LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



VOL. 2 No. 3
1959

SECRETARIAL NOTES

DURING 1959 the total membership of the Society rose by 25 and stood at 173, with one junior member, on September 30th. Many enquiries continue to be received, as well as requests for information about the history of the district.

The following fixtures were arranged for the year 1958/59:—

1958

December 6th Miss Gollancz, M.A., the County Archivist, on the County records.

1959 February 18th

Mrs. M. A. Cotton, O.B.E., F.S.A., on "Iron Age Hill forts in S.E. England". Mr. W. H. E. Rivett, F.C.S., F.L.S., on geology and early reptiles of the March 18th

Dorking area.

Captain A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., on "Roman Remains in the Leatherhead April 15th Ārea"

May 30th A visit to Norbury Park, by kind permission of the executors of the late Dr.

Marie Stopes, conducted by Mr. F. B. Benger.

A visit to St. Peter's Church, Newdigate, and a talk by the Rector, the Rev. June 27th

D. Bruce-Walker.

A visit to the Ministry of Works excavation of Nonsuch Palace, conducted August 22nd

by Mr. Dent.

A "Fungus Foray" in Mickleham woods, led by Dr. P. Topping. October 3rd

Number 2 of the second volume of the Proceedings of the Society was issued during the year and has been well received. A number of binding cases for the first volume (2/6 each), together with back numbers of the Proceedings, have been sold to members who wished to complete their sets and to interested people and organizations who were not members. Binding cases are still available from the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. S. E. D. Fortescue). The Index to Volume I has now been completed by Mr. Lewarne and how and when it can be made available to members is now under consideration by the Committee.

At the end of the year, in view of Captain Lowther's expressed desire not to seek re-election as Chairman, the Committee had much pleasure in marking their appreciation for his most valuable services to the Society by appointing him to be first President of the Society; an appointment which he accepted. During the summer the Society lost the keen services of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. K. Waite, on his resignation from office. Miss E. Harrison was co-opted as Acting Secretary for the remainder of the year.

Thirteenth Annual General Meeting

Held at the Council Offices, Leatherhead, 18th November, 1959

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee for 1958/59 and the Accounts to 30th September, 1959, were adopted and approved. The appointment of Captain Lowther as the Society's President was approved, and Mr. A. T. Ruby was elected Chairman of the Society in his place. Miss E. Harrison was elected Hon. Secretary and Mr. S. E. D. Fortescue re-elected Hon. Treasurer. Dr. P. Topping was elected Programme Secretary and Messrs. F. B. Benger and J. G. Lewarne elected to the Committee. Mr. A. H. Kirby was re-elected Hon. Auditor.

After the formal business of the meeting the Society's publicity and its relations with the Surrey Archaeological Society were discussed. The meeting was adjourned for a talk by Mr. A. H. Norkett on "Bookham Common", and afterwards, there being no further business, was finally closed.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1959-60

President: CAPTAIN A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.

Chairman: A. T. RUBY, M.B.E.

Hon. Secretary: Miss E. HARRISON, B.A.

(Common End, Eastwick Drive, Gt. Bookham. Tel. Bookham 2702)

Hon. Treasurer: S. E. D. FORTESCUE

(Glyne Cottage, 133 Lower Road, Gt. Bookham. Tel. Bookham 2606)

Hon. Programme Secretary: DR. P. TOPPING

(Angroban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead. Tel. Leatherhead 3565)

Committee Members:

MRS. TAYLOR (Co-opted), F. B. BENGER, J. G. W. LEWARNE

Hon. Auditor: A. H. KIRBY

Hon. Librarian: T. C. WILLIAMS, The Mansion, Church St., Leatherhead

Hon. Editor of the Proceedings: F. B. BENGER

(Duntisbourne, Reigate Road, Leatherhead. Tel. Leatherhead 2711)

PROCEEDINGS

of the

Leatherhead and District Local History Society

Vol. 2, No. 3 1959

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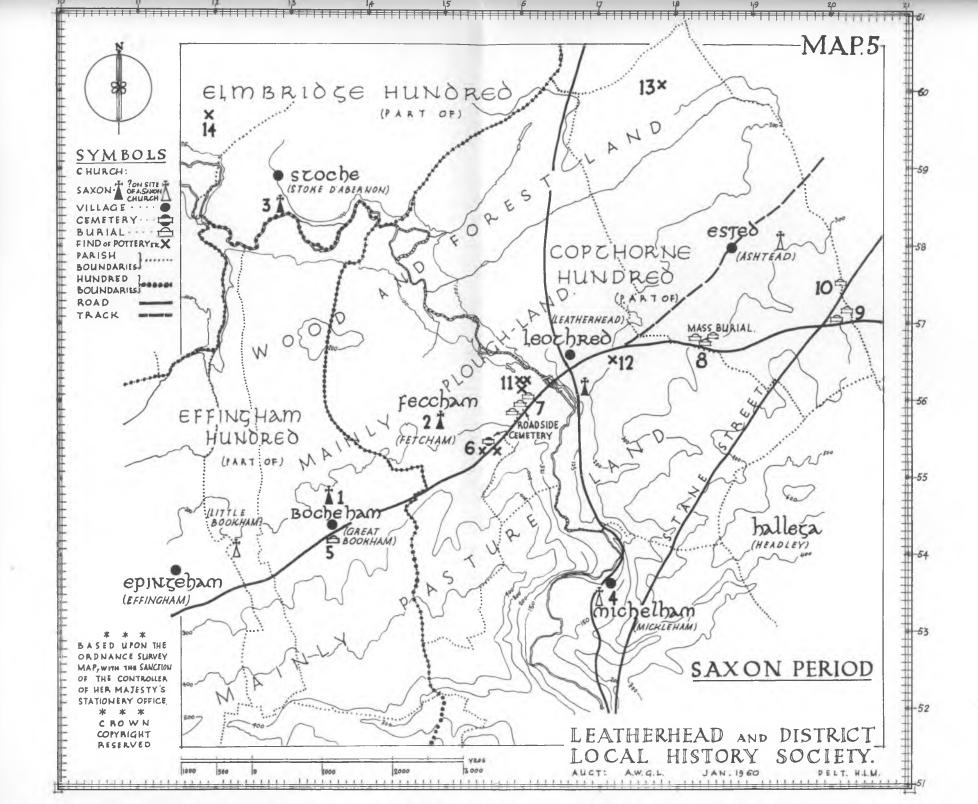
OCCASIONAL NOTES

L EATHERHEAD THE COUNTY TOWN IN 1515.—Professor J. E. Neale, in his book *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, quotes from British Museum Add. Manuscript 29597 an account from the family papers of the Carews of Beddington, Surrey, which appears to refer to the election of 1515, and which details "the costs of election to be knight of the shire". The costs were those incurred by the candidate in entertainment to his supporters, and the items include sixteen dozen bread, nine dozen ale, nine and a half kilderkins (a kilderkin being eighteen gallons) of beer, a considerable quantity of wine, two "beefs" eight sheep, two carcases of yeal, four pigs, nine geese, four hens, sixteen capons, four dozen birds (unspecified), pasties, fish, etc. As the bill mentions fire in the chamber and in the kitchen, candles, and wages of cooks and scullions, it seems probable that the food was consumed in some private house and not at free buffets in various inns. The total outlay, including the candidate's own costs staying at Leatherhead the night before, came to £10 1s. 8d.; a far from negligible sum in 1515, before the creeping inflation of the 16th century had begun. The County Election took place at the County Court (which met every fourth week on a fixed weekday) and by an Act of 23 Henry VI the hour at which the election should commence was specified as between eight and eleven in the morning. A candidate would want to be on the scene at the earliest hour specified by the Act, i.e. 8 a.m., and it is most unlikely that he would lodge at Leather-head with the intention of riding on to arrive at Guildford before 8 a.m. He would have too much to do in the way of last minute preparations for his supporters. The strong inference that Leatherhead was then the County Town is supported by later Elizabethan and Stuart papers in the Loseley muniments. In 1562 an inquisition was held at Leatherhead to ensure that only the wives of men of substance were dressed in a certain manner, in 1569 there is a letter to Sir Henry Weston the sheriff and the Justices of the Peace of Surrey assembled at Leatherhead, in 1580 mention of a conference at Leatherhead of county notables, another in 1581 connected with the prisons and prisoners of the county, another in 1591 concerning a levy of men to be sent with the Earl of Essex into Brittany, a further conference in 1592, a review of the forces of the shire on Fetcham Downs in 1625, and a conference in 1642 "to settle the country in a posture of arms".

Notes of all these meetings may be found in the Seventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which deals with the Loseley manuscripts. According to the Victoria County History of Surrey (Vol. I, p. 349) a complaint was made to the king in 1259 of the inconveniences caused by the justices sitting in the County Court at Guildford instead of at Leatherhead "as had always been the custom", but it seems possible that this refers to a temporary change of venue perhaps connected with the continual residence of King John and King Henry III at Guildford, and that later the County Court reverted to Leatherhead. It is not possible in a note such as this fully to explore the matter, but it would be worth further investigation. Indeed there might well be an element of irony if Leatherhead was shown to have the historical claim, in view of the sustained bitterness between the towns of Guildford and Kingston-upon-Thames, resulting from a much later removal of the County Court and administration.

THE GROUPS

Following upon the questionnaire sent out to members in 1959, the Committee has under consideration the re-organization and revival of the Group system, perhaps in a more flexible form than hitherto. It will be appreciated that the Groups cannot function satisfactorily without leadership of informed Group leaders; and in some cases these are at present lacking, though happily the archaeological and natural history groups are competently led. The Committee feels sure that enthusiasts in archaeology will realize that field excavation should only be carried out when sufficiently strong evidence exists that something lies beneath the surface which is of archaeological value, and then only after careful survey and due preparation. There is no place in serious archaeology for field days or week-ends designed to entertain the beginner. The proper place for students is at a well-organized excavation upon an identified site, under the guidance of competent archaeologists. As far as this Society is concerned, any local excavation would best be carried out in conjunction with the Surrey Archaeological Society, who are now well equipped and have access to monetary grants for the purpose. We have had an example of such co-operation at The Mounts, Leatherhead; and no doubt another example will occur in due course. In the meantime those interested can assist by making themselves familiar with examples of pottery, etc., displayed in the Museum at Castle Arch, Quarry Street, Guildford; and there is of course a large body of literature on the subject available to the student.



A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

V. THE SAXON PERIOD (c. 410-1066 A.D.)

By A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A.

THE SAXON, or Anglo-Saxon, Period has a somewhat indefinite date of commencement, since the penetration and occupation of this country was a gradual and intermittent process. Waves of invaders, arriving in the East and South-east, spread over the country, helped greatly in the first instance by those who had already settled in Thanet, and parts of Kent, after being brought over as auxiliary troops by the Romano-Britons, a fatal policy which created a ready-made "fifth-column". The period of the Saxon conquest and collapse of the Roman occupation that is usually known as the Dark Ages, lasted roughly from A.D. 450-550 in this part of the country, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (of which a cheap edition can be obtained in the "Everyman" series) gives a good picture of the fighting and the state of lawlessness that prevailed during this time, and which lasted in a diminishing degree, as the "invaders" changed into "settled inhabitants", down to a date about A.D. 700 when Christianity replaced the Paganism of the people and the civilizing influence of the Church made itself felt throughout the land. (For a recent account of "The Anglo-Saxons in Surrey" see *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 56, pp. 148–158, by Dr. John Morris.)

It is a singular fact that for the Pagan-Saxon period, though only of about two hundred years duration, we have recovered (mainly from burials) far more archaeological material—pottery, weapons, ornaments, remains of clothing, etc.—than for the longer period (down to A.D. 1066) when the country was fully Christianized and, apart from the devastating Danish, Viking, and Norse raids, in comparatively peaceful occupation. This seems to be due to two main factors (1) to the large number of cemeteries of the pagan period that have been found and to the wealth of material (termed "grave-goods") found placed in the graves; a custom that ended (if not entirely to begin with) when the country adopted Christianity; (2) to the continuous occupation of the bulk of the villages established by the Saxons so that they now underlie modern towns and centres of occupation, and so provide only occasional traces of their beginnings, either through modern building operations or else (as at Canterbury and Southampton, to mention only two examples) by archaeological excavation carried out on sites devastated during the last war.

In any case the houses or huts of the Saxons were usually built of timber and, save for a dug-out, pit-like, cellar such as is normally associated with them (in which a certain amount of their belongings, such as loom-weights, pottery, brooches, and an occasional silver-penny, accumulated or fell into when the building was destroyed, possibly during one of the numerous raids, or equally numerous devastating fires) they have left little to be identified amongst the mass of rubbish pits, wells, and other excavations of the medieval and following periods which normally extend down into the Saxon levels (e.g. recent excavations at Oxford reported in *Oxoniensia*, Vol. XXIII, pop. 1–129).

