family including the Taylor branch were reuniting for Christmas 1849 and the wish to include Charlotte Brontë points to a renewal of relations between the friends who had not seen each other since 1843 in Brussels. Charlotte was suffering much from deaths in her family and having already been away from home for three weeks felt unable to respond to the invitation. Charlotte's brother Branwell had died in 1848, her sisters Emily and Ann died of consumption in 1848 and 1849 and Charlotte herself died in 1855.

Abraham Dixon junior had been the first to settle in Birmingham and at the age of fourteen (1829) obtained a position with Rabone Bros. and Company and was soon held in high regard by the principal, for family tradition records that "he was old man Rabone's blue-eyed boy".²⁴ The firm was founded in 1765, still exists as Rabone, Petersen and Company Ltd. at Birkdale Avenue, Heeley Road, Birmingham, and its present Chairman, Mr. R. N. Dixon, is of the same family, descended from George Dixon. The notepaper of the Company mentions that this is its third century of continuous export trading and the firm act as Birmingham Consulates for Bolivia, Ecuador and Costa Rica. A catalogue of the wares which Rabone's had to offer in the 1850's shows oil lamps, garden forks, cutlery and all the other commodities that helped Britain earn the title of "workshop of the world". George Dixon was particularly interested in the export of agricultural machinery.²⁴

There is a shortage of information about Abraham's early years in Birmingham from 1829 to the time of his marriage in 1847. Rabone, Petersen and Company say that their historical records are very meagre as the firm was "badly blitzed during the last war". It could be assumed that at age fourteen Abraham would be living with a member of the Company employing him, possibly Mr. Rabone, the principal (who lived at one time at Smethwick but later in a house called Belfield) or Thomas Lloyd, a partner. His brother George Dixon joined the same firm at age eighteen, this would be in 1838, and as he was made a partner in the firm six years later perhaps George and Abraham at this time felt affluent enough to rent Hay Hall.

Curiously, one of Abraham Dixon's daughters, Edith, wrote in 1938²⁵ that Abraham's early married life began at Chad Road (Chad Valley) but Abraham's four children are recorded as born as follows:—²⁶

Ada Mary Dixon, 25th May 1848, at Hay Hall, Yardley;
Letitia Margaret Dixon, 29th August 1849, at Hay Hall, Yardley;
Winifred Anna Dixon, 30th March 1851, at Hay Hall, Yardley;
Edith Dixon, 7th September 1852, at Birches Green, Erdington.

Perhaps Abraham Dixon obtained his employment through family influence for, although there is a difference in spelling between Rabone and Rathbone, he married Margaret Rathbone, a spinster of Eton Lodge, Childwall, Lancashire, daughter of Richard Rathbone, gentleman and first cousin of William Rathbone, the M.P.^{27 24} Edith Dixon records much interchanging of visits between the Rathbones of Liverpool and the Dixons of Birmingham. Abraham Dixon senior, having found his line of approach to the textile industry rather unrewarding, must have been influenced to settle his sons in other directions—Abraham and George in the export business, Thomas (1821–1865) and Joshua (1810–1885) in the engineering and cotton trades whilst William Taylor Dixon (1818–1884) became curate at Carlisle and later Vicar of Chilthorne Domer, Somerset. Of the daughters, Anna and Sarah died unmarried in 1836 and Mary likewise in 1897.

James Dixon²⁴ mentions that the Rathbones were Unitarian merchants from Liverpool and suggests that the Dixons and the Rathbones were interwoven in their business interests. George Dixon was certainly writing about politics to a member of the Rathbone family in 1867 and further research might be carried out through the Rathbone papers at Liverpool University.

