RECORDS

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT

LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS VOL 5 No 5

1992

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SECRETARIAL NOTES

The following Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1992:

January 17th	Lecture: "Family History", by John Clark.
February 21st	Lecture: "Admiralty Semaphore Towers from London to Portsmouth", by Ernest Crossland.
March 20th	The 45th Annual General Meeting, followed by Lecture: "Leatherhead Then and Now", by Linda Heath.
March 29th	"Walk" on Ashtead/Leatherhead Commons, led by Ernest Crossland.
April 10th	Lecture: "The Wey Navigation Project", by Chris Howkins.
April 25th	Joint visit, with Leatherhead Literary Society, to Canterbury. Organised by David Ellis.
May 10th	Horse-drawn narrow-boat journey down the Wey Navigation Project. Led by Chris Howkins.
June 13th	Joint visit with LCA/CPS to Lichfield. Organised by Joan Kirby.
June 24th	"Walk" round Ripley, led by John Slatford, Chairman, Send & Ripley History Society.
July 25th	"Walk" round Bookham, led by Stephen Fortescue.
September 18th*	Lecture: "The Bells & The Bridge of Leatherhead", by Alan Smith (Bells) and Derek Renn.
October 2nd*	Lecture: "Ashtead, Past and Present", by Michael Gale.
October 16th*	Dallaway Lecture: "The Restoration of Hampton Court Palace", by Michael Fishlock.
November 20th	Lecture: "Joseph Payne", by Richard Aldrich.
December 18th	Christmas Miscellany: Members' contributions. Organised by Derek Renn.

*Mole Valley Festival events

Number 4 of Volume 5 of the Proceedings was issued during the year.

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Letherhead Institute, 20 March 1992

The Report of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1991 were adopted and approved. The elected Officers of the Society are shown below.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1992

President:	S. E. D. FORTESCUE
Past President:	J. G. W. LEWARNE
Vice-Presidents:	DR D. F. RENN, C.B.E., F.S.A.; L. A. SMITH, M.B.E.
Chairman:	LINDA HEATH
Secretary/Membership Secretary:	JOYCE FULLER
Treasurer:	C. V. M. LATHAM
Editor:	J. C. STUTTARD
Museum Curator:	T. W. EDWARDS
Museum Treasurer:	J. R. BULL
Sales Secretary:	H. J. DAVIES
Archaeology Secretary:	E. A. CROSSLAND, I.S.O.
Lecture Secretary:	N. H. WEST, M.B.E.
Librarian:	F. KIRBY
Record Secretary:	J. R. CLUBE, O.B.E.
Committee Members:	D. B. ELLIS; JANET GOLDSMITH; H. G. KNOWLES

Leatherhead and District Local History Society

PROCEEDINGS

Vol. 5, No. 5

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

LEATHERHEAD AT THE START OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1642

The Civil War between King and Parliament started 350 years ago on 22nd August 1642 when Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham. Two months before this, plans to control possible risings in Surrey took place at a meeting at The Mansion in Leatherhead, residence of the Lord Lieutenant, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. Further talks were held here only a few days before war broke out.† Although there were no major battles in Surrey during the war, troop movements and their billeting problems created tensions in Leatherhead as elsewhere in the county. Randalls Park on the outskirts of the town was the home of Thomas Sands, a member of the Long Parliament, and meetings were held here early in the war to consider how best to raise money for the Parliamentary cause.

J. C. STUTTARD

CENTENARY OF THE LEATHERHEAD INSTITUTE

The foundation stone of the Leatherhead‡ Institute was laid on 10th February 1892 by Letitia and Winifred Dixon, daughters of Abraham Dixon who lived at Cherkley Court. He had long felt that the town needed a building where social gatherings could take place for the education and pleasure of those living here. Owing to ill-health, Dixon could not himself attend the February ceremony but his hopes and aspirations for the Institute were read out by the Vicar, Canon Utterton. Dixon made it clear that he would 'defray the entire cost of the site and the building' and the Vicar spoke warmly of this munificent gift to the town. Work was soon started and the Institute was completed and in use by late October 1892. The official opening was on 14th February 1893.

J. C. STUTTARD

GEOFFREY GOLLIN, M.A., C.ENG.: AN APPRECIATION

Geoffrey Gollin, who died this summer, was an active and long serving member of the Society and had a profound historical knowledge of the district. He contributed many articles to the *Proceedings*, and in 1987 republished these in 'Bygone Ashtead', gathering together in one volume the gist of his research work on Ashtead. He was always glad to offer help and advice to anyone who called to see him and was most generous in allowing people to use his material. He will be sadly missed.

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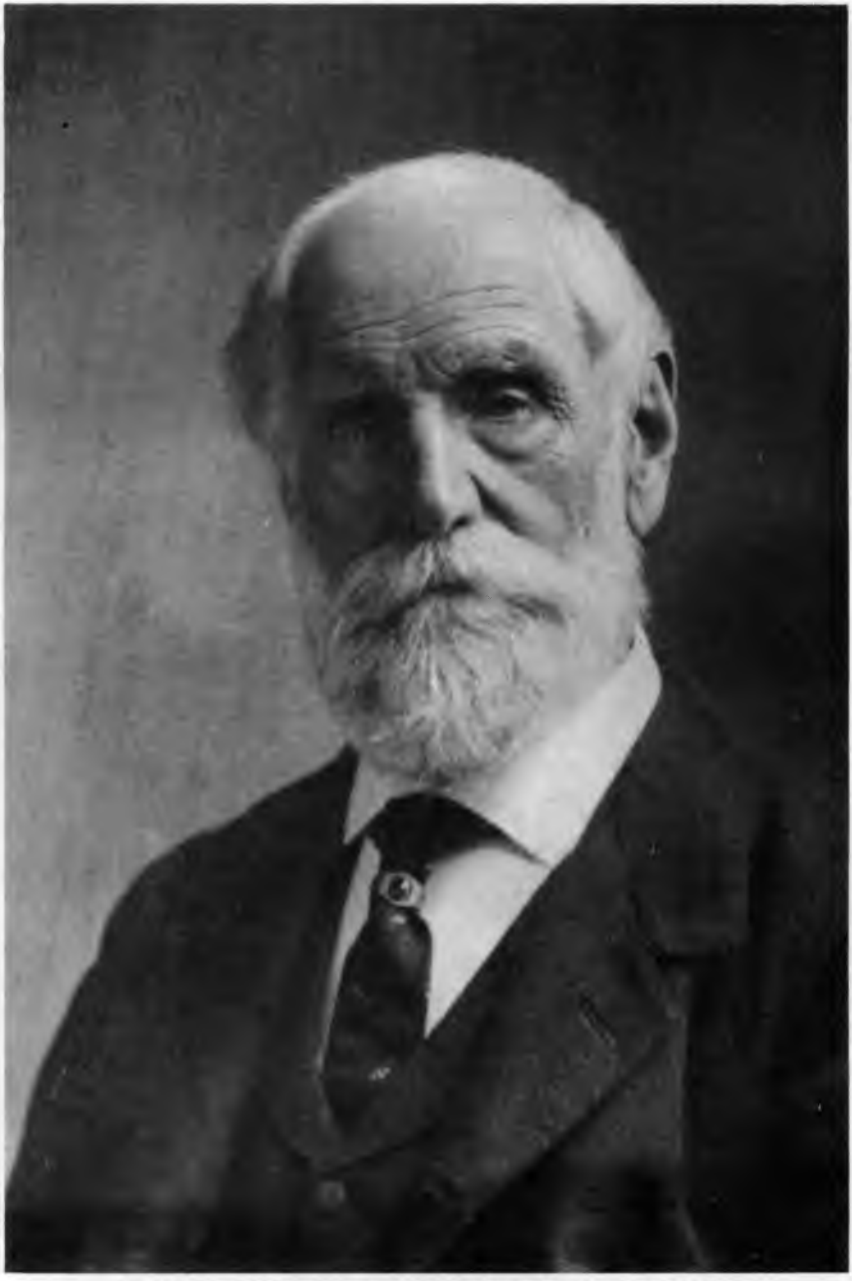
† Hist. Mss. Comm., 7th Report, p. 677b.