Churches, which seem generally to have been timber structures to begin with, and to have been replaced with stone buildings quite late in the period, or only shortly before the Norman Conquest, cannot be identified very readily from such few early features as may remain. The use of Roman bricks or tiles, quarried from the remains of Roman buildings, was once taken to be a definitely Saxon indication, but we now know that this practice extended well into early medieval times. Ashtead Parish Church is a case in point, for though it had much Roman material built into it and when the north wall of the nave was demolished in the last century, during rebuilding, small splayed windows made of Roman bricks were found in this wall, it is now known that the building was the *Capella*

or chapel attached to Laurence de Rouen's manor-house (to the east of it) and that it was endowed by him with land, and, fairly certainly, was built for him in the first instance. It is, however, still possible that a Saxon church formerly existed on this site.

The more certain evidence of a Saxon date for the original building is perhaps the mention that there was a church in a particular place in Domesday Book ("Ibi ecclesia"), and such entries exist for Stoke d'Abernon, Bookham, and Mickleham. In the case of Fetcham Church a Saxon original may be attested by the small, splayed window formed in Roman bricks (v. Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. XX, p. 12, fig. 1—drawing and description by the late Dr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A.), but Leatherhead Church retains slight evidence of a pre-Conquest structure and is mentioned in Domesday Book under Leret (probably, as seems to have happened with Ashtead, the Norman compilers of Domesday misunderstood the name when told to them by word of mouth).

SCHEDULE AND NOTES ON THE NUMBERED ITEMS SHOWN ON THE MAP

1. Great Bookham Church. A church is mentioned in Domesday Book ("Ibi ecclesia") as among the possessions of Chertsey Abbey. In 1913 P. M. Johnston found two blocked-up windows, small, splayed, and round-headed, which had admitted light to the original nave of the church. A considerable amount of the painted decoration remained on the inner splayed surface of the opening and on the adjacent wall surfaces, and, as stated in the report (Surrey Archaeological Collections XXVII, with illustration), this wall surface decoration was in bands of white, yellow, and red, enclosing an oblong subject, in which, beneath circular-arched canopies, traces of figures—one a winged angel—were discernible. The window splays have elaborate zig-zag and lozenge patterns, in the same colours as on the walls, and with shading in blue-grey and orange-red. The background is in "rich Indian red" with groups or rosettes of white pellets upon it. It is dated by Dr. Johnston as "late 11th century" and is not claimed as pre-Conquest, but could belong to a church built between 1066 and 1086, when the Domesday Survey took place, in which a church at Boccham is mentioned.

Little Bookham Church appears to have been a post-Conquest foundation of the 12th century, and is not recorded in Domesday.

- 2. Fetcham Church. The history of this church and a description of it are contained in a booklet prepared recently by a member of this Society, Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne, to which readers are referred. In brief, as with Great Bookham Church, a small, splayed window, with its internal arch and its external arch and sides formed in Roman bricks, belongs to an original 11th century building of about 1066; but whether shortly before, or shortly after, the Conquest cannot be proved, though the former seems more probable in this case. Dr. Johnston illustrated the window in S.A.C. XX, on page 12, and gives a conjectural pre-Conquest plan of the church, with a somewhat longer chancel than that suggested by Mr. Lewarne.
- 3. Stoke d'Abernon Church. In Saxon times, before being granted to the d'Abernon family as it was after the Norman Conquest, this village was known as Stoke (spelt in a variety of different ways). The church is mentioned in Domesday and also has in its structure, the greatest number of pre-Conquest features of any church in this part of Surrey. Chief of these are (a) the traces of an apsidal end to the chancel, the abutments of its walls with those of the nave having Roman bricks, set in a herringbone pattern, incorporated in the masonry of flint rubble. (b) A "mass-dial" (now much weathered) of chalk-stone, set in the South-east wall. (c) A small blocked-up doorway high up in the south wall of the nave, taken to have given access to a priest's chamber over the porch. (d) Much of the masonry of the south wall of the nave and at other points.

A lengthy description of the church, with many illustrations of its monuments and furnishings, was contributed to S.A.C. XX by Dr. Johnston, with further notes in subsequent volumes. He expressed the view that the church, as regards the earliest structure, was of tenth century or possibly late ninth century date.

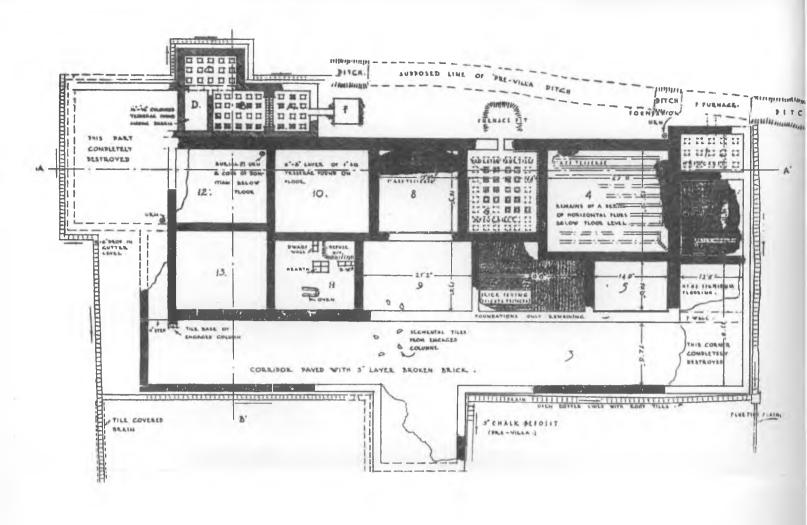
4. Mickleham Church. Though a church is mentioned in Domesday, the present structure is largely the product of 19th century rebuilding and restoration. It retains some remains of a Norman structure, and it is likely that the Saxon church, possibly of timber, originally occupied the same site.

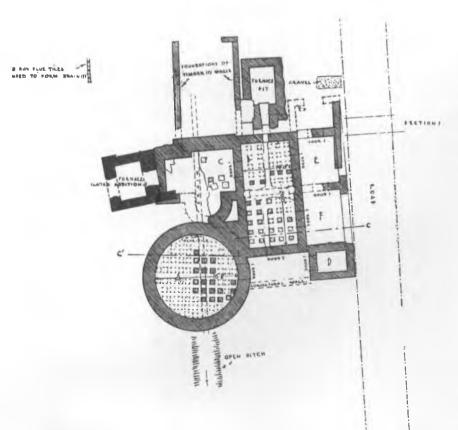
Leatherhead Church (unnumbered on plan), is mentioned in Domesday under the name of Leret and as belonging to the manor of Ewell, a crown manor from the time of King Alfred. The late Mr. G. H. Smith, in his booklet on the church, adduced evidence to show that King Alfred built and endowed the original church here. Mr. Smith considered that evidence of Saxon work was to be seen in the proportions and thickness of the walls of the present building. (Consult The Story of the Church in Leatherhead [issued as a guide to the church], p. 7.)

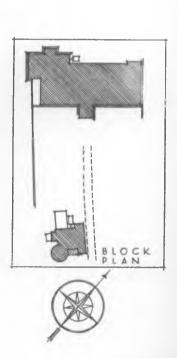
Ashtead Church (unnumbered on plan). This, as recent research has shown to be fairly certain, was founded and endowed (with land at Ashtead) by Laurence de Rouen in the 12th century, and served as a chapel for the manor (capella in charters of c. 1150, as distinct from the usual ecclesia for a parish church). The manor-house was close to it, and the Roman tiles employed in the earliest parts of the structure (as mentioned earlier in this article) clearly came from the Roman building whose foundations were discovered, and partially excavated, by the writer in 1933, at the north edge of the present churchyard.

- 5. Skeletons (dismembered portions of two) found, during building work, in the grounds of Bookham Grove in 1953, alongside the line of the original main road. The circumstances of the burials (of which some portions were excavated and examined by the writer) and the unusually large elongated type of jaw-bone possessed by both, similar to those of early Danish burials figured by Professor Brönsted in Danmarks Oldtid, imply that they may have belonged to the Danish armies ravaging the country in later Saxon times. The marks of sword-slashes severing the jaw and cutting into the back of the skull, evidently given from the rear and with a Saxon type of broad-bladed sword, may imply execution after capture or blows delivered by a pursuer while they were in flight. Lying in a hollow, and with only a shallow depth of soil covering them, the bodies were dismembered at the date of burial as the portions excavated established. Map reference—Surrey 6", XXV N.W., 13475422.
- 6. A Saxon Cemetery, consisting of inhumation burials, has been found at different times extending up Hawks Hill, Fetcham. Burials have been found, accompanied by grave-goods consisting of swords, spears, beads, etc., both alongside and beneath the present main road, and it is clear that this was a roadside cemetery alongside the original road up from the ford at the River Mole. This road was then south of the present road, which was probably constructed when the first bridge was built, no doubt in early medieval times, slightly north of the ford. (Published accounts in various volumes of Surrey Archaeological Collections, especially Vol. XX, pp. 124–128, with figures.) Map reference—Surrey 6", XXV N.E., 15725542–15885580.
- 7. Burials, forming part of the same cemetery mentioned above, but found lower down the hill and nearer to Leatherhead. The parallel between this roadside cemetery (of pagan-Saxon, 6th to 7th centuries, date) and that at Guildford, beside the road leading up to Guildford, on the far side of the River Wey from Guildford, is very striking, as is the similarity in each case of the siting of the town in relation to an early ford,

- and of the subsequent divergence of the line of the main road away from that alongside which the cemetery existed. At Guildford this was clearly done in order to lessen the gradient, the original road (still in existence, but only as a footpath or trackway in the upper part) being exceedingly steep.
- 8. Mass burial of uncertain date, largely consisting of mutilated and dismembered bodies found in a pit, six to eight feet in depth, beside the old trackway Green Lane and in the grounds of a factory (now the Goblin Works of the British Vacuum Cleaner Co.). Found in 1927, just within the boundary, it was possible only to make a partial excavation and recovery of skeletal material. Nothing accompanied the burials, which were mainly in chalk rubble—presumably that excavated in the original digging of the pit containing them. Date uncertain, but probably either of the Dark Age of the Saxon invasion period of the 5th century, or else of tenth to eleventh century Danish invasions. The former and earlier dating was favoured by the late Sir Arthur Keith, who examined one of the skulls and considered it to be of Roman type, but agreed that nothing definite could be established from a single example. Map reference—Surrey 6", XVIII S.E., 18205670.
- 9. Burials south of Ashtead Park, beside Headley Cross Roads, found 1910 when trees were planted in the triangular piece of land at this point. (Information obtained, about 1925, from the then Bailiff to Mr. Pantia Ralli, lord of the manor of Ashtead at that time.) No details or information to suggest a date as nothing appears to have been found with them. The line of Stane Street passes the spot a short distance to the north, while it is also immediately beside the Green Lane which became in the 18th and early 19th centuries a main Coach Road termed (on the milestones once along its length) "The Way over the Downs". Map reference—Surrey 6", XIX S.W., 19935727.
- 10. Burial found in 1932, alongside the line of Stane Street, during construction of the Donoghue Stables situated on Headley Road, and beside the East boundary of Ashtead manor. Map reference—Surrey 6", XIX S.W., 20055782.
- 11. Collection of Saxon objects; weapons, ornaments, and the bronze mounts from a wooden bucket, etc. Found 1929 and 1930 when glasshouses were being constructed at Watersmeet, close to Fetcham Mill Pond, and subsequently by excavation carried out by Mr. A. R. Cotton, F.S.A., who reported on them in the Antiquaries Journal, Vol. XIII, (pp. 48–51 with figures). Lying as they did, displaced and scattered in the river-silt or flood-deposit beneath the top soil at this site, it is uncertain whether they had been grave-goods from disturbed burials, or had arrived there with re-deposited soil, at a later and more recent date. The bucket mounts and some other of the finds are in the British Museum; the enamelled-bronze ornament is in Guildford Museum. Map reference—Surrey 6", XVIII S.E., 16055625.
- 12. Late Saxon Bronze pin, with ornamental head, found with a few pieces of hand-made pottery of Saxon type, in the garden of Leatherhead Hospital. Note, with illustration, in *Proceedings* of this Society, Vol. I, part 4, p. 5. Map reference—Surrey 6", XVIII S.E., 17255650.
- 13. Saxon knife and piece of rim of Saxon pot with pierced lug, found in top level beneath soil on site of Roman bath-building on Ashtead Common, in 1926. Map reference—Surrey 6", XVIII N.E., 17786012.
- 14. Saxon spear-head found at Leigh Hill, Cobham. Probably from a burial, but no such find recorded. See Surrey Archaeological Collections, XXXVII, p. 93, note and figure. Map reference—Surrey 6", XVIII N.W., 11356025. Found in March, 1926.