Information about Hay Hall, presently occupied by the Reynolds Tube Company Ltd., can be gleaned from “Reynolds in Retrospect” by Eric C. Tyler (1949);²⁸ “Portrait of Birmingham” by Vivian Bird (Robert Hale, 1970), and “Medieval Yardley” by Victor Skipp (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1970).²⁹

This ancient manor house was acquired with the land in 1917 and Tyseley became the headquarters of the Reynolds Tube Company in 1920. The house itself is now used as offices. It was probably built between the years 1275 and 1300, most likely by Robert de la Hay, who is known to have been living here before the year 1327. Additions during the early Tudor period converted the house to an H-shaped design. A substantial Georgian addition was made around 1790. The centre of the house originally had a large open hall and the original roof trusses are still in position. A moat once surrounded the building.



HAY HALL, YARDLEY, BIRMINGHAM

By courtesy of Reynolds Tube Company Ltd.

The de la Hay family occupied Hay Hall until 1423 when Marion de la Hay married Thomas Est whose descendants occupied the house for nearly three hundred years. After the death of an Edward Est the Hall changed hands frequently and it was converted into two residences. There was a fire there in 1810 during its occupation by Dr. Gilby but thanks to prompt action the fire does not seem to have been too serious. Shortly after this Dr. Gilby let the house from time to time and in 1852 he sold the property to James Deykin. Abraham and George Dixon must have been the last tenants of Dr. Gilby. The Deykin Trust sold the property and land in 1917 to The Patent Butted Tube Company Limited for factory development.

Birches Green, Erdington, Abraham Dixon's next home, has also survived, is called The Rookery, and is situated in Rookery Park. During Abraham's residence there it must have been peacefully rural but now, a short distance away, there is the perpetual motion and noise over Spaghetti Junction.

Thanks to Edith, Abraham's youngest daughter, we have a good description of Birches Green and an intimate glimpse of the Dixon way of life. No apology is made for quoting freely from Edith's manuscript memories which she wrote at the age of eighty-five in 1938.²⁵

She said of her parents that they were just the parents she would have chosen if she had been consulted and "there were plenty of very kind and understanding relations who often came on to the scene".

"When my father was a young man, beginning to make his way in the world, he had to travel by coach between Leeds and Birmingham and on his way he used to notice a house on the left of the road going north, which took his fancy. He thought that he would like to buy it and ultimately he did."

The coachman had pointed out that Birches Green was remarkable for its plate glass windows. "It was an old house that had been added to an older farm building and the result of the alterations gave the front part of the interior an individuality seldom attained by any house that has been 'made' instead of 'growing'".

Edith takes us well back into the time of primitive lighting when she mentions the fear of seeing "spectres" during her nocturnal visits to unlighted upper rooms either with or without the aid of a "brass flat candlestick". "Comparative safety" for her was the lower staircase where a lamp hung from the centre of the ceiling.

We may judge that the house was of some antiquity for Edith tells of a shallow cupboard, in the back of which could be seen a keyhole. This was a concealed entrance to a long narrow space "said to reach right to the front of the house" and constructed in troublous times for use for the saying of mass, when priests risked their lives in the fulfilment of their duties.

Abraham made alterations at Birches Green such as conversion of the old dining room, with its crimson raised paper, into a drawing room with its west facing windows. The previous drawing room became a billiard room. The new dining room was to one side of the hall door. There was a long old-fashioned kitchen where Edith saw the bread baked in a brick oven. The yeast was used from home brewing, this latter operation being superintended by the coachman. A large storeroom gave out scents of dried figs, prunes and moist sugar. A roasting-jack was set before the fire in a "hastener", the jack being worked "by a little machine which was wound up like a clock and it ticked loudly". By the kitchen door was the staircase down to the cellar where the children sometimes accompanied their father when he went to superintend the bringing up of the port wine, sherry and claret. This was done by candlelight.

The house stood back from the road with a sunk fence and a gorse hedge on top of a brickwork wall. There was a solitary birch in the grounds, which contained a lawn, a quarter-acre field, a formal Italian garden on the west side with flower beds and a fountain. The Italian garden was surrounded on an upper level by grass and large beds of dahlias.