‡ Spelt 'Letherhead' on the entablature.



ABRAHAM DIXON (1815–1907), FOUNDER OF THE INSTITUTE
Courtesy of the Trustees of the Institute

DEATH ON A PALE HORSE
by J. H. Mortimer
Courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum

FORMER STAINED GLASS WINDOWS OF LEATHERHEAD PARISH CHURCH

By LINDA HEATH

ON 15th January 1992 a startling photograph appeared in *The Guardian* entitled 'Death on a Pale Horse', followed by the no less startling information that it was 'A stained glass panel from Leatherhead Parish Church (*c.* 1800)'. This panel, measuring about 14 in. by 12 in., was on display at the Victoria & Albert Museum in an exhibition on 'The Art of Death'. As there is no such window in the church, it seemed to merit investigation, in the course of which a tangled history of other stained glass windows was unravelled.

There are some surprising inaccuracies in what has been written about the former stained glass windows. Manning & Bray in their *History* published between 1804 and 1814 state that in the time of John Aubrey (late 17th century) there was a painting of St Peter with a book and two keys in the East window of the chancel, but that 'scarcely a fragment is now seen'. This is hardly surprising since Aubrey in his *History* referred not to the chancel window, but to the East window of the North transept. The St Peter stained glass window is not mentioned by later writers so it probably disappeared sometime during the early 19th century.

C. T. Cracklow, writing on Leatherhead church in his *Views of Surrey Churches* (1823), refers to the incumbent's presentation of some ancient stained glass for two of the windows. The incumbent at that time was the Rev. James Dallaway, Vicar here from 1804 to 1834, a noted scholar and antiquarian. Among the things which he collected were pieces of medieval glass which he placed in the chancel window. His book *Etchings of Views in the Vicarage of Letherhead* (1821) mentions this window and his liking for the effect of the warmth produced by the light coming through the rich colours of the stained glass onto the whitewashed walls of the church.

Brayley's *History* published in 1841 describes the chancel window as having 'a rich effect from being entirely filled with brilliantly stained glass, most of which was collected by Mr Dallaway at Rouen'. It goes on to say that Dallaway also gave the window in the South aisle, which included small paintings of 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor', 'St John in the Wilderness', 'Death on a Pale Horse' and the donor's arms.

A later edition of Brayley's work, published in 1873, uses the same description, but by then it was no longer true of the chancel window. A few years before this, someone described as 'a young ecclesiologist' referred to one of the windows in the South transept in a way which made it clear that the glass from the chancel had been moved to this window. As will be seen presently, this was correct. Although Brayley described the chancel window incorrectly in 1873 this was an understandable mistake, since it had been altered only a few years before this. A much less understandable error occurred many years later, in the 1930's, when the Leatherhead Chamber of Commerce issued a *Pictorial Guide to Leatherhead* which stated that the glass in the East window of the chancel was collected by the Rev. James Dallaway. As the chancel window by then was clearly inscribed as a memorial to Canon Utterton, Vicar here from 1876 to 1907, this was a truly astonishing faux pas.

Ancient Glass discovered in Church Loft

The Chamber of Commerce guidebook gave rise in August 1939 to a parish magazine article by the Vicar, the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge, in which he stated that a mystery had been solved and a discovery made. He had been puzzled by the guidebook's reference to ancient stained glass in the chancel window, until the chance discovery of some packing cases in the loft over the choir vestry, which on opening were found to contain fragments of medieval glass. Not only had the stained glass been forgotten over the years, but even the fact that there was a loft over the choir vestry! The fragments of glass in the boxes were indeed those which Dallaway had placed in the chancel, and an article in the parish magazine in June 1948 stated that the Dallaway glass 'was removed when the present window was installed in 1909', but this is not correct. In 1863 the Henderson family at Randalls Park installed a memorial window at the East end of the chancel, and at this point Dallaway's glass must have been moved to the South transept, which accounts for the 'ecclesiologist's' description of this window around 1866. But what happened to this glass later on? In 1881 both windows in the South transept were replaced by two memorial windows to the Vicar's father, Bishop Utterton, Archdeacon of Surrey and first Bishop Suffragan of the diocese of Guildford. So it must have been then that the Dallaway glass was packed away in crates and put up in the loft over the choir vestry and, as time went by, both glass and vestry loft were forgotten. However, when the glass was eventually discovered in 1939, the Vicar lost no time in summoning expert advice and invited E. A. Lane of the Victoria & Albert Museum to inspect it. In Lane's report, quoted in the August 1939 parish magazine article, he divided the glass into four categories:

1. Fragments of some excellent 15th century heads of saints and angels with some, including part of an inscription, of 14th century date.
2. Shattered remains of an 18th century window, apparently representing the Ascension. Two panels painted on single sheets of glass, about 1780–90, showed 'Death on a Pale Horse' and 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor'.
3. Panels representing saints, in good preservation, painted about 1840 or so.
4. Panels of clear glass leaded up with coloured discs, probably of early 19th century date.

Lane believed that only the first category glass was of any importance and doubted whether the Ascension fragments and the panels representing saints were worth preserving.

Death on a Pale Horse

Lane described the two panels 'Death on a Pale Horse' and 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor' as 'curious rather than beautiful' and suggested that they would be of interest to the Victoria & Albert Museum if the church did not want to keep them. The Vicar thought they were 'most gruesome and macabre and without any intrinsic value'.

This is perhaps a typical 20th century reaction to a grim reminder of the mortality of man and the uninhibited depiction of death and destruction. It is no longer fashionable either to preach about hell fire, or to paint scenes of hell and the damned with fire and brimstone. But one has only to look at some of the famous medieval stained glass windows to see that the portrayal of death and judgement played a vital part in the teaching of the church in earlier times. The representation of 'Death on a Pale Horse' that Coleridge and the parochial church council found

PART OF THE MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS WINDOW,
CLOSE TO THE NORTH PORCH OF THE PARISH CHURCH
Photograph by Alison Wright

so offensive was based on a painting by J. H. Mortimer in 1775 and is a splendid illustration of verse eight from the sixth chapter of the Revelation of St John the Divine:

> 'And I looked, and behold a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.'

The New English Bible translates the same passage thus:

> 'And there, as I looked, was another horse, sickly pale; and its rider's name was Death, and Hades came close behind. To him was given power over a quarter of the earth, with the right to kill by sword and by famine, by pestilence and wild beasts.'

This is less dramatic and vivid, but it explains why the horse was pale—that it was the sickly pallor of death.

An etching of this painting was made by Joseph Haynes in 1784 and it is on this etching that the glass panel in the church was based. There are slight differences between them—for instance, the skull in the etching has a cavernous jaw devoid of teeth, whereas in the glass panel the painter has added some teeth, presumably to heighten its gruesome appearance. Whether one likes it or not, there is no denying that it is an extremely dramatic picture.

Glass fragments reassembled

Although the Vicar did not like the two panels of 'Death on a Pale Horse' and 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor', he was keen to have the medieval fragments made up into a window and had estimates for this work to be done, but, because of the outbreak of war, this was shelved until 1944 when he mentioned the matter in his final article in the parish magazine before retiring because of ill health. Less than two years after leaving Leatherhead, Coleridge died in November 1945 and it was decided that the most suitable memorial would be to have the medieval glass pieces made up into medallions in a window near the North porch door. So the medieval glass collected by James Dallaway forms a memorial to the Vicar who rediscovered it. The rest of the glass was disposed of and 'Death on a Pale Horse' and 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor' were given to the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1946. Although the former was on view in an exhibition there in January 1992, 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor' is at present in a packing case awaiting shelf storage being built and it will not be possible to see this panel for at least another two years.