THE ROMAN VILLA, ASHTEAD COMMON,

SURREY.

EXCAVATIONS DURING 1925 &1926 (REVISED FOR 1927 - 1930

A SCALE OF ONE INCH EQUALS LIGHT FILET ...

THE DATE OF THE ROMAN BUILDINGS AND BRICKWORKS ON ASHTEAD COMMON

A Reappraisal of the evidence from the excavations of 1926–28 in the light of present knowledge By A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A.

IN VIEW of the advances made both in archaeology and in the interpretation of the results of excavations which have taken place in the last thirty years (due especially to the many excavations that have been carried out in that period under skilled direction, especially on major Roman sites) a review of the results of such a "dig" as that which took place on Ashtead Common and under the writer's direction in the now far off Summers of 1926, 1927, and 1928, may profitably be undertaken.

Much more information regarding Roman coarse-ware pottery and the dating of its various types has been obtained in this period, and, though probably to a lesser extent, information concerning the manufacture of Samian ware, since it has been published in considerable detail by Drs. Oswald and Pryce and others. In any case, the amount of Samian ware at this site was small in relation to the total of pottery found, especially so the vessels represented by pieces of "decorated" Samian ware.

Coins, likewise, were few in number, only eight in all being found in the three seasons' work and none later than three of *Hadrian* (A.D. 117–138). (There was some suspicion that a "first brass" (sestertius) of *Commodus* (A.D. 176–192), which was later heard of as being in private possession in the village, had been obtained from the site, but this was not capable of proof.) In any case the complete absence of later coins from the excavations, especially of any of the small "radiates" or other "fourth brass" types at this site, was most notable and remarked on when the excavations were in progress, as also was the absence of all the later types of coarse ware (e.g. "New Forest Ware", or the 3rd–4th century types found in such quantity at other sites in the area, in Ewell particularly where much of the pottery which we now know to have been made at kilns in the Farnham-Alice Holt area has been found).

The first of the two buildings to be discovered, during preliminary trial trenching, was the separate bath-building which was the main subject of work during 1926; the main dwelling, sited at some distance from it, was found at the end of the season. (It seems clear that the bath-building was for the use of the brick makers, and that the dwelling was for a manager, rather than the owner of the brickworks.) First as to the bath-building. This, as soon as its main plan was recovered, was seen to agree with the plan of a certain type of Roman bath-house, of late 1st or early 2nd century date, associated with both permanent and semi-permanent Roman camps in N. Britain, which were the subject of study by Miss M. C. Fair, whose article "Circular bath-buildings in connection with Cohort forts" was published in the Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. XVII. Late 1st century (Samian and coarse-ware) pottery found in the earliest stratified levels associated with the building confirmed this early date. Much bead-rim pottery, including some of native Belgic type, as well as some other types of native ware which, at that time, was taken to indicate some pre-Roman, or Claudian (A.D. 41-54), occupation at the site, we now assign to a somewhat later date, Flavian (A.D.56-69), as work at many sites has shown that there was a "hang-over" in the manufacture of native ware types and that they were still being produced, alongside more developed wares, down to c. A.D. 80 or even c. A.D. 90.

The earliest find, obtained among broken tiles and debris filling a drainage ditch coming from the bath-building, was the cut and battered piece of coin of *Augustus* (B.C. 63–A.D. 14), a *sestertius* which appears to have been cut up for the sake of the bronze, which may have been required for some repair work or other job at the site.

As to the other seven coins found, those of *Claudius* (A.D. 41-54), *Vespasian* (A.D. 69-79), and *Domitian* (A.D. 81-96) are in very poor condition; for the last mentioned two

this is owing to their having been in a fire and affected by the heat. Of the remainder, one of *Trajan* (A.D. 98-117) is in a corroded but fairly unworn state, while the three latest, of *Hadrian* (A.D. 117-138), one, a silver *denarius*, is in mint condition; another, of the same denomination, has been burnt (it was found in the charcoal of the latest furnace of the bath-building) but appears to have been in an unworn state. The third, a large "first brass", or *sestertius*, was in a fairly worn state when lost but seems to be of a softish metal, mainly of copper. It is of a *LIBERALITAS* issue, depicting on the reverse Hadrian on a raised platform and seated on a folding stool handing out *largesse* to the army.

No later coins were found, and the one of *Antoninus Pius* (A.D. 138–161) stated as having been found (Third Report, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 138, p. 137) was wrongly identified and is, in fact, the fragment of a coin of *Augustus* described above.

Thus, allowing for length of circulation as suggested by wear, the coins do not suggest a date later than about A.D. 150 for occupation at the site, which is all one can say from so few coins. The total absence of the small "3rd and 4th" brass coins of the later Roman period; the "radiates" that are so plentiful at centres of 3rd and 4th century occupation (e.g. at Ewell, where they have been found in profusion) together with the absence of later pottery types, was noted while the excavations were in progress, and made it clear that occupation at this site had ceased at an unusually early date.

We will now turn to the pottery found during the excavations, both that from the two buildings and the area in their vicinity, as well as that from trial trenches dug further afield to the north and north-east. In these directions tiles and clinker from the kilns were found to extend for several hundred yards and in places (probably close to kiln sites, but work on the buildings prevented further exploration) the layer of "wasters" (viz. over and underburnt tiles, broken tiles, and lumps of clinker with tiles fused together into a solid mass) was found to be at least a foot in depth. The pottery found with the tiles in these trial trenches was all of late first and early second century date, and even at the furthest point examined (the north end of Newton Wood, where the Ordnance maps of 1913 showed that Roman pottery had been found some years before our excavations) no later pottery was recovered.

As to the coarse-ware pottery from stratified levels associated with the two buildings, the earliest (apart from a small quantity of native ware of Belgic types, some of it predating the buildings and found beneath them, while some probably, as at other sites, continued in use or even in production into Flavian times) was of types of vessels of about A.D. 70-90. None is of Claudian date, though some of it retains features which were current in Claudian times. The most important vessel, the grey-ware carinated pot found at the north angle of the main dwelling (illustrated on back cover), and inserted as a foundation deposit, built into the foundations and covered with a piece of tile (First Report, fig. 3, No. 15) is not earlier than c. A.D. 70 and is a late development of a Belgic type which was normally of a thin ware, very sharply carinated, and often with a blackcoated outer surface. Similar vessels were found at the "Purberry Shot" site at Ewell, where late bead-rim pots and a certain type of dish (with grooved rim and a series of concentric rings on the underside of the base, a type which I have referred to as the "Ashtead type") were found in association with them on the floor of a hut. (See "Report on the Excavations at Purberry Shot, Ewell" in Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 50. Carinated pots, fig. 20; Bead-rim pots and dishes of "Ashtead type", figs. 28 and 29.)

Vesssel of green to blue-green colour-coated "Castor" ware were found in considerable numbers. These consist of small globular cups and larger beakers with animal ornament, in raised "sugar-icing" technique and portraying deer, with antlers, and others with dog-like features hard to identify. The lower part of the vessel is frequently covered with rouletting, producing a pleasing surface treatment. Other of the cups, including two with indented sides ("folded beakers") have a granular, rough-cast, type of surface ornament. Now this ware used to be considered as mainly Antonine (as much of it undoubtedly is),

but it is now appreciated that a Hadrianic date is quite in keeping with much of it, and, in fact, the "hunt-cup" (restored and with other finds in Guildford Museum) was in close association with the mint-condition *denarius* of Hadrian mentioned above, and in a topmost level adjoining the circular room of the bath-building.

The Samian ware found, both plain and decorated vessels represented in quantity by a large number of fragments, is mostly Hadrianic plain ware, but includes some pieces of decorated vessels dated, by the late Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, to "between A.D. 120 and 180" (a bowl of form 37) and "A.D. 170 at earliest" (a piece of a thin ware globular vessel with "cut-glass" type of ornamentation). The last mentioned is, however, dated later than can now be accepted as invariable, and some vessels of this type (form "Ludowici VSe", manufactured at the Rheinzabern potteries in the second century) have been found in a Hadrianic context. It remains possible that it is of late second century manufacture, and that it is the latest object from the site to which a date can be assigned.

As to evidence of date from the buildings themselves, the bath-building (first excavated in 1926) and the dwelling (excavated 1927 and 1928); both buildings have evidence of only one main structural alteration and it is of the same nature in the case of each. The bath-building (possibly owing to the excessive wetness of this clay site) had had its original furnace filled in (it had been about 3 feet deeper than the original outside ground level) and a new one constructed, at ground level and in a new position, necessitating an alteration in the use and sequence of the rooms as employed originally. The former small room with an apse-shaped water bath on its S.W. side becoming the hottest room of the series, the new furnace being next to it. (It seems probable that the apse was actually wider than is shown on the plan accompanying the Third Report (reproduced here), and that the drain located beneath it marks the centre of the curve, of which only a small part remained in situ.)

At the dwelling (Building No. 2) a series of hypocausts at the N.E. end of the building (rooms 1, 2, and 3 on plan) had been filled in, after complete dismantling, and refloored over the material used to fill them. (This is apparently why the tesselated floor of room 2 was found to be so undulating (Plate II of the First Report); having been laid on loose filling, largely consisting of old wall plaster from the walls which were stripped and redecorated at this time.) A range of small rooms with hypocausts, and with the furnace at one end, had been built on at the back of the building, at the N.W. corner, and had served as a bath annexe, for which use it is possible that the heated rooms dispensed with at the opposite end of the dwelling had previously served.

There is nothing about these alterations to suggest any very long period of occupation, and it seems that both were originally built about A.D. 70 (a cremation burial of about A.D. 90 was found where it had been inserted beneath the floor of room 12 of the dwelling) and that the alterations were carried out about A.D. 120. As to the all-important "terminal date", it is probably safe to put this now as about A.D. 170–180, and thus somewhat earlier than the date (c. A.D. 200) previously suggested for the final abandonment of the site.

Footnote.—Some indication of relative wealth was contained, possibly, in the finding of two objects made of gold. A small length (eight links) of a gold chain (figured in the Report), and an ear-ring, fashioned in the form of a "Hercules Club" with cut-glass or semi-precious stones set round it. The latter was, at the close of the excavations, picked up by a visitor who presented it to the British Museum (v. Antiquities of Roman Britain, fig. 14, No. 3, and p. 28.)

Editor's Note.—The original reports, etc., on the Ashtead Common excavations appeared as follows:—

Ashtead Common Excavations:

First Report. Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 37, Part 1 (1927). Second Report. Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 38, Part 1 (1928). Third Report. Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 38, Part 2 (1930).

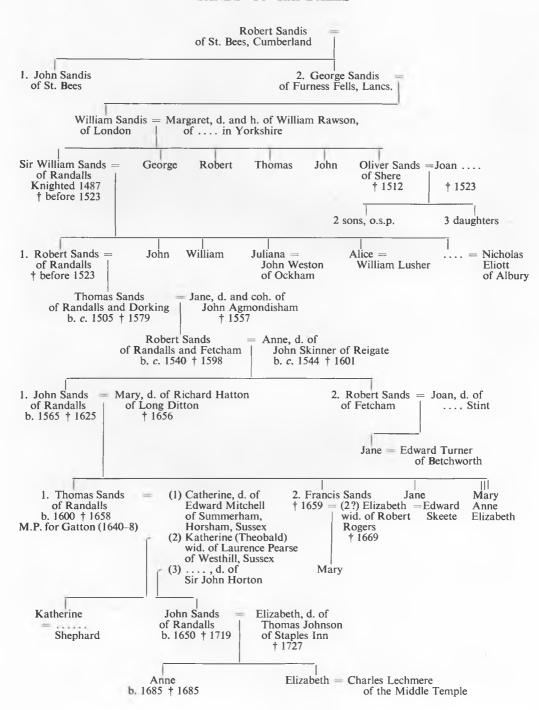
Account of the site and finds.

The County Archaeologies. SURREY, by D. C. Whimster. 1931. (pp. 159–161, illustrated.)

Note on some pottery.

Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. 41, pp. 97-98, with figures.

SANDS OF RANDALLS





RANDALLS PARK HOUSE circa 1822

From a water-colour by John Hassell

(depicting the house demolished by Nathaniel Bland in the early 19th century, who built another mansion on a different site in the park. The above house probably incorporates the home of the Sands family.)