Further on, the ground became less formal and ended in the Long Walk which bordered the ten-acre meadow on the west and north and passed two arbours, then turning south through the kitchen garden. "Hot houses abounded at the upper end which produced exquisite peaches and nectarines." There was a steam engine which worked the pump to supply water for the garden, house and stables. Cart shed, rabbit house and duck pond complete the picture except for the drive which looped from the lane to the south front of the house.

Edith mentions her pony-riding lessons with William Swann, the coachman, and it is interesting to record that Swann evidently came with the family to Leatherhead because he was a minor beneficiary of Abraham Dixon's will.³⁰

There are many delightful touches to Edith's article which show that the Dixon family had a good sense of humour. Contact was maintained with all of Abraham's brothers and sisters and with the Stansfelds of Halifax, the Rathbones of Woodcote, Liverpool, these last two families being Unitarians.³¹

At dancing lessons at the Plough and Harrow Hotel in Edgbaston, Edith and her sisters met the three Arthur Chances, whose father belonged to the Plymouth Brethren. Children's parties were sometimes held at the Thomas Lloyds (a partner at Rabone's in 1864) at Sparkhill, the Sampson Lloyds at The Farm and the Chavasses at Wylde Green. Mr. Chavasse was a surgeon and father of Frank, who became Bishop of Liverpool and a prime mover of the building of the cathedral there. Visits were also made to Abraham's brother Joshua who lived at St. Michael's Mount on the shore of the Mersey and this is evidently where Mary Dixon settled after George and Abraham set up separate homes in Birmingham.³² Edith describes the eating of tomatoes here which she says were a novelty! On holiday at Link Tower Lodge, in Great Malvern, Edith's mother, during the night, showed the children the celebrated comet of 1858.

Abraham Dixon, as a magistrate with all the associated duties, sometimes had to visit a private lunatic asylum (a term now happily out of favour) near Sutton Park. He had to see each patient alone and one, who was allowed a certain amount of liberty, wished to show the whole of the house to Abraham. In Edith's words "they at last reached the roof, where they could stand and look round. Then the gentleman betrayed his mental weakness and said, 'now suppose you and I jump down. We should obtain great fame that way, for the account of our deed would be published in the Times tomorrow.' My father hastily replied: 'But I propose a way we should attain much greater fame, because it would be such a much more difficult and unusual thing to do. Let us go down to the front and then jump up to the roof.' The idea seemed good, and on the way down they met a keeper to whom my father left the honour of performing the deed."

There is much more about family life in the 1850s and 1860s in Edith's manuscript but space forbids too much digression.

George Dixon, who was born in July 1820 at Gomersal, Yorks, married Mary Stansfeld on the 11th September 1855. She was the daughter of James Stansfeld of Halifax, Yorks, a County Court Judge, whose brother was the Right Honorable James Stansfeld, M.P. for Halifax from 1859. Their home was at The Dales, Edgbaston, Birmingham, which was often visited by Abraham's family. Edith also refers to Willow Cottage, near The Dales, "where Aunt Mary lived". This was perhaps a residence to which Mary went after George Dixon's marriage or possibly after Joshua had moved from Liverpool to Exeter.

A thesis³⁴ entitled "The Parliamentary Career of George Dixon" by "Stansfeld" (James Dixon of Putney) has given us much useful information and possible leads to further research. The accent is, of course, on George's political career but Abraham is briefly described.

George was a Birmingham Liberal (he was President of the Birmingham Liberal Association in 1867) and later a Liberal Unionist member of Parliament. Until his early

youth he was a Non-Conformist and later called himself a layman of the Church of England but this did not stop him from helping the Non-Conformists when he felt it necessary. He may have been first a Unitarian because he married one and his son Charles attended Unitarian services. His brother the Reverend William Taylor Dixon christened all of George's six children and William Taylor Dixon's son, the Reverend Frederick Dixon of Carlisle, led the choir at George Dixon's funeral in January 1898.