Rediscovery of Former East Window

Meanwhile, what of the chancel window placed there in 1863 by the Henderson family and removed in 1909 when the present one was installed? An article in the parish magazine that year stated that Henderson had kindly allowed that window to be removed so that the new one in memory of Canon Utterton could be put there. Where it had been removed was a mystery—it was not in the church, nor was it in pieces in the choir vestry loft! Its whereabouts remained unknown until April 1991 when the Vicar received a letter from Ann Arnold of St Mary's Church, Bishopstoke, near Southampton, who was doing some research into the history of the church. In the course of this, she came across a newspaper cutting from 1909 describing the consecration of their newly-built church tower. The article went on to say that two beautiful stained glass windows had been placed in the South side of the church, depicting a set of scenes from the life of Christ from His baptism to the Ascension and that these windows were a gift to the Rector from Leatherhead. The larger window is dated 1863 and is quite clearly the "missing" Henderson window. This explained where the window went, but not why it went there, nor where the second window had come from, though this one probably came from one of the smaller windows in the chancel.

These two windows went to Bishopstoke because the Rector there was the Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, who had been curate in Leatherhead from 1897 to 1905 with Canon Utterton. He would have known about the memorial window being installed in 1909 at Leatherhead and may well have written asking what they were planning to do with the Henderson window and he may well have known about the smaller window. However it came about, he duly received the windows which are still there.

So of the former windows still in existence, the Henderson one from the East end of the chancel and another one, probably from the chancel, are now in St Mary's Church, Bishopstoke: 'Death on a Pale Horse' and 'Saul visiting the Witch of Endor' are in the Victoria & Albert Museum; and only the pieces of medieval glass collected by Dallaway still remain in the church.

JOSEPH PAYNE AND THE MANSION GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1845–63

By RICHARD ALDRICH†

Origins

LATE in 1844 Joseph Payne, who had spent some 16 years as a teacher in London, first at Rodney House Academy in the New Kent Road, and then at the Denmark Hill Grammar School in Camberwell, decided to establish a new school at The Mansion in Church St, Leatherhead.

Payne had been born at Bury St Edmunds on 2nd March 1808. His parents were not wealthy and details of his early life are obscure. The young Joseph had a rudimentary education, but from an early age earned his living by teaching, and writing for the press. He also continued his own studies, particularly in Classics and English literature, a concern for self-education probably prompted by a short spell of schooling under a 'really competent teacher' called Freeman.[1]

Though Payne had no formal educational qualifications, by 1844 he had a considerable reputation in the educational world. He was well known as the author of a pamphlet, published in 1830, on the work of the French educator Jean Joseph Jacotot (1770–1840). Jacotot's emphasis was upon the importance of the will in education. Payne was also the compiler of one of the most successful of 19th century textbooks, *Select Poetry for Children.* The first of many editions appeared in 1839.

It is not entirely clear why Joseph Payne decided to move from Camberwell to Leatherhead but four possible factors may be identified. The first was that he was a junior partner in the Denmark Hill School. At The Mansion he was to be sole proprietor. The second was his growing family. The third was that his wife Eliza, herself a distinguished teacher, had family connections with the area, for example her stepmother, Mary Jackson, had lived in Dorking before her marriage. The fourth was that in 1844 the ownership of one of Leatherhead's finest houses, The Mansion, passed to Nathaniel Bland of Randalls Park who was looking for a tenant.[2]

In December 1844 and January 1845 Payne placed substantial advertisements on the front page of the then local paper, the *Sussex Agricultural Express.* The school was to open on 29th January 1845. Prospectuses could be obtained from Mr Thompson, Chemist, Leatherhead, from Messrs Dyer, 24 Paternoster Row, London, or from Payne himself, who in December was still living at Grove Hill House in Camberwell. These announced that fees would be from 40 to 60 guineas per year, inclusive of minor extras, and that there would be a preparatory department for boys aged nine and under, under the direct superintendence of Mrs Payne.

† Dr Aldrich is President of the U.K. History of Education Society and Chairman of the Dept. of History, Humanities & Philosophy at the University of London Institute of Education.

As the founder of a new school Joseph Payne had no educational qualifications to offer. He never obtained a university degree, nor did he undergo a formal course of teacher training. His advertisements, therefore, relied upon:[3] "appealing to an experience of twenty years in the work of education seconded by the careful study of the best authors on the subject, and an earnest zeal and respect for his profession . . ."

The curriculum would be broad, and the moral tone secure. Payne assured parents that he "advocates no exclusive system, but aims to adopt the most valuable features of all, combining with the solid instruction of the Old Grammar School a liberal infusion of sound mathematical and scientific knowledge . . . . To moral discipline he attaches great value, and will endeavour by all the arrangements of the family, as well as of the school, to cultivate a high tone of principle and feeling among his pupils."

Whatever misgivings the Paynes might have felt about their new venture (when they arrived in Leatherhead they already had two young sons and a daughter, and Eliza was pregnant with William who was to be born on 4th March 1845) by common consent The Mansion Grammar School was a great success. In his obituary of Payne, Charles Mason, who was Payne's successor as headmaster of the Denmark Hill Grammar School, declared of the Leatherhead period that 'Here he laboured with great energy and success for about eighteen years, his school taking rank as one of the very first private schools in this country'.[4] Pupils from the school were successful in external examinations, and in 1865 Payne was invited to give evidence to the Taunton Commission. Its report in 21 volumes provides a wealth of evidence about mid-19th century schooling. Indeed these volumes have been called 'the most complete sociological information pertaining to education ever assembled in this country'.[5] The evidence which Payne presented on 14th June 1865[6] is by far the most important single source about the school, although in places it must be viewed with caution as possibly painting an over-complimentary picture.

Staff and Pupils

The Census of 1851 is another useful source. It shows that in March of that year there were at The Mansion, in addition to the Payne family, one governess, three assistant masters, 51 pupils (all boys), and eight servants.

Of the three assistant masters, Joseph Wilson, aged 38, who taught Mathematics, was born in Donegal but graduated from the University of Glasgow.[7] A second Irishman was Wyndham Armstrong, aged 27, born in Limerick, and educated at Dungannon School and Trinity College, Dublin.[8] Armstrong taught Classics as did Robert Ibbs, aged 23, a non-graduate who came from Kimbolton in Huntingdon. On Payne's retirement in 1863 Wilson and Ibbs became joint proprietors of the school. In the 1871 Census Ibbs, who by then had a wife, five daughters and a son, was listed as head of the household, and the bachelor Wilson as his partner. Wilson left Leatherhead in 1874 and in the following year moved to south London as master at the Blackheath School for the sons of Missionaries. He retired in 1880 and died on 1st March 1902.[9] In his evidence to Taunton, Payne said that he paid his staff £150, £110, £90 and £80 per annum, exclusive of board and lodging, and although it is possible that the first three sums applied to Wilson, Armstrong and Ibbs, respectively, this must remain a conjecture.

Of the 51 pupils listed in 1851, there was one aged 16, nine of 15, eight of 14, ten of 13, twelve of 12, seven of 11, two of 10 and two of 9. It is possible that there were in addition some day boys who would not have been recorded by the Census enumerators. In his evidence to Taunton,

Payne said that the school was divided into three sections. Boys came to the junior department at age eight or nine. Those in the next grade, aged 11 to 15, paid 60 guineas, and those who entered after 15, 70 guineas per annum. Although Payne stated that some boys stayed till age 18, and it is possible that in 1851 the relative newness of the school meant that there was a preponderance of younger boys, at none of the three Censuses, 1851, 1861 or 1871, was any pupil recorded above the age of 16. In 1871, 46 resident pupils were listed; their ages ranged from eight to 16. In 1872, a notice about the school, printed in the well-known handbook, *Our Schools and Colleges,*[10] indicated that it catered for 65 pupils, nearly all boarders, between the ages of eight and 17, with fees of 40 to 60 guineas per year. The same publication showed the Denmark Hill Grammar School charging an identical range of fees for its 50 or so boarders, but with a further 50 day pupils also in attendance.