LEATHERHEAD FAMILIES OF THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES

By F. BASTIAN

III. SANDS of RANDALLS

ON THE RIGHT BANK of the River Mole, about three-quarters of a mile below Leatherhead Bridge, there stood for centuries a house known as Randalls. This, with its freehold lands, constituted the reputed manor of Pachensham Parva or Little Pachensham. With no tenants owing suit of court, there can have been no occasion to hold manorial courts, and Little Pachensham can only have been a manor in the sense that it was a substantial freehold estate with a capital messuage, and not parcel of any other manor. In this form its history may well go back to the Norman Conquest, or even earlier. The estate has now been purchased by the Borough of Wimbledon for use as a cemetery; the house has been demolished, and nothing remains but the name, in Randalls Road and Randalls Park Farm.

Of the families known to have lived there, that of Sands has the longest continuous connection, extending over two centuries and seven generations. By the early 17th century, branches of this family had established themselves in several parts of the country, and pedigrees are to be found in the Heralds' Visitations of Bucks, Cumberland, Essex, Somerset, Surrey, Sussex, and Worcestershire. In most cases the spelling Sandys became usual, but in the Surrey branch Sandes or Sands was the normal form. These pedigrees, never very reliable evidence, differ as to the early generations of the family, but all agree in beginning with Robert Sands of St. Bees in Cumberland, who probably flourished in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. It seems that one of his sons, John, continued the family at St. Bees, while another, George Sands, removed to Furness Fells in Lancashire. The latter had a son William whose marriage to Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Rawson of Yorkshire, must have been of great importance to the family, since it appears in the pedigree of every branch. This William Sands apparently migrated to London. He had six sons, and must have left them well-endowed, if not with worldly goods, at least with the qualities needed to obtain them. Two of these sons, William and Oliver, settled in Surrey.

The founder of the Leatherhead branch was Sir William Sands, who, according to the Cumberland pedigree, was "knighted at the battle of Martin Swart". This refers to the field of Stoke-on-Trent, that epilogue to the Wars of the Roses, where in 1487 Henry VII, not yet secure upon his throne, defeated the Earl of Lincoln with his protégé, the youthful pretender Perkin Warbeck, and his German mercenary commander, Martin Schwartz. Sands was one of those knighted by the king on the battlefield.² He was the first of his family, and the only one of his branch, to receive the honour of knighthood. His arms, closely related to those of other branches of the family, were: Sable, on a chevron, between three men's heads couped or, as many crosses patchee fitchee gules, on a chief argent three eagles' legs erased of the first. Crest: An heraldic tiger azure, tufted maned, collared, and lined or, the line twisted four times round the neck and body.³

Precisely when and how Sir William Sands came to live at Randalls remains a puzzle. This estate, consisting of 1 messuage, 2 gardens, 130 acres of land, 20 acres of pasture, and 10 acres of wood, was undoubtedly the property of the Agmondisham family until 1540, and though they also owned the manor of Tomlyns at Amersham (whence their name) as well as other property in Buckinghamshire, there is evidence that John Agmondisham was living in Leatherhead, and presumably at Randalls in 1491, and he was still buying property there as late as 1499.⁴ On the other hand, though there is a strong presumption that Sir William Sands was dead before 1523, he is said to have been of "Litell Patensham", not only in the Surrey pedigree of 1623, but in the much earlier Sussex pedigree of 1530. The fact that each of his three daughters married into Surrey families suggests that he spent some years in the county. It may be tentatively suggested that he came to live at Randalls, as a tenant, on the death of John Agmondisham in 1509.

The oldest of his three sons, ROBERT SANDS, is also shown as of Little Pachensham in the Surrey and Sussex pedigrees, which are the only evidence for his existence. He probably did not long survive his father, for he too must be presumed to have died before 1523.

OLIVER SANDS, brother of Sir William, must have been closely associated with him, for the two are frequently confused in the pedigrees of related Surrey families.⁵ In one case Oliver is also said to have been of Little Pachensham, though he actually lived at Shere, where a brass in the church portrays him as "clean shaven and with long hair, wearing doublet, fur-trimmed gown with deep full sleeves, broad round-toed shoes, and with a large pouch attached to his girdle". The accompanying inscription reads: "Pray for ye soullis of Olever Sandes 't Jone his wife ye which made this wyndow 't this auter which olev' died ye vii day of november ye yer' of our lord MDXII on whos soll' ihu haue

M'cy". An effigy of his wife, two sons and three (or, according to another account, five) daughters, has been lost.⁶ How many of these children were living when he died in 1512 we do not know. His sons must have died young and without issue; for three daughters, at least two of whom made Surrey matches, alone appear in the family pedigree. His widow, "Jone Sanddes, dwelling in Schyre", made a will on 6th February, 1522/3 (proved on 3rd July, 1523) which shows that she held a life interest in her husband's estate, which was to pass on her death, not to her daughters, but to her great-nephew Thomas Sands. Until he came of age the feoffees were to suffer the profits to be taken by her executors, Nicholas Eliott of Albury and John Weston of Ockham, the husbands of two daughters of Sir William Sands, and thus uncles, by marriage, of Thomas Sands. The latter must have come of age by 1529, for in that year, as "Thomas Sandys, cousin and heir of Oliver Sandys", he sold this inheritance to William Rysebrigger, one of the witnesses of his greataunt's will.8 The property consisted of 2 messuages, 3 gardens, 40 acres of land, 20 acres of pasture, and 4 acres of wood, all in Shere. His willingness to part with such a substantial freehold estate suggests that his interest in Randalls, whatever it may have been, was a secure one. Although there is no direct evidence of his presence in Leatherhead before 1540, when John Roming, yeoman, made him his executor, this in itself suggests that he was already well-established there.9

This year, 1540, marks an important stage in the establishment of the Sands family in Leatherhead, for it was then that the Agmondisham property was divided among coheirs. 10 Although the accounts of this family differ, it seems probable that John Agmondisham the elder died in 1509, leaving his estates to his wife Emma for life, and then to his heirs. John Agmondisham the younger seems to have died in 1522, leaving a son, Edward, then aged 7, who had died without issue by 1540. That may have been the year of his death, but more probably that of his grandmother Emma. The estates now passed to three co-heirs who were either aunts, or more probably sisters, of Edward Agmondisham. Jane Agmondisham, presumably the eldest because always named first, was married to Thomas Sands: Mary was the wife of William Hussey; Denise, of Sir William Herbert. No formal partition of the property in Buckinghamshire and Surrey was made at this time, and it is not clear how the three families adjusted their interests. However, although Jane Sands inherited only a notional third part of the Randalls estate, she and her husband continued to live there. In 1546 Thomas Skyte, yeoman, appointed "my beloved ffrende Thomas Sands of Lederhed, gentleman" to be overseer of his will. In 1550 and 1553 Sands was one of the sidesmen in Leatherhead church, being distinguished in the latter year as "primus", perhaps in recognition of the fact that it was unusual for gentlemen to serve in this capacity.12

When Jane Sands died on 10th December, 1557, her property passed to her son Robert, though by "the courtesy of England" her husband enjoyed a life interest in it. ROBERT SANDS, who had been born about 1540, was by 1564 married to Anne, daughter of John Skinner of Reigate. No doubt they lived at Randalls, and in 1571 both father and son were assessed at Leatherhead for the Lay Subsidy, Thomas Sands at £8 in lands and Robert at £8 in goods. In 1576 Robert Sands alone appears, assessed at £12 in lands. In 1576 Robert Sands alone appears, assessed at £12 in lands. Thomas Sands had apparently handed over the control of the estate and retired to Dorking, dying on 29th June, 1579. We continue to get occasional glimpses of his son in the following years. At a muster held at Cobham in 1583, "he wanteth a corslett", but he must have repaired this "defecte" by 1585, when his name appears in a list headed "Hab'le horses and furniture shewed", at a muster at Croydon. It was probably here that he rode "a light bay horse with a speck in the forehead". We know more of the appearance of the horse than of its master.

It was Robert Sands who completed the acquisition of the freehold part of the Randalls estate. The Agmondisham property had consisted of the manors of Tomlyns in

Amersham and Glory in Woburn (both in Bucks), of the reputed manor of Little Pachensham (Randalls), and also of a fourth part of the main Leatherhead manor of Pachensham Magna, which had been acquired by John Agmondisham the elder in 1499. The Sands, Husseys, and Herberts had in 1540 each held a third of the whole, and the subsequent transactions resemble nothing so much as the manoeuvres during a game of Happy Families, but spread out over nearly half a century. In 1560 John Stydolph of Norbury in Mickleham, who already held three-fourths of the manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead (Pachensham Magna), bought the Herberts' share of the whole, thus acquiring a third of the remaining fourth part, as well as a third of Randalls and of the other manors. In 1571 the Husseys' share was bought by Sir John Goodwin, but in the following year he sold the Leatherhead part of it to the Sands, the property actually being conveyed (though in his father's lifetime) to Robert Sands. The latter now held two-thirds of Randalls, the other third being held by Stydolph. Conversely, Sands held two-thirds of the fourth part of the main manor, of which Stydolph held all the rest. The next move, though obvious, was long delayed, perhaps because one side or the other tried to drive too hard a bargain. It was not until 2nd December, 1586 that Robert Sands conveyed to Thomas Stydolph his part of the main manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead, which was thus at last reunited under a single owner. Finally, on 12th February, 1586/7, Stydolph conveyed his third of Pachensham Parva to Robert Sands, who was now likewise the sole owner of Randalls. A later transaction in 1593 between Sands and the Stydolphs concerning this estate is a little confusing, but may have been the creation of a trust in connection with the settlement of the estate. There is no doubt that it remained Sands property.¹⁷

As his father had done, Robert Sands left Randalls before his death, no doubt to make way for his eldest son and his family. In 1593 he was assessed at Fetcham at £12 in lands, but as no Sands appears in the Leatherhead list, the father must have retained control of the property. He died in the spring of 1598, leaving a will which shows that the land was still a homely reality, not merely a means to a rent-roll. To his wife Anne he left, amongst other bequests, two cheeses and half the yearly increase of his pigeons. To his younger son, Robert, he left the lease of his farm at Fetcham, "where I now dwell", his flock of sheep, all the horses, kine, cattle, casks and ploughs belonging to the farm, all the corn in his barns and houses at Fetcham, all the grain sown and to be sown on his farm, as well as 10 acres of winter wheat "now sown in Leatherhead" (sic: a very early example of the modern spelling). To his elder son, John, he made a few specific bequests, including "all the ancient standers belonging to Randalls", but did not find it necessary to mention the landed property in Leatherhead. Three years later his widow, Anne, was laid beside him in Leatherhead parish church.

JOHN SANDS, born about 1565, matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 23rd April, 1583, as did his brother Robert in the following year, though neither seems to have taken a degree.²⁰ In this they were typical of the rising class of gentry whose invasion of the universities was then in full swing. The marriage of John Sands to Mary, daughter of Richard Hatton of Long Ditton, can hardly have been later than 1593, for in 1610 their eldest daughter, Jane, married Edward Skeete. In a previous article it has been recounted how, when Skeete was at loggerheads with his stepfather, Richard Oxenbridge, his fatherin-law, John Sands, gave him active support which involved them both in Star Chamber litigation.²¹ He emerges as a forthright and manly figure, still in touch with the everyday life of the community and the countryside. When a Leatherhead yeoman appointed as overseer of his will his "neighbour Mr. Sands" one feels that this meant more than mere physical proximity. More than any of the other Leatherhead families which flourished during Tudor and Stuart times the Sands seem to have been by their "paternal acres bound", uncontaminated by City or Court. Several generations of Surrey marriages had given them extensive connections throughout the county: through the Hattons, for instance, they were linked with the Evelyns. Thus they appear as a typical family of the minor gentry, firmly rooted in their native soil. The last references to John Sands are in the Lay Subsidy lists of 1621 and 1625. His assessment, at £6 in lands, was less than that of his predecessors, but this was so general a phenomenon that it cannot be taken to mean any decline in the family fortunes. These seem to have been remarkably steady over several generations, and, if anything, were still improving. When John Sands died, intestate, in 1625 he was about 60 years of age, but his widow, Mary, survived until 1656. 23

With THOMAS SANDS, the elder of their two sons, the horizon widens. Born in 1600, he went to Oxford like his father, matriculating at Christ Church in 1617. He later became a student of the Middle Temple, being called to the bar in 1625, and eventually, in 1648, becoming a bencher. In the reign of Charles I the study of law led directly to the great constitutional issues which divided the nation, and it was natural that Thomas Sands should be drawn to take an interest in politics. In 1640 he entered Parliament as one of the members for Gatton, near Reigate, later one of the most notorious of pocket boroughs.²⁴ His fellow member was Samuel Owfield, one of a family of Presbyterian merchants who had bought land in the neighbourhood, built Upper Gatton Park, and acquired sufficient influence over the handful of voters to oust that of the Copleys who, although lords of the manor of Gatton and resident at Gatton Park, suffered from the disadvantage of being Roman Catholics. A rival return made by the Copleys was rejected by the House. Sands presumably owed his election to Owfield's influence, but as no other connection between them can be traced it may have been a purely business transaction. It was a welltimed entry into politics, for this was the Long Parliament which paved the way for the Civil War. Like most of the Surrey members, Sands supported Parliament against the King, though he did not play a prominent part at Westminster. He was probably the "Sands, a gentleman of a bold spirit and witt" who, according to Sir Roger l'Estrange, told Speaker Lenthall, a west-countryman, that all the wise men came out of the East. L'Estrange says that he was from Kent, but the only two others of the same name in the Long Parliament were from Worcestershire.25 A clearer reference to him occurs in the autobiography of William Lilly, the astrologer, who recounts how he first came to know Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, the prominent Parliamentarian who became his patron and friend, and whose support did much to bring him fame and influence. Whitlocke falling ill in 1643, Lilly was asked to perform a uroscopy: "having set my figure, I returned answer, the sick would for that time recover, but by means of a surfeit would dangerously relapse within one month; which he did by eating trouts at Mr. Sand's house near Leatherhead in Surrey".26 Between 1643 and 1648 Sands was regularly appointed to the Surrey committees which administered the county on Parliament's behalf; and his abrupt disappearance from the lists at the end of 1648 indicates that he was one of the more moderate "presbyterian" members ejected by Pride's Purge when the Army asserted its supremacy as a prelude to the trial of King Charles I.²⁷ He played no part in politics during the ascendancy of Oliver Cromwell, whom he outlived by two months, dying at the end of 1658.²⁸ His last ten years were probably spent at Randalls engrossed in his family and his estate.