James Dixon aptly describes George as a rich merchant and philanthropist. He was educated at Leeds Grammar School and then went to France for a year to learn the language. To help his business career he spent some time in Spain. He prospered in the business of Rabone Bros. and Company, becoming a partner in 1844 and eventually head.³³ Just after his marriage he spent three years in Australia, 1855-58, and he gives the impression of being a gifted salesman. Abraham's part in the business was probably that of U.K. management including legal affairs and some European contact.

George Dixon gave the first picture to the Art Gallery in Birmingham, he supported many churches and was a liberal donor to the fund for restoring the Free Library after a fire. He was Trustee of the working men's fund for the extension of Queen's Hospital, was one of the founders of the Birmingham Town Mission, was Governor of King Edward's foundation and Trustee of Mason College to the funds of which he gave most generously. Besides being a benefactor of Birmingham University he equipped entirely at his own expense the first "Seventh Standard" or technical school in Bridge Street and was interested in many other worthy causes.

"He would have loathed to have been described as a career politician—Parliament to him was both an honourable career to pursue, having established himself as a very successful business man, and a means by which he could help less fortunate people than himself to improve their own physical and spiritual well-being".²⁴

From childhood he had shown an interest in national politics, an interest inherited probably from his elder brother Joshua.³⁴ He was interested in the extension of the franchise and although wealthy himself he condemned wealth as a passport to the Commons.

George Dixon sat in the Council (Birmingham) from 1st February 1864 to the 14th February 1868. He did not hold the office of Alderman but was elected Mayor in November 1866 and resigned office the following July in order to stand for the Borough on the death of Mr. William Scholefield. Becoming M.P. for Birmingham in July 1867 he remained so until June 1876 and then was Member for the Edgbaston Division from the first election in 1885 until his death in 1898.

He was founder and President of the National Education League, popularly known as the Birmingham League, and took a leading part both in the popular agitation and the Parliamentary deliberation that preceded the great Education Act of 1870. As Chairman of the Birmingham School Board (established 1870) during a period of twenty years George took the chief part in the local development of the Board School system of education. He was made an Honorary Freeman of the Borough and signed the Roll of Honour in the presence of the Lord Mayor on the 15th January 1898 (he died nine days later).³⁵

At the time of the National Education League, George was probably the most popular man in Birmingham.³³ Although this League was formed in 1869 George had been President of the Birmingham Education Society which was created in March 1867 to foster the advancement of education in Birmingham and district. The achievements of this Society were considerable but it was soon felt that something on a national level was required. The effective working of the National Education League fell to Joseph Chamberlain as George Dixon was so taken up with Parliamentary duties.³⁶

George Dixon was one of the original promoters of the Rifle Volunteer Movement in Birmingham (about 1859) and was one of several who undertook to equip a certain number

of men at his own expense. He was not without courage for at the time of the Murphy Riots in Birmingham (a religious feud) he rode unprotected into the enraged crowd and read the Riot Act which prevented the battle reaching even more extreme proportions. Of his many facets must be mentioned his opening of a subscription in 1863 for the purchase of Aston Park after an accident there which provoked a strong letter from Queen Victoria's Private Secretary.²⁴

In 1885 George Dixon's wife died and Gladstone wrote a letter of sympathy. It was in this year that the Dixon Investment Company was formed specifically for the benefit of the children of George and Abraham.

George delivered a speech at the opening of the Letherhead Institute on Tuesday, February 14th 1893.²⁷ When he died on the 24th January 1898 at his residence, The Dales, he left estate valued at £184,766 which was mostly distributed equally between his six children—there was also £100,000 in the Dixon Investment Company.