The Census of 1861 was doubtless taken during the Easter vacation, as indicated by the presence of the Paynes' two elder sons, John, then a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Joseph Frank, who was at Magdalen College, Oxford, as well as their daughter Mary Eliza and youngest son William. No resident masters were recorded, and only a dozen pupils, although there were 11 servants. Two other family members present were Eliza's 12 year old nephew Samuel Dyer, who might well have been a pupil at the school, and a cousin, also Eliza, who had been born on 25th July 1815 in far-off Semarang in Java, the daughter of intrepid Baptist missionary parents, Thomas and Eliza Trowt.[11]

The pupils who attended The Mansion Grammar School must have come from fairly wealthy families, from what Lord Taunton referred to as 'the upper division of the middle class'.[12] School fees of some 50 guineas per year or more would have been beyond the reach of the vast majority of the population of Victorian England, indeed many teachers in private and elementary schools at that time would have been grateful for a salary of that size. Though there were some sons of shopkeepers, Payne himself categorized the fathers as 'merchants, professional men and private gentlemen'.[13] Sons of Anglican and Protestant Dissenters were admitted, but there were neither Roman Catholics nor Jews. Daily religious education was based directly upon the Bible; no catechism or other doctrinal formulary was employed.

School Life

Lessons were timetabled for 42 hours per week. Of this total, Payne reported to the Taunton Commission that Classics occupied 43%, Mathematics 30%, French and German 14%, History and Geography 10%, Spelling 2%, and Reading 1%, but such precise calculations must be viewed with caution. There is no doubt that the curriculum varied considerably according to the age and interests of the boys. For example, although all pupils took Latin and French, Greek and German were optional. Payne himself had a long-standing interest in science, and the school had a chemistry laboratory which could cater for seven or eight pupils at a time. A visiting teacher from London was engaged to give practical chemistry classes in the evenings, for which parents paid an extra fee. These classes were only open to older pupils. No extra charge was made for the more orthodox and bookish science teaching which was required for pupils preparing for the matriculation examinations of the University of London. Payne's flexibility in curriculum matters was shown by the fact that he even allowed some boys, sons of gentlemen and farmers, to give up Latin and to devote more time to science with particular reference to its agricultural application.

Although the sporting ethos which invaded, and at times overwhelmed, boys' public schools in the middle and later years of the 19th century was not so prevalent in private establishments, some provision for games must have been made at The Mansion. Certainly there was a playground and Payne, whose evidence to the Taunton Commission included the judgment that 'generally speaking, boys who work well also play well, though the converse is by no means necessarily true', declared his pupils to have been 'capital cricketers'.[14]

Whilst the private schools could rarely compete with the great public schools in terms of size and reputation, they could offer a more domestic and kindly environment. Although the youngest boys slept in a dormitory which could take up to eleven, a nurse slept close by. The largest room for older boys held a maximum of eight pupils. There were several double rooms, a useful facility since many pairs of brothers attended the school, while some boys even had separate rooms.

Payne did not believe in corporal punishment. Although in the early years of the school it was used occasionally, subsequently he dispensed with it altogether. Payne's means of securing discipline was by moral and personal influence, and he informed Lord Taunton that 'I found in the end that I did very much more by a word or a look in that way than I had done by using corporal punishment'.[15] This reliance upon moral rather than physical persuasion made Payne rather wary of accepting boys from public schools who had become accustomed to a less civilized regime. On one occasion such a pupil lasted barely a quarter of an hour at The Mansion before Payne expelled him for his use of foul language in the playground. Payne's considered views upon corporal punishment were expressed in a lecture given on 20th February 1861 at the College of Preceptors in London, and published in the *Educational Times* of March of that year. On that occasion he advised his audience that he had 'long since given up the notion of beating boys into a love of learning'.[16]

The middle years of the 19th century saw the founding and proliferation of examination systems for schools. Efficiency in secondary schools could be measured by pupil performance in the examinations of the College of Preceptors and the 'Local' examinations of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Though Payne did not restrict his pupils to the Oxford examinations, this was his main target, and one in which his pupils competed with a considerable degree of success. The Mansion Grammar School stood ninth in the national league table of Oxford passes in the years 1858 to 1861.[17]

Final Years

One cannot be certain as to why Payne left The Mansion in 1863, but several possible reasons may be adduced. His life at Leatherhead was one of unremitting toil. He rose daily at six o'clock, and frequently worked until the early hours of the next morning. Though not a wealthy man, he had by teaching and writing secured a modest financial independence. After some 40 years of classroom work there were other educational goals to fulfil.

The early years of his retirement were spent principally in foreign travel, in recharging his formidable intellectual batteries, in publications, and in pursuing a variety of long-held and cherished educational interests.

The Paynes moved back to London, and took a house in Kildare Gardens, Bayswater. The first edition of another best seller, *Studies in English Prose,* appeared in 1868. There was a spate of pamphlets and articles in learned journals. Payne served as a member of

the Council of the Social Science Association, as chairman of the Council of the Philological Society, and as chairman of the Women's Education Union. But, above all, Joseph Payne had the freedom to build upon his earlier work as a founding member of the College of Preceptors. This association of teachers, begun in 1846 and granted a Royal Charter in 1849, provided the context for much of Payne's educational career. He had long been its chief examiner in the theory and practice of education. Now in the 1860s he became a Vice President, and in 1873 achieved his greatest distinction as its first Professor of Education, the first such appointment in England.

As for The Mansion Grammar School, though for a while after Payne's retirement it continued under Ibbs and Wilson, it eventually went the way of most 19th century private schools and closed some time between 1874 and 1879, probably in 1878.

One of the great characteristics of Joseph Payne was his love of books. In a codicil to his will he gave his friend, the Revd R. H. Quick, first choice of 50 volumes on education from his collection. The remainder of his 'educational books and books relating to education' were bequeathed to the College of Preceptors for their library. Though Payne, who died on 30 April 1876, would no doubt have regretted the demise of the school he had founded, and the fact that the rooms, corridors and staircases of The Mansion no longer echoed to the sounds of schoolboy voices and feet, he would, one suspects, have thoroughly approved of the main use to which the building is now put.

NOTES

1. *Educational Times*, June 1876, p. 57.
2. The Mansion, which still stands, is well known and its history has been related by F. B. Benger in the Society's *Proceedings*, 1 (7), 1953, pp. 7–12. Since 1950 it has been in the ownership of the Surrey County Council and currently is the seat of several local services including the Leatherhead Library. For the background to private education in Leatherhead at this time see Linda Heath, *'Of Good Report': the story of the Leatherhead Schools*, 1986, Ch. XIII. There is a photograph and brief account of the school, pp. 93–4.
3. *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 25 January 1845.
4. *Educational Times*, June, 1876, p. 57.
5. B. Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780–1870*, 1974, p. 320.
6. Parliamentary Papers, 1867–8 xxviii, *Report of the Royal Commissioners on Schools not comprised within Her Majesty's two recent Commissions on Popular Education and Public Schools*, iv, pp. 663–74. (Hereafter cited as *Taunton*.)
7. W. I. Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858*, 1913, p. 417.
8. G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir, *A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin, 1593–1860*, 1935, p. 21.
9. Addison, *loc. cit.*
10. F. S. de Carteret-Bisson, *Our Schools and Colleges*, 1872, p. 254.
11. Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford, *Baptist Missionary Archives*, SEA 1, Thomas Trowt to his parents, 25 July 1815.
12. *Taunton*, p. 664.
13. *Taunton*, p. 666.
14. *Taunton*, p. 673.
15. *Taunton*, p. 671.
16. *Educational Times*, March, 1861, p. 53.
17. *Educational Times*, October, 1861, p. 152.