Thomas Sands married three times. By 1623 he had married Catherine, daughter of Edward Michell of Summerham, Horsham, Sussex.²⁹ In 1629 he remarried, to Katherine (Theobald) widow of Laurence Pearse of Westhill, Sussex. In the following year she made a will to safeguard the interests of the children of her first marriage. This was proved by her brother, Sir George Theobald, in 1647.³⁰ One of these wives must have been the mother of Sands's daughter, Katherine Shephard, who was appointed to administer his estate. He married for a third time, to a daughter of Sir John Horton, knight. About 1650 she presented him with a son and heir, but must have predeceased her husband, so that on his death in 1658 this son, John Sands, was left an orphan at the age of eight. According to the Court Roll of the manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead (6th April, 1659) he was then in the custody of his grandfather, Sir John Horton.³¹

This roll also enumerates in detail the customary or copyhold lands held by Thomas Sands at the time of his death, and throws some light on how they were acquired and on their relationship to the former demesne lands of Pachensham Magna. They consisted of eight separate copyholds, for which, however, only six heriots were due. In one case only one heriot was due for two copyholds, "because the lord of his speciall favor did graunt the same to John Sands father of Thomas Sands by the service of one heriott only and did remit the other heriott": and for another pair of copyholds a similar concession had been made to Thomas Sands himself. It would seem that at some stage after the disappearance of the medieval manor house, the demesne lands had been divided into a number of copyholds, perhaps during the 15th century. The Sands family, following a policy of rounding off their freehold estate by acquiring whatever they could within the area bounded by the River Mole, the Kingston Road and the Lower Common, had bought up these copyholds as occasion offered. In a few cases the process can be followed more closely. In 1587 Christopher Steven had been granted a licence to let to Robert Sands for 40 years Mead Acres (5 a.) adjoining the latter's warren called Bush Hill: in 1600, after the death of Christopher Steven, his son Edward sold Mead Acres to John Sands.³² On an early 17th century map, Little Roydons Meade or Kempes Meade (4 a.) had been marked "to Sr Fra: Stedolph". 33 About the same time Great Roydons (24 a.) and Great Roydons Meade (7 a.) had been listed as Skeete property.34 All these appear among the Sands copyholds in 1659. In view of the piecemeal manner in which the copyhold estate had been built up, it would be unsafe to assume that it was identical with the former demesne of Pachensham Magna, especially as "The Mounts", the site of the medieval manor house itself, never seems to have been Sands property. The copyholds held by Thomas Sands at his death, identical with those subsequently mortgaged by his son, totalled 118 acres. Thomas Sands also enlarged his freehold lands, buying 11 acres from his brother-in-law Edward Skeete in 1629, and making other purchases in 1654, 1655, and 1658.35 The combined estate must at this time have reached its greatest extent of some 300 acres.

During the minority of John Sands there was a hiatus in the family occupation of Randalls. An entry in the 1664 Hearth Tax list, 36 "Thomas Sands Widd. the Hatch—6 hearths", is misleading. Thomas Sands left no widow. A bundle of documents relating to the unlocated house The Hatch, shows that it had formerly been occupied by Francis Sands, brother of Thomas, and that it was his widow, Elizabeth, who lived there until her death in 1669.37 The 1664 list makes it probable that the tenant of Randalls at that time was "Robert Chelsom, gent", who was taxed for 10 hearths. He is probably to be identified with Robert Chelsham, a land surveyor known to have worked in Surrey, and with the Mr. Chelsham, later of Kingston, who told John Aubrey that he had measured the height of Kingston Church trigonometrically.38 He was still at Randalls in 1674, when he was again taxed for 10 hearths, as "Mr. Shilsome".39

Where John Sands, the last of his line, was brought up is not known. He was admitted a student of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1667, and to the Middle Temple in 1668, but it is unlikely that he pursued his studies very seriously. He is first mentioned as being "of Randalls" in 1679; and his signature as witness to a Fetcham deed in 1682 confirms that he was living locally. In July 1684 he was married by licence to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Johnson of Staples Inn. She brought him a dowry of £2000, on the conditions that she should be allowed £30 a year as pin money, and that John Sands should "purchase" the mansion of Randalls. Perhaps this means that there was a mortgage to be redeemed, but there is no indication of how the estate had become encumbered. Everything suggests that the affairs of Thomas Sands had been flourishing up to his death. Perhaps the estate had been badly administered during the minority of John Sands, but it is more likely that the latter, brought up without parental control in the reign of the Merry Monarch, had sown some costly varieties of wild oats.

The only children of John and Elizabeth Sands, as far as we know, were two daughters: Anne, who was born in 1685 but died in the same year, and Elizabeth, born in 1688. ⁴² A Quit Rental of the Manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead in 1693 shows John Sands paying £7 10s. 4d. for the same copyhold lands which his father had held at his death. ⁴³ A Church Rate Assessment for 1695 shows him to have held more land in the parish than anyone else, and he was called on to find £8 out of a total of £51 10s. 5d. from 89 ratepayers. ⁴⁴ He was placed second on the list, yielding precedence to Charles Bludworth of Thorncroft, as he did also in the Leatherhead freeholders lists which have survived for the years 1696–1703. ⁴⁵ The latter afford evidence of his continued residence at Randalls. By this time, however, he had again begun to mortgage his estates, perhaps, in the absence of a son and heir, on the principle of "après moi le déluge".

In 1696 Sands mortgaged his freehold lands to Thomas Vincent, Esq. of Fetcham Park, but the mansion house of Randalls itself and its immediate surroundings were "excepted out" of the transaction, presumably because they were tied up by the marriage settlement. In a later transaction in 1700, Vincent's place as mortgagee has been taken by Arthur Moore, Esq. and two associates.⁴⁶ In the same year, the entire copyhold lands were also mortgaged to Arthur Moore and the same two men for £2600, of which £1020 was to be paid to William King of Kingston-upon-Thames, mealman, probably an earlier mortgagee whose interest was being acquired. By 1703 John Pargeter of London, merchant, appears as sole mortgagee of the copyhold lands, and Sands's indebtedness had grown to £3200.47 That he was obliged finally to surrender his property during his lifetime seems likely from the fact that he was eventually driven to obtain a private Act of Parliament to enable him to dispose of the property covered by the marriage settlement. In February 1716/7 John and Elizabeth Sands, their only surviving daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Charles Lechmere of the Middle Temple, conveyed the mansion called Randalls, with the little house and closes adjoining, to Joseph Ashton for £1350.48 If this was an outright sale, and not yet another mortgage transaction, it is uncertain where the old couple spent their last years. All we know is that John Sands was buried at Leatherhead on 12th February, 1718/9 and his widow Elizabeth on 5th December, 1727.

It is strange that for the best glimpse of the lost pleasures of rural life at Randalls we should have to go to a legal deed,49 where we read of "... the said capital messuage or great house and garden or gardens . . . the little house adjoining to it the Wash house the brew house and the two Roomes over it which Thomas Stent hath the use of as his Granary tille his lease shall expeire the Gate or Yard paled in leading from the Brewhouse to the stables now in the occupacion of the said John Sandes the Little Thatcht Hen and Duckhouse with the little garden belonging to the Little House the Pigeon House the Coach houses and stables and the great thatcht Barne and Killesses to it the Cart house and place for fatting hoggs with a cisterne in the same Court leading from the Kitchen to the Brewhouse the Garden Court yard a piece of ground to plant beanes in between the garden and the Orchard and the piece of ground that was the Orchard the sawpitt Yard adjoining to the Kitchen Meade and Barefeild the Rookery Lane leading from the high way to the great house and what is now in the occupacion of Richard Tyrrell at the rent of six pounds p' ann a Feild or Close containeing nine acres more or less being freehold land and adjoining to the said Orchard and all such part and so much of the River of or called Mole as is parcel of the Mannor of Fetcham and Cannon Court . . . with the Fish and Muck Islands . . . and a little Island now let for five shillings and twopence p' annum

But there would be no more eating trouts at Mr. Sands' house.

NOTES

All published by the Harleian Society.

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Surrey Fines and this Society's Records, X.74.

Pedigiees of Hatton, Lusher, Skinner and Weston in Visit. Surrey, and of Weston in W. Berry, Pedigrees of Surrey, p. 55. M. Stephenson, A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey, pp. 455-9.

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See note 10; also Wimbledon Corporation Deeds (Town Hall) and the Society's Records, W.36. S.A.C., Vol. XVIII, p. 212. 17.

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20. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses. The Society's Proceedings, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 10-12.

21. 22. P.R.O., E 179/186/408; E 179/186/428.

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24. V.C.H. Surrey, Vol. I, p. 406. 25. Anecdotes and Traditions (Camden Society, Vol. CXXXIV), p. 75.

Lilly's Autobiography, p. 102.

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29. Visit. Sy. (1623).

30. Wimbledon Corporation Deeds (Town Hall); the Society's Records, W.36.

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Sy. R.O., S.C. 59/1/4. Sy. R.O., M/8. Sy. R.O., S.C. 59/1/4. 32. 33.

34.

P.R.O. Feet of Fines.

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P.R.O. A transcript of the 1674 list is in the Sy.A.S. Library, Guildford.

Manning and Bray, *History of Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 683. S.R.O., 19/9/28.

Marriage Licences at the Faculty Office (1543–1869), (Harl. Soc.), p. 171. Surrey Deeds in the Minet Library, W.47 (the Society's Records, X.55). Wimbledon Corporation Deeds (the Society's Records, W.36).

42. Leatherhead Registers.

The Society's Records, W.2. The Society's Records, W.14.

45. Sy. R.O., QS 7/5/1.

Wimbledon Corporation Deeds (the Society's Records, W.36).

The Society's Records, W.1 and X.55.

Surrey Deeds in the Minet Library, G.48 and H.48 (the Society's Records, X.55).

Taken from a recital of buildings and lands "excepted out" of the mortgage transaction with Arthur Moore.

A SHORT HISTORY OF BOOKHAM, SURREY-Part VI

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

BOOKHAM in the early seventeenth century, as shown by Thomas Clay's survey and man, was still a stronghold of independence for 26. map, was still a stronghold of independence, for 36 of the 62 separate tenements in Great Bookham manor were held by occupiers of a single holding, while 26 were held by "landlords": only a slightly higher proportion than in 1548. The total of yearly rents from the manor had risen from about £21 to £35, without counting the value of the demesne lands (276½ acres), now let for £60 a year and 12 fat hens. A few rents from lesser holdings included one or two hens or capons, while Sole Farm (51 acres of copyhold) paid 26s. 8d. and a pig. As against the rise in rental, there had been a serious drop in the value of money. Between 1548 and 1614 money wages had roughly doubled, while food prices had gone up by more than 150%. There was, therefore, a strong incentive to farming; labour was relatively cheap, while high prices were obtainable for the foodstuffs produced. This applied even to fairly small farmers lucky enough to live in unenclosed country, as at Bookham, and so able to run a number of beasts on the common lands. The profits to be made from large-scale agriculture account for the high money rents which farmers were prepared to pay: for instance, Robert Marshe's £60 for the demesnes, and Thomas Peter's £10 for a leasehold of 31 acres.