At the funeral at St. Augustine's Church, Edgbaston, were many of his family and also Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Neville Chamberlain representing their father Joseph Chamberlain. George was buried at Witton Cemetery in the southern part in a plain earth grave surrounded by a thick hedge of holly.³⁸

A fitting epitaph to the life of George Dixon remains in the words of Joseph Chamberlain:

"In a time when the appreciation of the duties of citizenship was less fully recognised than it is at the present, Mr. Dixon was among the first to set an example of public spirit I do not think that he concerned himself greatly with the political or the sectarian side of the (educational) question. He did not want any gain for the party with which he was connected, or for the Church to which he belonged; but he thought it to be of the first importance to save the children from ignorance and he believed that if this were done, if they were educated, they would certainly become better citizens and better men and women . . . he now leaves behind him to his children, as a priceless legacy, the reputation of an English gentleman, honourable, simple-minded, straightforward and disinterested."

George Dixon, although younger, seems from the foregoing to have rather overshadowed Abraham, but the latter, being less in the limelight, should not be forgotten as a liberal subscriber to the funds of many of the charities in Birmingham.³⁹ As will be seen, Abraham was to have his turn after setting up home in Leatherhead in 1871.

NOTES

23. Most of the information in this paragraph is from Winifred Gerin's "Charlotte Brontë", Clarendon Press, 1967.
24. "The Parliamentary Career of George Dixon", by Stansfeld, written by James Dixon of Putney as a thesis at Oxford.
25. Article by Mrs. Edith de Jacobie du Vallon (formerly Dixon)—a copy of which is with the Society by kind permission of her descendant Mr. H. Grosvenor de Jacobie du Vallon.
26. Copies of the birth certificates are with the Society's records.
27. A copy of Abraham's marriage certificate is with the Society's records.
28. We are indebted to the firm Reynolds Tube Company Ltd. (of 531 tubing fame) not only for information about Hay Hall but also for some excellent photos of the manor house.
29. Mention must be made here of Miss Helen Berry, from the Handsworth Historical Society, who was tireless in her efforts to seek out information about the Dixons and who tried very hard to obtain a photo of the house known as Birches Green, Erdington, Birmingham.
30. Date of will 24th December 1902—extracts taken for the Society's records.
31. R. V. Holt, "The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England". 1938, p. 331.
32. The 1861 census of Liverpool shows a residence at Southwood Road, Toxteth Park as occupied by Joshua Dixon, aged 50, cotton merchant, born Hackney, London, and Mary Dixon, his sister, aged 48, no occupation, born Hackney, London.
33. "History of Birmingham", 1952, by Conrad Gill and Asa Briggs, Oxford University Press. In this book there is a picture of George Dixon facing page 388.

34. Letter dated June 13th 1831 written by Joshua Dixon to his younger brother Abraham from America—Dixon papers, Leeds City Museum.
35. History of the Corporation of Birmingham, Vol. III (1902), by C. A. Vince, M.A.
36. "Fit and Proper Persons"—Studies in Urban History 2, by E. P. Hennock, 1973 (Edward Arnold). This book mentions (p. 17) that Birmingham as an unincorporated town lay outside the scope of the Municipal Corporation Act—its government by Court Leet and Street Commission remained unchanged until 1838 when the first election for a council took place in December. On page 30 we learn that Abraham Dixon, of Rabone Bros., was not long in going on the Town Council—"a sign that the Town Council had become an acceptable forum for public work".
37. Leatherhead Parish Magazine.
38. "The Times", 29th January 1898.
39. Obituary of Mr. Abraham Dixon—*Birmingham Daily Post*, May 2nd 1907.