PRE-RAPHAELITE LINKS WITH LEATHERHEAD AND OTHER PARTS OF SURREY

By EDWINA VARDEY

IN the mid 19th century, Leatherhead and other parts of Surrey had close links with the Pre-Raphaelite Movement which began when seven young men met at 83 Gower Street in London in 1848. They were ambitious and naive enough to think that through their semi-secret society they could change the course of English art. As students at the Royal Academy, still working from the precepts of its founder, Sir Joshua Reynolds (who they disrespectfully nicknamed 'Sir Sloshua Reynolds'), they thought Art had become moribund. Seeking to rejuvenate it, they turned to literature and religion for their subjects and, above all, to nature for their inspiration following the diktats of the young critic, John Ruskin. Led by painters Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt and Thomas Woolner, a sculptor and poet, they founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which grew out of the Cyclography Society, a sketching club based on mutual criticism of each other's work. Although their styles and ideas were vastly different, they were all very skilled, stimulated by each other's company—friends in a brotherhood who proudly signed their work 'PRB'. Later some became more closely related. Millais married Ruskin's ex-wife Effie and Woolner and Holman Hunt became brothers-in-law by marrying into the Waugh family of London and Leatherhead.

Thomas Woolner had abandoned sculpture for two years when, in 1852, he went gold prospecting in Australia. (This prompted Ford Madox Brown, teacher and friend of Rossetti, to paint the now-famous 'The Last of England', using his own family as models.) Unsuccessful, Woolner returned to find his fellow Pre-Raphaelites well established and, with their help, he began sculpting politicians and poets. Thus, he struck up a friendship with the Poet Laureate's wife, Mrs Tennyson, and in a letter dated 1859 we first hear of the eight beautiful piano-playing daughters of Dr George Waugh.

George Waugh, although not medically qualified, assumed the title of 'Doctor' and with a legacy set himself up as a pharmacist. He was an assiduous social climber and reached his peak by becoming druggist to Queen Victoria, and fashionable London flocked to him for potions. As his fortune grew, he acquired blocks of property in and around Regent Street, changing his status from 'chymist' to 'gentleman' on his daughters' marriage certificates.[1] He had a large house in Queensborough Terrace, Kensington and a villa in Leatherhead. In spite of much research, the site of the latter cannot be traced.

For two years, Thomas Woolner courted Fanny Waugh but was rejected. By now, he was acceptable as a family friend so he continued visiting the Waughs in Leatherhead, often bringing with him his friend, William Holman Hunt. In 1864 Woolner married Fanny's sister Alice and in 1865 Holman Hunt married Fanny. Dr Waugh took to his bed convinced he would never see his favourite Fanny again when, true to the principles of the Movement, Holman Hunt and his bride left for the Holy Land seeking authentic backgrounds for biblical subjects. Dr Waugh was right. When they reached Marseilles, cholera had broken out and no ships were permitted to leave port. The couple went overland through the Alps, planning to reach Egypt via Italy. Again the ports were shut, so they settled temporarily in Florence and rented a studio. Fanny was seven months' pregnant. She gave birth to a son, Cyril Benone ('a child of distress and sorrow') in 1866 and died of puerperal fever six weeks

later. Thomas Woolner hastened to Italy to help his brother-in-law, and the Spencer Stanhopes, who eventually lived in Cobham, engaged a Tuscan foster mother for the baby. When he was eleven months old and ailing, Holman Hunt returned to England so that the child could be cared for by the Waugh family.

In 1875 Holman Hunt married Edith Waugh, Fanny's youngest sister, in Neuchâtel in order to circumvent the marriage laws at that time in this country. Dr Waugh was once again very much against the marriage; indeed his wife blamed his subsequent death on Holman Hunt, Woolner joining the family in their condemnation.[2] However, Edith was a loyal and loving wife who survived Holman Hunt by 20 years. She kept his memory and ideals alive and was a flamboyant and memorable 'Grand' to her grand-daughter who chronicled her marvellous idiosyncrasies. Holman Hunt dedicated his book *'Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood'*, the best documented memoir of the Movement, to Edith in 1905. She called this her 'Passport to Heaven'. But the thought that both Holman Hunt and Fanny would be there to greet her, she found rather disturbing.[3]

In this book there is a minimal sketch of the three Waugh sisters (the original is untraced) but there are tantalisingly few portraits of the Waugh family. Holman Hunt painted 'Isabella and the pot of Basil' using drawings of Fanny as a memorial to her after her death (Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) and there are drawings of her by him in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and another in Toledo, Ohio. She is drawn wearing the cameo brooch designed by Holman Hunt and eventually given to Edith. It was recently exhibited at Wartski's, the London jewellers. The 'Portrait of a Lady' by Holman Hunt is said to be of Mrs Waugh while the 'The Birthday' depicts Edith's 21st birthday.

Evelyn Waugh, writer and great-great-grandson of George Waugh's brother, James Hay Waugh, was immensely proud of his tenuous connection with the Pre-Raphaelites. He and his brother Alec actually commissioned a coat of arms for the Waugh family.[4] In his very first book *'Rossetti, his life and works'* published in 1928, Evelyn Waugh claims that Holman Hunt was the only true Pre-Raphaelite since he pursued the principles of his adolescence throughout his long life. Indeed, this can only be admired. Holman Hunt sought only authentic backgrounds to complete the symbolic realism of his pictures, corrupted neither by materialism or fame. Rossetti's brother William in his journal remarked that he 'liked Holman Hunt for his integrity but Woolner for his brilliant talk'.

Holman Hunt often visited his maternal uncle and aunt, Mr and Mrs Hobman, who lived at Rectory Farm, Ewell. This was adjacent to the old church (demolished in 1848 and now the site of the new church of St Mary) and Millais joined him there during the ministry of its vicar Sir George Glyn, who had commissioned a painting of the church. While there, Holman Hunt painted the landscape of his 'Hireling Shepherd' in Ewell meadows, north of Ewell Court Farm while Millais used the river running through the Lempriere family land at Ewell for his 'Ophelia'. Ophelia herself was painted in later in a studio bath warmed from below by candles!

While working on his most famous picture 'The Light of the World', Holman Hunt had a sentry box of hurdles constructed in an orchard in Worcester Park Farm and there from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. with his feet tucked into a sack of straw, he worked for over a month capturing the light of the moon. He used Ockham Park, near Ripley, as a background for his 'King of Hearts' and Wimbledon Park for his 'Haunted House'. As the Brotherhood

enlarged, Hampton Court, Cobham Woods, Loseley Park and Kew were among the many places in Surrey used as backgrounds for their paintings and it is no wonder that most suffered from rheumatism all their working lives.[5]

The Brotherhood spread and diversified when, in 1857, Rossetti formed yet another group of seven, joined by Burne-Jones and William Morris whose Arts and Crafts base moved to Merton Abbey in 1881. However, with Rossetti's death in 1882, the creative phase of the Pre-Raphaelites virtually ended.[6] Woolner lived on until 1892, the father of two sons and four daughters; respected as a sculptor of medallions of Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning and Wordsworth as well as many public monuments. Millais died in 1895, the first artist to be made a baronet. Holman Hunt forsook painting in 1899 due to failing eyesight and wrote about the Movement. He was awarded the Order of Merit and died in 1910.

NOTES

1. M. Stannard, *Evelyn Waugh: The Early Years* (1986) p.14
2. Diana Holman Hunt, *My Grandfather Holman Hunt, his loves and wives* (1987)
3. Diana Holman Hunt, *My Grandmothers and I* (1987).
4. Auberon Waugh, *Will it do* (1991)
5. Judith Bronkhurst, 'Fruits of a Connoisseur's Friendship: Sir Thomas Fairbairn and William Holman Hunt' *Burlington Magazine* (1983) pp. 586–97
6. Sir Alan Bowness, Director of Tate Gallery, 1980–88, responsible in 1984 for the comprehensive exhibition 'The Pre-Raphaelites'.