Against this background of rural prosperity for the landed classes (which still included among the non-landlords nearly 50% of individuals holding less than 5 acres) has to be set the growing problem of the landless labourer who worked for very low pay, and the increase of pauperism. Acts of 1609–10 had introduced the new principle of "settlement", whereby it became virtually impossible for a poor man to better himself by removing to another district. The local officers had power to permit settlement but would not do so because of the risk of having to support the newcomer from parish funds; only those strangers were exempt who could rent tenements at £10 a year or more. Concealment of settlers and the taking in of lodgers became crimes, which appear in the Great Bookham Court Rolls. In 1626 Robert Wilkyns was fined 10s., later increased to £1, for allowing John Ellyott and Edward Powell to dwell in his home "as two separate families in one house", and two years later Mary Hilder, widow, was prosecuted for receiving Richard Lock and his family to live with her as "subtenants called Inmates". Similarly in 1630 George Sheires of Slyfield, Esq., having a cottage at Northend in Bookham, was fined £10 (!; say £100 in 1957) for letting it to Andrew Barnes, a stranger, without giving security to the Overseers of the Poor.

Not all such prosecutions were under the Poor Laws, for at the same Court Richard Sheppard, "vitler", was accused of lodging Jane Prine, said to be "of ill and incontinent life". The Court Leet was still active in petty jurisdiction as well as in matters of purely administrative interest to the manor, though these manorial affairs made up the bulk of its business. Encroachments on land, the cutting of trees and bushes to which tenants or others were not entitled, and the closing or ploughing up of ways were frequent offences. In 1626 the Vicar, Samuel Cherrey, was presented for having shut "Le Vickaridge Lane" with a gate, and was ordered to keep it open as it had anciently been during the open times of year (when the arable fields had been declared open to the commoners). This was the lane running along the north side of what is now The Old Rectory, thus preserved as a public right of way. It was Mr. Cherry who, in 1632, according to the first surviving Parish Register, repaired "the Vicaridge house . . . vizt. new roofe built, glazed, ye study built, ye south-side from ye porch to ye west end caste wth bricke & new Timber put in, ye chamber over ye milkehouse, & Kitchin built, & ye west end hangd wth Tiles."

The earliest Vestry Book, bought at the same time as the Register, contains the first extant parish accounts, including the complete assessment for poor relief made 28 August,

1631, on the basis of weekly contributions from 48 named parishioners. The weekly amounts ranged from 6d. from Sir Francis Howard, lord of the manor, 4d. from George Shiers, Esq. (of Slyfield) and 4d. from the farmer of "Poulesden", down to $2\frac{1}{2}d$. from Thomas Wood of Bagden, 1d. from Thomas Wood of "Ew trees", and $\frac{1}{2}d$. or $\frac{1}{4}d$. from each of the smaller proprietors. The actual rate levied for the year was double the assessment, yielding just over £23, almost all of which was actually spent on relief. Four parish children were kept for the whole year and one for 36 weeks, being farmed out; four poor people: Robert Pynner, Widow Pynner, Widow Stone, and John Elliot, had their rents paid as well as receiving relief, and twelve others were paid sums from 13s. $9\frac{1}{2}d$. down to 1s. 3d. in outrelief.

Parochial affairs were not running smoothly. Between 1633 and 1635 several parishioners were excommunicated, and in 1634 a dispute arose as to the election of a Churchwarden. On 7th April the Vicar and chief parishioners had chosen Sir Francis Howard and George Sheires to be Churchwardens, "provided that if theise Gentlemen desire to be excused for this Turne, It is agreed upon that Richard Flint, and Thomas Wood of Bagden shalbe the Churchwardens for this yeare . . ." Sir Francis Howard declined, and Dr. Mason, Chancellor of the Diocese (of Winchester) ordered the parish to hold another election. On 22nd June, 1634 "this election was made in the after noone by the parisheners in the forenone sumoned for election in the afternoone, & by a generall consent of ye Cheife fre holders their present, . . . to be Thomas Marter, by . . . the whole number there present, none oposing it but Mr. Cherrie the vicar." Four "chief freeholders" sign: G. Shiers, Antho: Hilder (one of the excommunicate), John Hebbard, and Thomas Wood, while the Vicar added the note: "The election of this second Churchwarden is referd unto the Ordinarie, by me Sa: Cherrie." As has been seen, the Court of the Manor of Great Bookham remained active in fields of jurisdiction which elsewhere were already coming under the Justices of the Peace. It was also responsible for the assise of bread and ale. Originally designed to maintain quality and good measure for a regulated price (in 1643 ale was 1d. a quart), the assise became by the early sixteenth century, if not sooner, a device for obtaining a regular licensing fee from bakers and brewers. This is proved by the lists of bakers, victuallers and "tipplers" who appear in Court Rolls year after year, paying a standard fine for a nominal offence, specific details of which are never given. At Bookham the Court Leet of 26th October, 16373 presented John Hardinge, Richard Shepperd, John Chittie, Stephen Briggs, and William Showte, all described as "vitlers", for being "comon Alehouse kepers" who had broken the assise of ale, while Roger Cockerell and William Babb, bakers, had similarly broken that of bread: all were fined 2s. 6d. each. John Hardinge was also fined 5s. for having refused on 31st October, 1636 to allow the Taster (Richard Slider) to examine the white bread he was selling, and 2s. for having sold "very mustie bere" on 31st July, 1637.

The maintenance of these standards was of fundamental importance when ale (brewed without hops and keeping only a few days) was the universal beverage, and relatively few houses had their own ovens. Ale was drunk by all because in most places there was no supply of clean drinking water and for its high nutritive value derived from barley malt. While larger farms and gentlemen's homes brewed their own, this was impossible for the majority who could not afford the necessary space or plant, vats and barrels. Similarly, the small medieval hall-house with an open hearth was able only to roast or boil, but not to bake.

The greatest change in English domestic life, the transformation of this archaic house with its communal arrangements into a residence with individual privacy and self-sufficient fittings (chimneys, oven, private well) was in fact in full swing during the two generations preceding the Civil War. That the older type of house survived into the seventeenth century is shown by such a provision as that made by John Roger in his will of 1621,4 where his

wife Elizabeth was left for life "a chamber in my house" (probably Rolts, now Half Moon Cottage), with "free liberty to the fyre and other placis for her necessarye uses". Evidently the house then contained only one fireplace.

On the other hand, as early as 1576 the house in Eastwick now known as Woodcote had two fireplaces, in hall and kitchen, their fittings being separately mentioned in the inventory taken after the death of Henry Wilkyns, the owner.⁵ Furthermore, the hall fireplace had a chimney in which was a "potte hanger" worth 4d. But the accommodation consisted only of hall, kitchen, chamber, the roof-space containing bacon worth 2s., and a barn. In 1629 the house of Lawrence Hide of Little Bookham (probably Potters, now the Old Windsor Castle public house) had a hall, chamber and loft as well as a barn, and the loft contained "one feather Bed, one flocke Bed, fouer pare of sheets, two chestes", the lot valued at 40s.6

In such houses, normally comprising not more than two living rooms and one upper room for sleeping, dwelt families of substantial size. John Rogers mentions two daughters and three sons, Henry Wilkyns a son John and three other children, Lawrence Hide a son and a daughter; and it may be assumed that one or more servants or labourers in addition "lived in", besides other lodgers in some cases. The need to enlarge is shown not only by structural additions and inserted floors of this period found in surviving buildings, but by documents. On 6th October, 1614 the Court granted licence for 6s. to Thomas Wood to take down the west end of his tenement called Tanners (now Tanners Hatch) and to rebuild it at his tenement called Bagden before 24th June, 1615.

Of the daily life of the inhabitants the Court Rolls are our chief source of information, though limited mainly to the common-field system of agriculture and to petty offences. Oliver Thomas of Dorking was fined 3s. 4d. for having drawn blood from George Chittie, miller, on 2nd October, 1625, Margaret wife of Ralph Rogers, 4s. 4d. for assaulting Richard More the constable in 1639, and Richard Slyder and John Palmer 3s. 4d. each for fighting one another. Fines of £5 each were in 1645 laid on two couples (Peter Coppinge and John Palmer and their wives) for breaking the pound: an instance of the greater severity accorded to crimes against property. In 1626 and again in 1628 John Rogers was presented for stopping up the way to "Le Yaresborne Well" (somewhere close to Lower Road by the end of Childs Hall Road), and apparently this encroachment never was reformed. Various inhabitants were to repair their hedges and fences, to provide herds to drive their pigs or sheep on the Commons, to remove a dungheap in the highway, and in 1651 "to sett rayles and posts or make a sufficiente fense about the Chalke pitt in Estwick feilde." In the next year the chalkpit in Preston Lane (i.e. Rectory Lane) was also dangerous, and John Rogers was told he should keep a shepherd on the Common, "wch Sheppard oughte to drive and hunte other mens Sheepe that have no right to comon there." In 1654 George Chitty had "let some parte of his howse fall to the ground", and from 1639 onwards regulations were enforced against any who "shall beate downe any acrons cum pol Bacculis vel aliter" (with poles, sticks, or otherwise) from the oaks growing in the manor. So country life pursued its even course through the convulsions of Church and State which were shaking England to its foundations.

- 1. Belonging to the National Trust; the Survey and copies of the Map are deposited at the Surrey Record
- Office, County Hall, Kingston-upon-Thames.

 2. See D. Knoop & G. P. Jones: *The Medieval Mason* (1933), pp. 235-9; E. V. Morgan, *The Study of Prices* (Historical Association, 1950).

- Court Book of 1621–42, f. 68v.; Surrey Record Office.
 Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, Reg. YEAST, f. 20.
 Winchester, Consistory Court, 1576; Hampshire Record Office, Winchester.
 Winchester Consistory Court, 1629. For the history of Potters see *The Red Barrel* (Watney Combe Reid & Co. Ltd.), Vol. XX, No. 2, February 1953, pp. 60-62.

ASHTEAD AND ITS HISTORY-Pt. XI.

By A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A.

a. Outlying properties attached to Ashtead Manor.

A TTACHED to the Manor of Ashtead and, as we know, from the date (about 1120 or 1130) when "Laurence de Beneva" or 1130) when "Laurence de Rouen" was in possession, were certain freehold lands at Bedfont, Middlesex, and others at Rainsbury (or Ravensbury) at Mitcham. These properties were held, at least from the XIIIth century onwards, by tenants of the lords of Ashtead and at a more or less nominal rent, each paying annually "a pair of gilt-bronze spurs of the value of six pence". It seems that the sixpences "in lieu" were usually preferred, but they are most often entered (in the court rolls for each year) as "owing", especially in the later period, for these entries continue down to 1543 when Edward Aston sold Ashtead Manor to the crown. Such a nominal, or "peppercorn", rent probably originated through these holdings being rented by relations of the holders of Ashtead. In the case of Rainsbury this is fairly certain as, in 1220, William de la Mare (or "deMara") held both Ashtead and Ravensbury and, while the former manor had passed to the de Montforts by about 1290 (and remained with them until 1370) the latter was still occupied by the de la Mares and in return for the pair of spurs (Inq-post mortem of a William de la Mare, who died 1314 leaving it to his daughter Florence. With her marriage, Ravensbury passed from this family.).

Next to be considered of these outlying properties is that at Newdigate, in Surrey, but a long way to the south of Ashtead. Thanks to rent-rolls and accounts for the Manor after Henry VIII had acquired it (i.e., for the years 1543–46) we have some more precise details regarding this property. We know that, for the sum of 8s. 1d. per annum one John Wryght held the freehold of a property called "Breles" (or "Beles", possibly "Greles", the name is uncertain) and two fields amounting to 10 acres and known as "Ockeley's". That a John Kempe and one "Pyrken" (i.e., Perkin; his other name is not given) held, for an unspecified rent, a dwelling and 4 acres of meadow and pasture known as "Rolfe's". (From 1381–84 it was rented by a William Rolf for 6s. per annum.) That the rest of the Ashtead property at Newdigate was held, with the demesne land of Ashtead (i.e., the Manor house and land which went with it) by Thomas Franck, and consisted of (a) a farm known as "Marlands" (or "Marshlands") which was sub-let to John Wright for £4 p.a. (b) a tenement called "Horseland", and another tenement called "Beameland", and with 60 acres of land, all sub-let to Ellis Aldrede for £2 per annum.