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

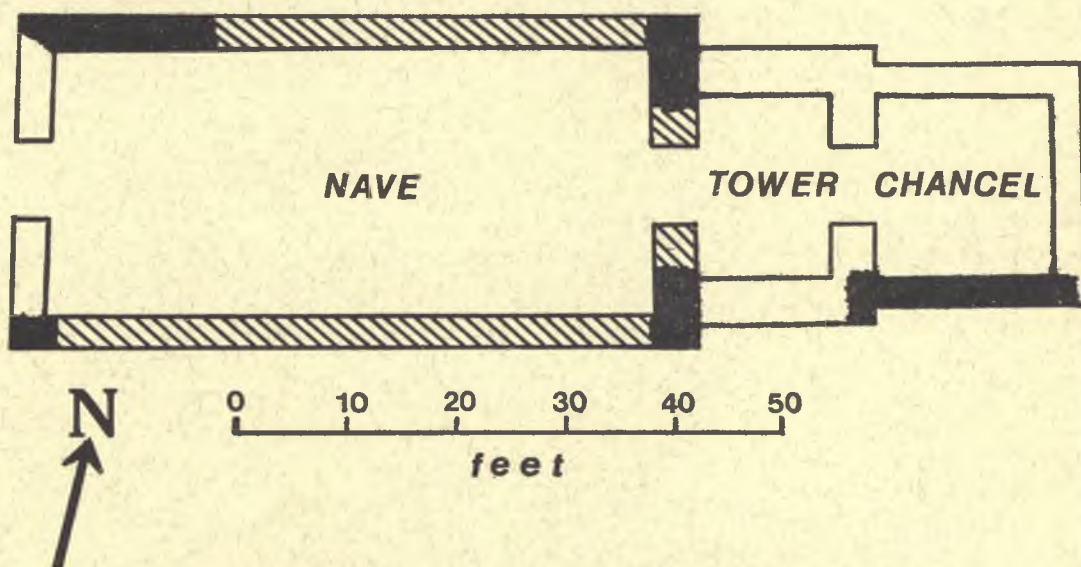
	<i>Previous Year 1974 £</i>	<i>Year under report 1975 £</i>
INCOME		
Subscriptions	319.75	332.15
Donations from Members	10.50	21.76
Grant from Surrey County Council	25.00	25.00
Grant from Mole Valley District Council	50.00	Nil
Lecture Fees donated by Members	13.05	21.70
Sale of Books and Leaflets, etc.	40.69	113.01
Profit on Visits and Functions	45.61	43.57
Interest from Trustee Savings Bank	1.72	Nil
Interest from Lloyds Bank Deposit Account	42.47	42.04
	<hr/> £548.79	<hr/> £599.23
EXPENDITURE		
Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> , etc.	278.00	514.18
Expenses of Administration of Society	40.46	80.88
General Disbursements:		
e.g. Purchase of Projector Screen, etc.	43.51	39.97
Subscriptions to:		
Surrey Record Society	2.00	2.00
British Council for Archaeology	4.50	Nil
Surrey Archaeological Society	2.00	5.00
Surrey Local History Council	Nil	2.10
Hire of Hall for Lectures	11.75	7.50
	<hr/> £382.22	<hr/> £651.63
Excess of Income over Expenditure	166.57	Nil
Excess of Expenditure over Income	Nil	52.40
Bank Balance at beginning of year	635.06	801.63
Bank Balance at end of year	<hr/> £801.63	<hr/> £749.23
Made up as follows:		
Lloyds Bank—Current A/c	233.56	139.12
Lloyds Bank—Deposit A/c	568.07	610.11
	<hr/> £801.63	<hr/> £749.23

I certify that the above Statement is in accordance with the Books and Records produced to me and is, in my opinion, correct.

A. H. KIRKBY,
Honorary Auditor.

J. R. BULL,
Honorary Treasurer.

5th January, 1976.



LEATHERHEAD PARISH CHURCH: THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY STRUCTURE

Conjectural reconstruction based (with amendments) on the interpretation of G. H. Smith. Structure standing from the ground to a substantial height is shown in solid black; original walls surviving above later arcades are shaded; and inferred elements now entirely demolished are shown in outline only. The length of standing wall at the west end of the north wall of the nave was removed in 1892, but appears on earlier plans.

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