WILLIAM COTTON AND THE PRIORY, LEATHERHEAD

By MAURICE EXWOOD

THE large house on Gimcrack Hill, Leatherhead, now known as The Priory, was built round a small timber-framed cottage described as a tenement called Link House. In 1750, this was sold with 30 acres by the heirs of Edward Hudson, yeoman, to Henry Gore of The Mansion (now the Leatherhead Library) 'owner of considerable estates'. Gore's grand-daughter and her husband, Philip Champion de Crespigny, sold it in 1818 to William Brydon, a London merchant, from whom William Cotton bought it in 1823. Cotton was a scholar and antiquarian, born in 1794 in the City of London into a well-to-do family that soon moved to the then fashionable Clapham where he grew up. After buying the Leatherhead property, Cotton greatly enlarged it, adding a library and other rooms 'in a style of architecture resembling the monastic'.[1] He and his newly-married wife settled here in 1824[2] and lived in style in the substantial house until 1839 when they moved to Devon, the county of his mother's ancient family of Savery, to where his married sister had recently moved. In Devon, he continued his studies of West Country antiquities and genealogy. On leaving Leatherhead, Cotton let The Priory.[3] In 1852, when living in Ivybridge, Devon, he endowed the chapel there with his freehold Leatherhead property to enable a parsonage to be built for a curate.[4] Cotton died in Plymouth in 1863.

The Priory's Structure and Character

The timber-framed cottage bought by William Cotton in 1823 still survives as part of The Priory. A recent survey by the Domestic Buildings Research Group (Surrey) considers

it to be 17th century. Two of its walls remain as outside walls. During recent refurbishment the pebble dash on the east side was removed, exposing the timber framing of the upper part, under-built by brickwork where original framing and cillplate had been replaced. This work has again been covered in pebble dash. Removal of pebble dash on the south elevation exposed mathematical tiles above the underbuilt brickwork, from a height of 1.80m. to 3.30m., that is, the upper part of the timber framing to wall plate level (later the height was increased under a new roof). In the centre of this wall a bay was later added, leaving the mathematical tiles where the bay wings butt onto the main structure.

Mathematical tiles are surprisingly rare in Leatherhead, whilst there are or were many examples in Dorking, Epsom, Ewell and elsewhere in Surrey. Until the recent find only one minor example was known in Leatherhead. They were used for various reasons in the late 18th and early 19th century as an alternative to bricks and for weatherproofing. They may have been used on Link House *c.* 1800 in an attempt to update the cottage, just as they were used on Cannon Court, Fetcham at the time. Those on Link House were of the conventional pattern in red, and may have been made in Ewell.[5]

William Cotton's reconstruction and additions transformed the modest cottage into a substantial gentleman's house. His most prestigious addition was a library, 30ft by 25ft, with a groined (coffered) ceiling said to be a copy of the presence chamber at Hampton Court. His architect was Edward Cresy, whom he had befriended abroad.[6] Two etchings and a sepia and wash drawing are known, which show the house in Cotton's day.[7]

Later additions were made to the main house, and a Victorian house was added to the east side, linked to the old one.

The Cottonian Collection[8]

William Cotton's aim in improving The Priory was not only to form a family home, but also to house his collection of books, paintings, drawings and other art treasures which he had inherited. This Collection had been started in the 17th century by Robert Townson (1640–1707) whose father, a successful London merchant, established himself at 3, Laurence Pountney Lane and who by family influence managed to get a post at the Customs House[9] for his son, Robert, as Chief Clerk of the Certificates Inwards, not well paid but a prestigious post, which introduced him to useful importers of art. Robert's son, William, (1682–1740), in 1707 inherited his father's Collection and his post at the Customs. This William, who had no children of his own, and his sisters seem to have adopted the son of family friends, Charles Rogers (1711–84), who later joined Townson at the Customs. The two shared a love of the arts and collecting. When Townson died, Charles Rogers inherited his Collection, now much enlarged, and later the rest of his estate, including the City house. Rogers achieved the Chief Clerk post at the Customs in 1747, now better paid; he had many useful contacts in the art world, including Reynolds, Walpole, Cipriani, Romney and Angelica Kauffmann, helping him to enlarge his Collection. At his death, this included some 2,000 master drawings, 19,000 prints and 4,000 books. Rogers' knowledge of the arts was recognized by his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Society. He did not marry, and left his estate, including a house in Richmond, to his sister and her husband William Cotton I (1731–91). Their son, William II, F.S.A. (1755–1816), father of the Leatherhead Cotton, inherited Rogers' Customs post and, on his father's death the Collection and City house, which he sold in 1796 when he bought a substantial house and 6½ acres in Balham Hill, Clapham, then a fashionable area for successful Londoners. He added pavilions to

WILLIAM COTTON
by S. P. Denning
Courtesy of The Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery

either side, which housed some of the Collection. The considerable outlay, £7,500, and lack of space, may have forced him to sell part of the Collection by auction in 1799 and 1801.[10] But there was plenty left to inherit in 1816 by his son, William (III 1794–1863) who moved into his Leatherhead house eight years later.

While living in Leatherhead, William Cotton in 1836 produced a catalogue of his Collection, printing only 25 copies, as gifts for his friends.[1] This fascinating document includes:

1. A drawing of The Priory Library and the two etchings referred to on p.141.
2. A preface, signed 'W.C., Letherhead, June 15th 1836' which includes a summary of what was sold in 1799.
3. An introductory chapter, headed *The Priory*, which includes the historical details referred to above.

4. A letter, addressed 'To N.C. Secretary of the Antiq. Society of London' Signed J.D., dated 1824.
5. The Catalogue itself, detailing what is to be seen in the various rooms of The Priory, with sub-headings for medals, framed prints, cartoons, miniatures, engravings and books, in eight classes; in all covering nearly 200 pages.

The Collection included English, Dutch and Italian oil paintings; about 100 master drawings, some by famous names like Rembrandt, Holbein, Leonardo da Vinci and Rubens; about 2,000 books, including a 15th century illuminated Book of Hours; several thousand of the finest prints made in England, Italy, France and Germany; and many high quality sculptures.

In 1839, Cotton moved with his Collection from Leatherhead to Ivybridge, Devon. Before leaving, he and his wife organized a grand bazaar in the grounds of The Priory to raise money for the building of National Schools in Leatherhead. They collected £4,000, one-quarter of this from the sale of a poem 'The River Mole' by Mary Drinkwater-Bethune, the annotations to which are by Cotton (whose bookplate is printed at the end); most of the illustations are by M.A. Scobell, daughter of Mrs Cotton's cousin, with others by Cotton and his brother, John.

While in Devon, William Cotton studied the life and work of Sir Joshua Reynolds[11], who was born in Plympton St. Maurice near Ivybridge, and he decided to donate his Collection to that town as a memorial to Reynolds. Plympton could not accept the financial responsibility involved and the larger towns of Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse were unwilling to help if the Collection was housed at Plympton so nothing came of this, though Cotton was given the freedom of the borough. In 1850, however, an arrangement was completed with the Plymouth 'Public' Library, which agreed to add a special room to their premises to house the Collection. The room was officially opened in 1853. After the death of his wife in 1861, Cotton moved to Plymouth where he died in 1863.[12]

Since the Plymouth 'Public' Library was in fact a private subscription library not usually open to the public, agitation for better public access led to provision being included in the Plymouth Corporation Act of 1915 to enable the Collection to be moved to the City Museum & Art Gallery, where it was opened to the public in 1918. Most of the treasures were removed to safety before the Plymouth blitz in 1941, when the Public Library was destroyed. The Museum & Art Gallery only suffered minor damage, and there the Collection remains, a proud possession of the City of Plymouth.

How The Priory got its name

In his Catalogue (1836), Cotton wrote that the monastic style used in the enlarged cottage 'induced the late Rev. James Dallaway . . . (my learned friend and neighbour) to change its designation to that of The Priory. To him I am indebted for the ingenious and satisfactory account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola which follows'. After further approval of 'the propriety of restoring its ancient appellation' Cotton then prints a letter 'To N.C. Secretary of the Antiq. Society of London' dated 1824, signed J.D. (he reprinted it in 1837).[13] This letter reports the discovery of a Bishop Tanner Ms, tracing the Priory of Ripa Mola back to 1263 and giving bits of its history up to the Dissolution, each supported by references to Charter, Close, Patent Rolls and other ancient sources. The inclusion of such delightful names as the manor of Squabbledown, Philip Fisticuffe and Peter Puddencake, as well as

reports of Bishop Edington's judgement 'after solemn hearing' that the Vicar was only entitled to the gudgeon he could hook up from the River Mole and not to any other fish, or to dole bread and cheese, but only to the parings thereof, arouses suspicion as to the letter's authority. The N.C. to whom the letter was addressed was meant to indicate Nicholas Carlisle, who became Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries in 1831. The Society has no record of it having been received but no proof it was not: the present librarian says that recording at the time was incomplete.