All this Newdigate property, worth about £7 p.a., was granted, by Edward VI, to Trinity College, Cambridge, and was held by them, as their "Manor of Marshalnds", until the middle of the last century when it was disposed of to Mr. A. F. Broadwood, whose father and grandfather had held it on lease. (Capt. E. H. T. Broadwood, M.C., C.C., J.P., of Capel, is the present owner.)

In early times this property belonged to the "de Montforts" and to the "de la Mares" before them, and it seems likely that it became attached to Ashtead Manor about 1220, or 1230, A.D.

Another of these detached properties belonging to the Manor was at Reigate, or Redhill ("Redestone" in the accounts for the year 1400) and was known as "Ashtead Mead". In 1400 it was let to a John Yoxhale (rent and size not stated) but in 1543 it is described as "a meadow in Rydgate Ward" and, in 1546, as being of 4 acres extent and in the tenure of John Skidmore at a rent of 8s. 4d. per annum. With some research, it is possible that its exact situation could be discovered but, with crown ownership, it ceased to be connected with Ashtead Manor.

"Langlegh" (now "Langley") a 50-60 acre holding in Langley Bottom and beside the road (Langley Bottom Road) leading to Epsom Race Course, was once attached to Ashtead Manor, as a part of the demesne lands, though it forms an island within land of Epsom Manor. Though it had served as farm land at least from the beginning of the fourteenth century down to about 1890, or later, and was apparently plough-land of great fertility, it has been turned into a housing estate, having been sold for this purpose at a comparatively recent date. (The exact date and circumstances have still to be learnt by the writer.)

Epsom Manor was acquired for Chertsey Abbey, and by Abbot John Rutherwyk, about 1320. From the published court-rolls of Chertsey Abbey (Surrey Record Society No. XXXVIII) we have for Epsom and for 1331 and 1333 the following two entries concerning Langley:—

"Epsom 5. Edward III

330. Admission of John atte Legh (of Headley) to the tenement of "Langelegh" (Langley) held by his late father. Heriot and relief not paid, so a distraint ordered. Held by service of 5s. per annum. Relief, 5s. Pledge=Adam atte Doune."

Matters between the "atte Leghs" and the Abbot appear to have been settled by 1333 as the next entry shows:—

"Epsom 7 Edward III

545. Memorandum that John, son of "Richard atte Legh de Hethlegh" paid homage to Abbot John (for the tenement "de Langgelegh" which he held, which was held by the late "John de Langgelegh") at Epsom on the fourth day after the feast of St. Simon (*i.e.*, 12th October) 7. Edw. III in the presence of (followed by the names of about ten witnesses)."

From deeds and various documents we know quite a lot about the Leigh family of Headley (they dropped the "atte" in the XVth century). In 1544, and in the person of Nicholas Leigh ("of Addington" as he became) the family disposed of, to Henry VIII and in consideration of their receiving the Templars' Manor at Addington in exchange, "Lee Farm, and all messuages and lands in Hedley, Letherhead, Ashted and Walton-on-the-Hyll, Co. Surr(ey)". Clearly this suggests how Langley came to be attached to Ashtead Manor, since Ashtead Manor had been obtained by Henry VIII in the previous year, and it seems probable that this Langley Farm took the place of the Newdigate property which in the following reign, was made over to Trinity College. Anyhow, by the XVIIth century Langley was a part of the demesne of Ashtead and belonged to the Howards. Sir Robert Howard obtained it when he acquired Ashtead Manor, in 1683, and from his account book for the years 1694 and 1695, we learn that in the former year Langley was down to grass and that the wages for mowing it amounted to £3 12s. 6d. In the next year it was ploughed presumably, as only one man was employed and for two days, "mowing ye walks", i.e., the grass side strips by the hedges dividing it into five separate fields.

Except for a small piece of woodland, or copse, in one corner and bordering some of the fields, it is all represented as "plough-land" on the "Wyburd" estate map of 1802, and similarly on a later map (of about 1880) before it was covered with the roads and houses that now obliterate the whole of this once flourishing farm.

The largest addition ever made to the Ashtead property was, clearly, that brought about (by purchase by Mr. Richard Howard and in 1804) by the uniting to it of the whole of the Manor of Headley with the exception of the property known as "Headley Place". (The two manors remained in the one ownership until about 1890 or somewhat later.) Though the Stydolf family of Headley had, from Tudor times and for many generations, held certain property in Ashtead (held, by service, from the lords of Ashtead Manor. It is

shown on the map of 1638) this was the only time that the two manors came into the one ownership. That they were so held, and for nearly a hundred years, probably accounts for certain major alterations such as the disappearance of "Tilley Lane" which once formed the southern boundary of Ashtead Manor.

Finally, though it concerns what might be termed "marginal land" rather than property of the manor but outside the manor bounds, there is the matter of a dispute which took place in 1492–93, between the lords of the adjoining manors of Ashtead and Epsom—John Aston and Thomas, Abbot of Chertsey. It concerned the ownership of ten acres of wood and furze in "Maltewode Field", and another piece of land called "Marlherne" and to which both parties laid claim and accused the other (in the person of their employees) of trespass, forcible entry and damage (the felling of timber). As the rolls (Placita de Banco. Hil. 8. Henry VII. Roll 227) show, the case came on in Hilary Term but was adjourned to Trinity Term. Of the final outcome of the action there is no word and it is possible that the matter was settled out of court.

It cannot be shown for certain, but the name "Marleherne" together with the name "Abbot's Pit" for the large pit through the centre of which the boundary of the manor passed (the present "Pleasure Pit") as well as the statement that the land was "in Ashtead adjacent to the vill of Epsham" makes it probable that the large chalk pit, and adjoining land, on the east boundary of Ashtead is the actual property about which the dispute took place. The original account, as set out in the claim and counter-claim, is worthy of being quoted at length and reads as follows:—

"Surrey to wit. John Kekowe (Kegowe in the Ct. Rolls) Husband-man, Wm. Burt (sic. probably intended for "Wm. Brett", the Bailiff of Ashtead at this date) Yeoman, John Carter, labourer and John Kyng, husbandman, all of Ashtead were attached to answer Thomas, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Peter of Chertsey of a plea of forcible entry to a close of the same Abbot, at Ebsham. The Defendants plead not guilty, and that the said Abbot ought not to have his action against them, etc., because, they say, that the place in which the supposed trespass was done was ten acres of wood and furze, with appurtenances, lying in a certain field called "Maltwode field", in Asshsted adjacent to the vill of Ebsham, which same ten acres, etc., have time out of mind been parcel of the Manor of Ashtead, of which same manor John Aston, Esq., Senior, before the said time, etc., was seized and is demesne as of fee and so, being thereof seized, died before the same time, etc. After whose death, that Manor, with the appurtenances, descended to a certain John Aston Junior, son and heir of the same John Aston Senior. And being thereof seized, the said John cut down in the aforesaid ten acres of wood and furze 20 oaks there growing and threatened to throw the same 20 oaks on the aforesaid ten acres of wood and furze. And they plead that the said Abbot claims the aforesaid ten acres to himself and to his successors by colour of a certain feoffment made by the aforesaid John Aston Senior in his lifetime thereof made. Whereas nothing of the same ten acres, etc., ever went to the possession of the said Abbot by the said deed. And the same John Kekowe, and the others, say that, as servants of the aforesaid John Aston Junior, and by his command, they entered, etc. And they say that they are not guilty of trespass, etc. And the aforesaid Abbot says that the said ten acres, etc., are, and from a time at which the memory of man is not to the contrary, were parcel of the Manor of Epsom of the same Abbot. And upon this he asks that it may be enquired into by the Country. And it is commended to the Sheriff to cause to come here from Easter Day in 15 days, twelve men, etc."

For Easter Term (Placito de Banco, Easter 8 H.7, Roll 293) we have the following further entry:—



ABBOTT'S PIT, ASHTEAD, circa 1800 from the sketch by Thomas Hearne (1744–1817) in the British Museum

"Surrey to wit. John Dyers, late of Ebsham in the County of Surrey, yeoman and others of the same place, are attached to answer John Aston of a bill of forcible entry of his close at Asshestead and of cutting timber to the value of 100 shillings, etc. The said John Dyer and others plead not guilty and put themselves upon their Country. They say that the said John Aston ought not to have his action against them for trespass, because the land called Marlehern has, from time beyond the memory, been parcel of the Manor of Ebsham whereof the late Abbot of Chertsey was seized in the right of his monastery, etc. And John Aston claims the land in question by colour of a certain indenture made to him by the said late Abbot. And the defendants say that they did the supposed trespass as servants of the then Abbot and cut down trees as it was lawful for them to do. John Aston maintains that the lands in question are parcel of his Manor of Ashted and that so the defendants are guilty, etc. The jury are summoned to come in Trinity Term."

Possibly the apparent death of the Abbot affected the outcome of this case, for there is no further mention of the matter.

b. The last illness and funeral of Thomas Howard.

A collection of documents which once belonged to the Howards, and which come from their manor of Elford and used to be preserved at Elford Hall, now repose in the muniment room at Birmingham Public Library. I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Beard for having brought to notice (in an article in *Country Life* of 8th February, 1952) the presence in this collection of documents that concern Ashtead Manor, and, in particular, those covering the last illness and death of Thomas Howard, the son of Sir Robert and husband of Lady Diana.

Thanks to Mr. Beard and to the Librarian of Birmingham Library, it has been possible to obtain photostat copies of these documents whose presence at Birmingham has hitherto been overlooked by those interested in the history of Ashtead.

It appears that this collection of Howard documents has not yet been catalogued, and only those items which concern the subject of this article have (through the kind offices of Mr. Beard and the Librarian) been sorted out. It may well be that further material of Ashtead interest will eventually be discovered in this important collection.*

The main item consists of a small (quarto size) account book of Lady Diana's in which are entered the whole of the expenses incurred through her husband's illness, operation, and consequent (in view of some of the treatment and medicine for which a charge is made) death and burial. It has eight neatly written pages and is headed at the top of the first page:—

"An Accot. of Bills and Sumes of Money paid by the Honble. ye Lady Diana Howard for & in respect of Tho. Howard of Ashted in the County of Surrey Esqr. hee (sic) then late Husband, who died ye 4th of April 1701."

The other documents are bills and receipts from apothecaries ("Mr. West, Apothecary at London—£16 6s. 6d.", and "Mr. Williams, Apothecary at Epsom—£1 19s. 1d.") and others, and include the undertaker's bill and his receipt (Mr. Wm. Russell, for £129 15s.).

It is the first and last mentioned of these documents, viz.: the Account Book and the Undertaker's Bill which are the most informative and from which can be reconstructed a fairly complete picture of the funeral arrangements, both at the house and in the church, as well as regards the provision of mourning wear for tenants and employees.

^{*} In 1953, when this was first written; they have since been catalogued and I have obtained photostats of more of these documents.—A.W.G.L.

There is also considerable information as to the staff employed at the Manor, both inside and outside the building, and the names of several of them are given, since not only was money paid to them for their mourning ("To the Women Servants for their Mourning—£22") but wages which were then owing to them were paid, and are entered in this book.

The first item is "To Anne Sturt, Higler—16s. 6d.", and is dated "1701. Apr. 5", and the last, dated "Nov. 29" (apparently for 1701, though inserted after items for Feb. 1702) reads: "Pd. Mr. Hamelot for burying Mr. Howard—£1 11s. 6d."

From this book we learn the names of several of the Ashtead tradesmen of the day, or rather the occupations carried on by those already known to us by name from the Parish Registers. Thus, the entry "John Stone, Butcher—£2 19s. 10d." (evidently for meat for the funeral feast) gives the occupation of this man who appears to have come to Ashtead from Banstead, shortly after his marriage there to Elizabeth Symms of Ashtead ("at Bainsteed in January 1693, per Banns" as the Register states. The "Symms" were one of the oldest of the Ashtead yeoman families.). John Stone died, aged 48, in April 1724.

Another entry concerns "White, a Carrier" and this is probably Thomas White who married Hannah Gates in 1684 and died, aged 73, in 1728 ("Found dead in bed" the Register states). It could, however, be a George White, who appears to have been a son of Thomas and of whom the Register of Baptisms makes mention regarding the birth of a son ("1706. Dec. 5. Thomas, son of George White and Elizabeth.").

John Early (spelt "Yearly" in this book) is entered as having supplied bricks and tiles, apparently in connection with the Howard vault. He was a copyholder of the manor, mentioned in Rent Rolls for 1696 and 1707 and he died in 1718, apparently at a considerable age as "senex" is written after his name in the register. His wife, Mary, died in the following year. Presumably he was the local "brick and tile maker" rather than what is now known as a "builders' merchant". Others mentioned as receiving various sums and who are known to have lived locally are Ralph Clements, "Bricklayers, for opening & closing ye Vault—£3 1s. 2d." a fairly large sum for those days and implying that there was much brickwork to be done (he received a further sum of £4 19s. 3d. in September). "Thomas Dendy, Smith" who received several sums, is, with his wife Mary, mentioned in the Registers, and died in 1709 (they are first mentioned in July 1678, through the entry of baptism of a daughter, Jane).