Brayley in his *History* (1841) refers to the letter in a footnote[14] as a 'humorous jeu d'esprit,—substantiated by correct references to Ms and other records, which had a place only in his own notes'; and Benger in 1963 throws doubt on the letter's authority, adding that H.E. Malden (editor of the Surrey V.C.H.) wrote of it 'James Dallaway . . . did not write the jeu d'esprit upon the alleged Cistercian Priory de Ripa Molae, Signed J.D. . . . Relations of his have told me he was incapable of any joke'.[15] Benger, in 1965, refers to the letter again calling it an enigma and doubts whether an antiquary of Dallaway's standing would have perpetrated it even in jest. He raises the possibility that Cotton was poking gentle fun at Dallaway's enthusiasm. In 1975, Francis Steer comments on the letter saying 'one simply cannot believe that Dallaway was guilty of a childish fraud; his name may have been used after his death to give an air of respectability to a piece of writing which is stupid and in the worst possible taste'[16] (Dallaway died in 1834, ten years after the date of the letter, before Cotton's first printing of it).

What is said above about Bishop Edington's judgement (reported to be in 1454, but Benger points out that Edington died in 1366!) should make it obvious that the letter is a leg-pull, even without checking the learned 'correct' references. In fact, all the references are phoney: in some cases the documents do not exist, others refer to quite different matters.[17] Suspicion as to the author of the letter may be aroused that it did not appear in print until two years after Dallaway's death. It is therefore most significant that a fair copy of the letter is bound into Cotton's *Reminiscences:* this version on five double pages, with watermark 1825, is dated, as the printed version, 1824[18]; these pages show clear signs that at one time they were bound elsewhere. Cotton says of the letter: 'Having once expressed my inclination to give the name The Priory to a modern building, without authority or any vestiges of its monastic origins, my neighbour the Vicar sent me the following ingenious letter relating to his discovery of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola, and the Link House went by the name The Priory for ever after'. Nowhere does Cotton indicate what he thought of the story, beyond declaring it 'ingenious'. The possibility that Cotton was so naive as to believe it can be ruled out; he was an intelligent, educated researcher and writer.

The author has come to the following conclusions about the 1824 letter printed in Cotton's Catalogue:

1. Dallaway wrote the letter as a bit of fun to please his new neighbour, but he never did, nor intended to, send it to Nicholas Carlisle at the Society of Antiquaries, nor to print it.
2. Cotton was immensely proud of the clever subterfuge which gave his house status. Soon after receiving the letter he had a calligraphist copy it and 12 years later, when he was going into print for his Catalogue, he decided to include it there. Cotton never found it necessary to explain the bit of fun: readers could work it out for themselves, as he had to do.

3. In spite of what Malden said, Dallaway had a nice sense of humour; he and Cotton can be assumed to have had a lot of fun together.

NOTES

1. The historical notes on the house are mainly from William Cotton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Pictures, Books and Prints etc (1836)* and Brayley's *History* (1841)
2. Cotton and his wife bought furniture for their newly acquired house at the Fontwell sale in 1823. See G. Hamilton-Edwards, *The Leisured Connoisseur* (1954), pp. 175, 176
3. The first tenants were Mr & Mrs Buller (Hamilton-Edwards, p. 202); Brayley's *History* (1841) V. p. 437 says the tenant was a Mrs Bond.
4. Hamilton-Edwards, op. cit. p. 223.
5. For an introduction to mathematical tiles in Surrey see *Surrey History*, vol 2,5, pp 199–210 (1983/4). None in Leatherhead, but a later update (ibid, vol 3, 2, 1985/6, pp. 76–77) refers to a small area on The Cottage, 53, Church St. Those on Cannon Court, Fetcham are reported by the author in *Procs L.D. L.H.S.*, 4(9), 1985, pp. 255–9.
6. Hamilton-Edwards, op. cit, p. 175. Cotton and his architect may have been influenced by the style of Wyatt's 'Nonsuch Mansion' (1806) and 'Ewell Castle' by Kitchen, Wyatt's pupil (1814), both in Ewell.
7. The etchings are reproduced in Cotton's *Catalogue;* one of these is also in Brayley's *History*, V, p. 436 (note 3). A sepia and wash drawing of the house is in Cotton's *Certain Reminiscences of my life* (1860), now in the Bodleian Library; this is reproduced in Hamilton-Edwards (op. cit).
8. Historical notes on the Collection are taken from F.A. Stanbury *The Story of the Cottonian Collection*, Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery, 1992, the cover of which has a copy of a water-colour, artist unknown, showing Cotton and his wife in the Library at Leatherhead. Cotton's *Reminiscences*, Hamilton-Edwards, the D.N.B. (Charles Rogers) and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, pp. 55–61, have also been used.
9. The Customs House was on the river-side near Billingsgate; a later version is still there.
10. The 1799 sale was on 21 separate days (March/April), when 12,000 prints and 1,800 master drawings were sold; in 1801, 3,000 books were sold (B.L. 58G26).
11. Cotton added some Reynolds items to the Collection and wrote three works on him in 1856, 1857 and 1859.
12. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1863, p. 520 (Cotton's obituary).
13. *Some Account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola*, S. Bentley, 1837. B.L. 10350 f. 7. It has Cotton's coat of arms at the end.
14. The later edition by Walford (1878–81) leaves out the footnote.
15. F. B. Benger, 'James Dallaway', *Proc. L.D.L.H.S.*, 2 (7), 1963, pp. 214–19; *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 252–6. He refers to a letter by Malden to the Rev. T. H. Hobson, Vicar of Leatherhead.
16. *Etchings of Views in the Vicarage of Leatherhead* (1975 ed.), introduced by F. W. Steer.
17. E.g. Leland's 'Collectanea' has no page 24 in Vol. II; and Close Rolls (Rot. Claus) 15 Edw. III, No. 3 in dorso, has no entry for 1342, except for one dealing with wool and wine imports etc.
18. The biography in *Reminiscences* is written on quite different paper, 35 years later. The letter is not in Cotton's handwriting.

Acknowledgements

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ASHTEAD'S MISSING RIVER AND WILLMORE POND

By J. R. CLUBE

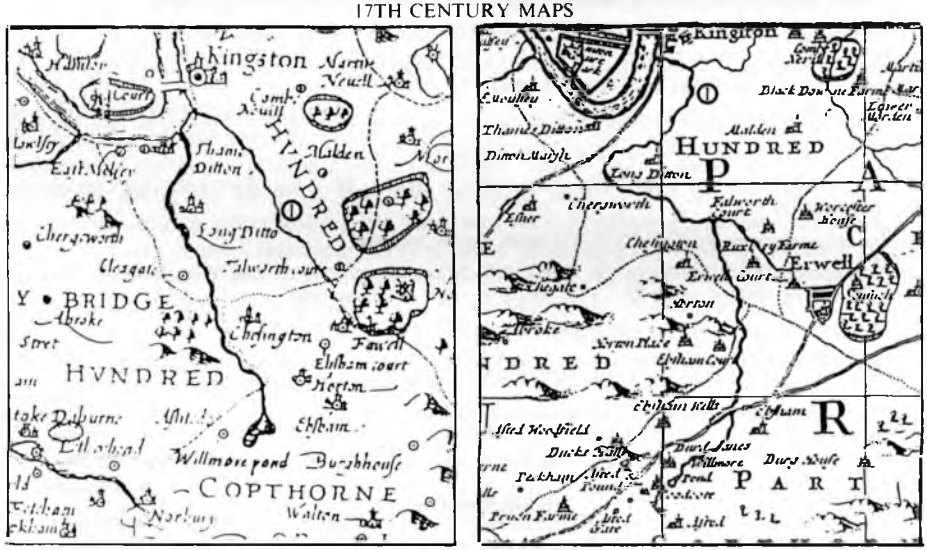
MAPS of Surrey in the 17th century show two rivers flowing into the Thames west of Kingston-upon-Thames. The larger and easternmost of the two is the Hogsmill, which is depicted as rising near Ewell and which can be seen today near County Hall, Kingston. The second river is shown as rising in the Ashtead/Woodcote area and, following a serpentine course, flows north to the Thames at Ditton two or three miles upstream from the Hogsmill. This is shown on 17th century maps as flowing from a large lake, possibly two adjoining ponds, designated as 'Willmore Pond'. It does not appear on maps after 1660 or so. Did the river really exist and where exactly was Willmore Pond?

Contemporary maps show three phases in a changing situation:

1. 1594–1660, when the 'missing' river is shown and Willmore Pond is named.
2. 1660–1750, when the pond is shown but the water takes quite a different course, flowing to the Hogsmill.
3. After 1750, when there is no sign of water flowing from the pond and, when it is shown, the pond is not named.

There are seven maps showing the first phase, of which Speed (1611) is a good example;[1] eight maps are available for the second phase, Lea (1690) being one of the best;[2] and many maps cover the third phase, including Rocque (*c.* 1768), Bryant (1823), which is particularly clear, and the early editions of the Ordnance Survey.[3]

17TH CENTURY MAPS



BEFORE 1660 (SPEED, 1611)
Water flows north from Willmore Pond to Thames Ditton

Hogsmill ⓘ

AFTER 1660 (LEA, 1690)
Water flows northeast to join the Hogsmill near Kingston

The Speed map, despite its small scale and lack of detail, shows the river running north from a point east of Ashtead, west of Horton, west of Chessington, east of Claygate, west of Long Ditton, to the Thames at Thames Ditton. In the second phase the water flows in a markedly different direction—northeast to Epsom and thence to the Hogsmill.

There is strong evidence that Willmore Pond lay where two ponds are to be found today near the entrance to the RAC Club at Woodcote Park, map ref TQ201591. Old maps show the location as Woodcote; furthermore Wilmerhatch Lane alongside Woodcote Park has a similarity of name. 'Wilmer Hatch' is shown in R. White's *Ancient Epsom* (1928) as being just inside the Epsom boundary. The 'Hatch' or gate would be at the entrance to Epsom on leaving Ashtead. These two ponds are 100 m apart, separated by Wilmerhatch Lane itself. Their age has not been established but they seem to fit the map details. The larger pond, which may have been artificially made, is behind the barn at the entrance to the Club, and is marked on recent maps as "Fish Pond". The second pond is known as 'Baron's Pond', the name deriving from Baron de Teissier who acquired Woodcote Park at the end of the 18th century. It was clearly part of the estate at that time. In Gordon Home's book of 1901 *Epsom—its history and surroundings*, 'Baron's Pond' is described as a 'fair-sized piece of water . . . . surrounded by bushes and sedgy ground . . . where the sunsets on the water are often of the loveliest . . .'. Today it is very much surrounded by trees and undergrowth and the scene is far from idyllic.

Both of these ponds are above the 80 m contour and Wilmerhatch Lane forms a watershed between them. Water from the park pond would flow north-east to what is today the area of Epsom Hospital. There is no sign of that stream now. Water from Baron's Pond would flow north, east of Epsom Wells, to the pond at Stamford Green. That stream exists today but is not generally visible.

Although Baron's Pond appears to be an isolated lake in an area of scrub, it is in fact one of the headwaters of the Hogsmill river.[4] The flow is largely concealed in drains and culverts: it goes underground at Woodcote Side, under the A24, to the pond at Stamford Green, thence in open cut between back gardens until reaching Upper Court Road. From there it goes underground in a pipeline to Hook Road, where it reappears in open cut eventually to join the Hogsmill River beyond Green Lanes, West Ewell. It is officially known as Hogsmill Tributary No. 5. (No. 3 Tributary flows from the Stewpond on Epsom Common under West Park Hospital; and No. 4 under Long Grove Hospital. A branch of No. 3 rises near Rushett Crossroads.)

If we can be confident about the location of Willmore Pond, a possible course of the 'missing' river is more difficult to find. Apart from the Hogsmill the only running water in the area today is the Rye Brook which flows from Park Farm near Ashtead House to the foot of the hill at Epsom Wells. At first sight the direction of the Rye from Ashtead House suggests that the Rye could have been the beginning of the missing river. There is, however, a serious objection to this, for the ground to the north of Ashtead rises in a gentle slope, sufficient to cause this westward route of the Rye. In fact the O.S. map of 1816 shows the Rye as starting at the Wells. This means that the Ashtead House stream joins the Rye as a tributary and explains the phenomenon of a river seemingly turning through 90 degrees.

The hill on which the Wells estate is built is steep and water drains northwards from it, as well as west to the Rye. This northern water flows towards West Park where it is channelled under the hospital to join the Hogsmill as tributary No. 3. From here it flows to Chessington also as part of the same tributary. Although water from Epsom Wells would have reached the area indicated on earlier maps, water from the Rye could not have joined it.

The problem of verifying the apparent route between Epsom Common and Thames Ditton which the river might have taken prior to 1660 is made difficult by the lack of reliable maps of the period. The first O.S. map available is that of 1816. Apart from the instance mentioned above of the Rye rising at the Wells, it shows the routes of the Hogsmill tributaries very much as they are today. There is no sign of any water near Chessington flowing direct to Thames Ditton. This was 200 years after the Speed map, but the topography can hardly have changed. Contours on O.S. maps show that, in general terms, a route such as shown in Speed might be feasible in that there is a fall from the Horton area at 55 m to Ditton at 10 m, but that is the most which can be said.

The other point on which one can try to verify the first phase map is the outfall of the river at Thames Ditton. This would seem to be at the place where, curiously enough, the river Rythe joins the Thames today. This small river rises in Esher Common and at Jessup's Well, Oxshott. It is tempting to link the Rythe with the Rye, but there is no evidence to support this in the map of 1816 or current maps, and the similarity can be no more than coincidence.

It is difficult to believe that all the maps of the first phase were inaccurate, but their scale was small and they were very imprecise. But the change in course after 1660 or thereabouts is so marked that either something significant happened, or the true situation came to light. Perhaps this had something to do with the development of Epsom Wells about that time. It might then have been realized that water flowed to the Hogsmill and the Rye but not directly north to Ditton.

In the ensuing years the courses of water from Willmore Pond were shown to have changed, until, by the early 1800s, there was no sign of a river flowing from it. It would seem therefore, that the 'missing river' never really existed in the form portrayed in the early maps. What is in fact missing is the stretch of the Hogsmill from Baron's Pond to Ewell—it is of course there, but you cannot see it. If it is disappointing not to find the 'lost' river, at least we can say that Baron's Pond today is the Willmore Pond of the past.

NOTES

1. Phase 1 maps—Norden, 1594; Camden Norden, 1607/37; Speed, 1611; Blaeu, 1645; Jansson, 1646; William Smith, 1670; and Ogilby and Morgan, 1683.
2. Phase 2 maps—Seller, 1680; Lea, 1690; Morden, 1695; Covens and Mortier, 1700; Price, 1712, a transitional map; "Aubrey", 1719; Moll, 1724; Badeslade and Toms, 1741.
3. Phase 3 maps—Senex, 1729; Bowen's Large English Atlas, 1749; Rocque c. 1768; Andrews and Drury, 1774; Cary, 1785; Lindley and Crossley, 1793; Greenwood, 1823; Bryant, 1823; and others, including the early editions of the Ordnance Survey.
4. D. F. Rattenbury.

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SERVING PLATE REASSEMBLED BY DAVID HEATH FROM PIECES FOUND IN THE WELL IN THE GARDEN OF LEATHERHEAD MUSEUM. THE PLATE DATES FROM ABOUT 1920
Photograph by Alison Wright

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