Those of the staff mentioned are: "Joseph Webley, Butler" who received wages of £10 per annum, Mr. Wilkinson the steward received £20 per annum, and "Augustin Poulter, ye Cook" was paid a like amount. "Wm. Thorn, the Keeper"—£10, and Tho. Ruttick ("Readick" in the Registers—the present day "Riddick") "ye Shepheard" received £6 per annum. The Dairy Maid, "Abigail" (the surname is left a blank) got £4. The others, the "Coachman, Footman and Gardner" are not mentioned by name. Others listed in an account headed "Given to the Women to buy mourning" the total of which is £22, and is entered ("To the Women Servants for their mourning") in the account book, are "Nurse Clarke", "Mistress Mary", and "Mistress Boyde" (? companions or ladies maids) "the two Laundry Maids", "the Cookmaid", "the Housmaid" and "Mary Lodg",† of whom all except the first three (who received £2, £3 and £2) received £1 10s.

Under "Given to the men for half stockins & shoos" (each getting £1) we have "Richard Simmons" (employment not stated) "my Ladys ffotman", "the Porter", "the Coachman", "the Groom" and "the Postillian" (sic).

[†] Mary Lodge, a daughter of the Rev. Henry Lodge, Rector of Mickleham 1698–1744, later became Lady Diana's housekeeper. Born in 1687, she married, in 1718, a naval officer, Captain Thomas Elliott and died August 19th, 1743, a year before her husband.

Though clearly not at Ashtead, but either in Epsom or London, are various tradesmen whose bills are paid and whose names we learn such as "Mr. Timberlock, Coachmaker", "Henry Smith, Chandler", "Joseph Bishop, Hatter" and many others. "Thomas Craddock, Shoemaker" was probably one of the Ashtead family, and there is a very interesting entry "Mr. Fox, for Newsletters"—the then equivalent of newspapers. It is a pity we have no receipt giving his address.

As to the Apothecaries' bills. The column after column of items under the heading "Medicines D D ye Honble. Thomas Howard Esqr. p(er) Ch. West" leave small wonder that the patient did not recover! To mention a few of the items charged for: "Syrup of Violets"; "A pott of Mithridate"; "Orrice roots"; "A pott of Diascordium"; "A Cordiall Julep" and "A Cordiall pacifick draught" together with dozens more. Entries under "Bleeding" and "An Ivory pipe fitted" show that the Apothecary was, apparently, both chemist and doctor.

For the actual operation (apparently in the first week of April 1701 and after over a year's treatment by the Apothecary) we have entries: "To Dr. Cyprianus, for Opening Mr. Howard's Body—£5 7s. 6d.", and "To Mr. Rouse, Surgeon, his Assistant—£2 3s. 0d.". Also "To Dr. Colladon for his Attendance—£21 10s. 0d." (it is somewhat ironical that the very next entry is that "To John Stone, Butcher", and this is followed by "To Robert Spedding, Vintner, for Wine at ye Funerall—£3 16s. 0d.)".

The funeral took place on April 13th and was probably attended by a very large gathering. Of those who came from some distance, friends or relations, only one name is specifically mentioned under the entry "To John Matthews, Carpenter, for keeping Capt. Langridge—£3 18s. 0d.", showing that accommodation at Ashtead was strained for the occasion, and that some had to stay in lodgings.

The funeral trappings were, by modern standards, extravagant to the point of absurdity. A great Hatchment or "Achievment" as it is entered, and presumably draped in black, was fixed to the outside of the house, and cost £3. Presumably it bore the Howard coat-of-arms, as likewise, the "Escucheons" on the door of each room, and the "12 Silk Excucheons for ye Palle." Here, as it is so descriptive of the whole proceedings, I will end with a copy of this undertaker's bill:—

The receipt is dated "15th Sept. 1702".

on ye Body

The state of the s		-					
"For ye ffunerall of Esqr. Howard							
	£	S.	d.		£	S.	d.
A Large Double Coffin coverd with Velvet & Sett of (sic: "off" in-				20 Cloakes 30 yds Bayes for ye Chancell & 4 yds	2	0	0
tended) with worke guilt with gold	12	0	0	Cloth for ye Pulpit	3	10	0
ffor lineing ye Coffin with Searecloth		0		2 Porters in long Gownes		0	
A ffine suite of Crape		10		ffor A Herse & Men to carry ye	•	•	•
	,	10	U		- 1	10	Λ
ffor Ranging ye Roome where ye				mourning & putting it up			
Esqr. lay in State in deep mourn-				ffor my attendance & Servants	2	0	U
ing & covering ye floore, a Rayle				24 pr. Mens & Woemens Shamy			
of State of Velvet & plumes of				Gloves in ye Countrey	4	4	0
feathers—round ye Roome large				25 pr. Sham Shamy Gloves	2	10	0
Silver Sconces round ye Body large				10 Doz. Drawne Cordivant	15	0	0
Silver Candlesticks & Stands and				18 pr. woemens kid	1	16	0
The Hall with a Border	6	0	0	50 Hatbands at 3s		10	
A large Velvet Palle	ĭ		Ŏ	8 Large Scarfes for Palle Bearers		0	
12 Silk Escucheons for ye Palle	3		ŏ	12 Scarfes for Servants	3		
	5	·	U		5	U	U
7 Doz. Buckram Escucheons for ye		0	0	ffor Hanging my Ladys 2 Roomes in			
Roomes		8		deep mourning for ye yeare and ye		_	
36 Paper Ditto for ye Hall		16		Passage with a Border	40	0	0
An Achievment for ye House	3	0	0				
8 Large Tapours & wax lights for ye					£129	14	0"
Sconces	2	0	0				
A Velvet Lid & Plumes of ffeathers							

LEATHERHEAD JUST OVER A CENTURY AGO

Continuation and Conclusion of the Extracts from the Journal of Miss Amelia Hunter

1854 (Continued).

February 3rd. Heavy Mist. 49[°]. Chilly, uncomfortable day.

February 5th. 49[°]. Cloudy. A few showers. Blackbirds skirmishing amongst the evergreens in front. They seem, like the Robins, to take the uppermost boughs.

February 6th. 49[°]. Walk to Fetcham where ploughing in progress. Rooks very busy. A tolerably fine day. No rain and mild. A High Wind at night.

February 8th. Wind N.W. A very bright morning but rather cloudy in the afternoon with a few drops of rain. The Roads dry. Walk to the Common. Fine Geese.

February 10th. 53[°]. Wind N.W. Sunshine. Walk to the Bridge over the Mole in Norbury Park. Fields in beautiful cultivation.

February 11th. 52[°]. Wind N.W. Cold. Stormy looking clouds. Bullfinches eating the fruit buds. Thrushes hovering over the evergreens. Starlings at Hill Cottage. Troubled with Jays.

February 17th. Sleet Showers all day. Walked about the Village [Leatherhead]. Pleasant occasionally between times. Very Windy and Stormy evening and a High Wind at night.

[The following entries, until February 21st, mainly concern a spell of cold weather, with frost and snow, but a period of mild, wet weather then follows, until:—]

February 25th. 49[°]. Wind West. The finest day this year. Walk to Fetcham. The Mill Pond reflecting the blue sky and ruffled with the Wind looked better and more picturesque than I have ever seen it. Dab Chicks calling. Elms flowering.

[Fetcham Mill Pond, now of topical interest owing to the recent threat to its continued existence, was a favourite spot to Miss Hunter. On February 16th, 1855, she writes: "The first spring day. I took a walk, with Julia and Ruth, to Fetcham. Bright Sunshine; mild and pleasant. Mill Pond clear and a little ruffled. A great many water fowls, I think chiefly Dabchicks, calling. The Aits (i.e., islands) are entirely without vegetation but the Swans were reposing on them."]

March 3rd. A Splendid Day. Walked over to Fetcham. Damp and dirty by the Mill Pond. Reeds all dry. Dab Chicks calling. A white frost.

March 9th. 53[°]. Went to London by Kingston Coach to Train. [Presumably at Kingston. A. L.] Corn looking green. Oak trees have scarcely discarded their dry leaves. Quite Sylvan Scenery. 2 Fine Swans sailing down a little stream near London. [After a series of entries of little interest, there appears the cryptic entry:—]

April 6th. Clear, dry bright weather. The day of the Confirmation here. [Then the Mill Pond is visited again.]

April 7th. 60[°]. Very bright all day . . . Watched Coots on the Mill Pond feeding their young. There was a brood of six and the Parents each fed three. One of the little ones got on its Mother's back while it swam about. They dipped and dived for food for their young with great activity. They came to the margin of the Pool and appeared tame. Two curly feathers in the tail; velvety heads. A swan was sitting on the Ait or Islet, and some five Ducks skirmishing on the Water. We fancied we saw several of the nests made of the old dry reeds in the forked branches of the willows. The Larks were singing suspended in mid air. We picked wild Violets in the Park (Fetcham Park) and saw the Cowslips upright and green, but none in flower yet. Hedges and all the light underwood greatly increased in freshness of leaf during the week. Clear blue sky and scarcely any wind.

- April 26th. The Day of Humiliation. Dry and dull but not quite so cold. [April 16th has only the entry "Easter Day. Bright Sunshine."]
- May 16th. Early morning very bright. Went to London with Julia and Mrs. Humphry. A cold wind, but a very fine day. The Furze in full blossom on Epsom Common. [Presumably they travelled up by train, and possibly in one of the open-topped carriages then in use. A. L.] Beautiful scene at Sunset. Fine Oaks and wild sunny patches of verdure.
- May 31st. Remarkably fine day; quite unexpected. Derby Day.
- June 10th. Fine, dry and cold. Foliage still looking very poor and scorched. The Crystal Palace opened to-day. [At Sydenham, after being removed from Hyde Park. A. L.] Wind N.W. Temp. 60[°].

[Miss Hunter finally left this district, to stay at Dover, Hastings, Worthing, and eventually back to Brighton (whence she originally came), but only for a fortnight, the Journal closing, on July 16th, 1858, at Worthing. Visits to *Petworth Park* and *Cowdray Park*, and a reference to a "Grand Naval Review" (on 23 April, 1856) occur in this latter part, but entries regarding the weather, and the wild birds and plants which she saw, continue to form the greater part of what she wrote.]

INDEX TO FIRST VOLUME

Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne has completed the Hurculean task of compiling an Index to the first volume of the "Proceedings", and the Committee records its grateful thanks to him. It is very desirable that this Index, together with a general title, should be printed as soon as possible; but the Committee does not wish to interrupt the issue of a yearly number of the "Proceedings" in order to devote ordinary revenue to the printing of the Index, so it must be done by special donations from members and subscribers. Half the cost, subject to the remainder being forthcoming from other members, has been offered anonymously by a member of the Society, this offer being open until the end of the year. So that this generous offer may be used, the Committee urges all members and subscribers to send in their promises as soon as possible to the Honorary Treasurer (see cover ii). Please give this your urgent attention.

LEATHERHEAD AND DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 30th September, 1959

Balance brought forward from 1st Oct	ober,	£ s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1958 (including 4 subscriptions in vance)	1 ad-			25	18	0	
Subscriptions:—							
150 @ 10/			0				
2 @ 1/		2	0				
In arrear: 3 @ 10/		1 10	-				
In advance: 9 @ 10/		4 10	0	04		_	
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Grants:—		45 0					
Surrey County Council		15 0	0				
Leatherhead U.D.C		10 0	0	0.5		0	
			-	25	0	0	
Donations	• •			25 6 16	0	9	
Sale of Proceedings and Binding Cases	3			10	0	9	
Visits and Meetings:—		10 2	^				
Receipts	• •	10 3					
Expenses		9 0	0	1	3	0	
			_	1	3	U	
				£155	16	6	
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PAYMENTS				
Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> , 1958 General Printing Postages, Stationery, and Sundry Disburse-	£	S.	d.	£ s. d. 92 13 0 13 7 2
ments Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:— Council of British Archaeology Surrey Record Society Field Studies Council	1 1	0 0	0 0	18 2 3
Balance at Midland Bank Limited, carried forward to next Account	-	1	_	3 1 0 28 13 1

£155 16 6

I Certify that I have examined the above Statement which is in accordance with the Books and Records produced to me and in my opinion correct.

16th November, 1959.

(Signed) A. H. KIRKBY Honorary Auditor (Signed) S. E. D. FORTESCUE
Honorary Treasurer

