# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF THE

# LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



VOL. 2 No. 1 1 9 5 7

### SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE MEMBERSHIP for the year ended 30th September, 1957, stood at 147, showing a small decrease over the year. However, there is evidence of much interest in the Society judged by the number of enquiries about membership. The number of *Proceedings* members has increased slightly.

The annual subscription was increased to ten shillings at the Special General Meeting following the Annual General Meeting on 21st November, 1956. The "Proceedings Membership" subscription is five shillings a year. More members are urgently needed and it is suggested that circulation of the *Proceed*ings among friends will help to publicise the Society and bring in new members.

The following fixtures were arranged for the year 1956/57:-

1956

December 8th A talk on "Roman Sites in Britain and Overseas", by Mr. M. B. Cookson. The talk was illustrated by coloured lantern slides.

1957

April 25th Mr. Eric S. Woods lectured on "St. Martha's Hill and its Antiquities and

Legends"

Public Exhibition of Photographs and other illustrations of Leatherhead both "Then and Now". May 23rd-25th

A conducted tour of the Roman Road, Stane Street, from Mickleham to June 22nd

Ashtead was led by Mr. C. W. Phillips, F.S.A. Visit to the ruins of the 12th century chapel at Westhumble. Capt. A. W. G. July 13th

Lowther, F.S.A., described them and the excavation. A Fungus Foray at The Old Quarry, Ashtead. October 5th

The previous issue of the Proceedings, with a general title and index when issued, will complete Volume I (casings for this Volume are now available price 2/6 each). Members are reminded that back numbers are available, so that it is possible to make up a set where numbers are missing.

Mr. A. T. Ruby, who has been Secretary or Joint Secretary since the inauguration of the Society in 1946, has found it necessary to retire but has been able to continue as Honorary Archivist and has been co-opted to the Executive Committee. Mr. S. N. Grimes, a member of the Committee since 1946, has resigned on leaving the district. Mr. C. J. Songhurst was obliged for business reasons to retire as Hon. Editor and has been succeeded by Mr. F. B. Benger.

Mr. A. H. Kirkby has been appointed Hon. Auditor, and Mr. P. G. Shelley will temporarily act as Hon. Secretary.

# Eleventh Annual General Meeting

Held at the Council Offices, Leatherhead, 20th November 1957

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee for 1956/7 and Accounts to 30th September 1957 were adopted and approved. With the exception of Mr. S. N. Grimes and Mr. A. T. Ruby the Committee was re-elected; Mr. P. G. Shelley becoming temporary Honorary Secretary. There was no further busi-

After the formal meeting Mr. J. H. P. Sankey, Warden of Juniper Hall Field Centre, gave a lecture on local fauna illustrated by lantern slides, which was much enjoyed.

# OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1957-58

Chairman: Capt. A. W. G. LOWTHER, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.

Hon. Secretary: P. G. SHELLEY

(Beechcroft, Hawks Hill, Fetcham. Tel. Leatherhead 2696)

Hon. Treasurer: S. E. D. FORTESCUE

(Glyne Cottage, Lower Road, Great Bookham. Tel. Bookham 2606)

Hon. Programme Secretary: Office Vacant

Committee Members: F. B. BENGER, J. G. W. LEWARNE, A. T. RUBY, M.B.E., Mrs. TAYLOR (Co-opted)

Hon. Auditor: A. H. KIRKBY

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

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

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

The Editor will be glad to consider suitable articles for publication in these *Proceedings*.

# **PROCEEDINGS**

# of the

# Leatherhead and District Local History Society Vol. 2, No. 1 1957

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### OCCASIONAL NOTES

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CRIME PREVENTION.—The previous issue of these *Proceedings* contained a note (page ii of cover) concerning the carved board, with a scale of rewards for the apprehension of criminals, now in possession of this Society, of which the possible date was suggested as being in the first half of the 18th century. Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A., has drawn our attention to some notes on similar associations for the prevention of crime in *The Parish Chest* by W. E. Tate, 1946, where the dates of activity are given as between 1778 and 1876. It appears that such associations came into being as a result of the unrest caused by the Inclosure Awards and that they filled the hiatus between the withering of the functions of the old manor constables and the introduction of a force of county police. The Leatherhead board may therefore belong to the second half of the 18th century, but the style of lettering and general appearance is certainly of an earlier period. It may well be an example of the survival of earlier fashions of workmanship in a quiet country area.

THE SWAN INN, LEATHERHEAD.—So many one-time landmarks of old Leatherhead have disappeared within the past thirty years that it is pleasant to record that one of them still survives, though in strange surroundings. In the summer of 1957 it came to the Society's notice that the stucco swan which used to be above the portico of the Swan Hotel is in the possession of Mr. R. F. Scott of 37 Cannonside, Fetcham, and now forms an ornament in his garden. Its date is difficult to determine, but it has the appearance of early 19th century work and is rather above the average in artistic quality.

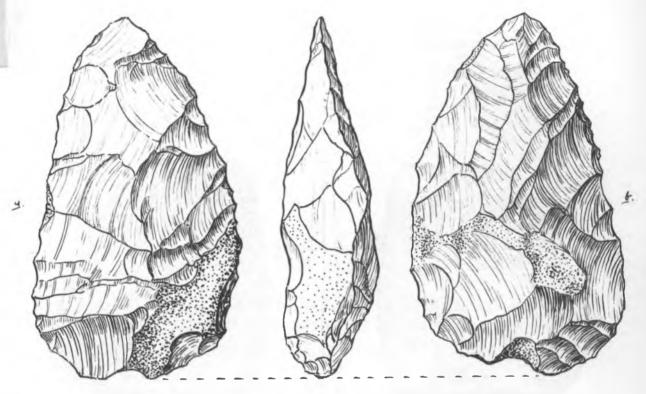
**REV. JAMES DALLAWAY.**—Dallaway, as the compiler of the first separate history of Leatherhead, deserves our gratitude and respect, even if it is sometimes difficult to disentangle his genuine historical research from his known love of "leg-pulls". In Brayley's *History of Surrey*, 1850, the following description of Dallaway's burial place in Leatherhead churchyard is given: "Under the branches of an aged thorn is the tomb of the late Rev. James Dallaway and his friend Richard Duppa, esq. . . This spot had been selected by the former for his own burial place; the inscription follows: Beneath this stone is deposited the Body of the Rev. James Dallaway, 29 years Vicar of this Parish, who departed this life June 6th, 1834, aged 71 years. Also, the Body of Richard Duppa, esq., Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn . . ."

The late Mr. G. H. Smith, an authority on Leatherhead Church, left a note that the tombstone was of the flat ledger type; but it is not known whether he was able to discover its position. A search in the summer of 1957 failed to locate it. Brayley speaks of it as near the burial place of Col. Spicer (of The Mansion) and Col. Drinkwater Bethune (of Thorncroft). To ascertain the position of the grave and restore the stone would be an act of natural piety by this Society, and it may be hoped that this can still be done.

### REPORT ON THE GROUPS

The activities of Group "A" (historical records and research) have commenced, very naturally, to divide into those of teams or individuals concentrating on the several parishes within the area; and it is hoped to foster this development in the future while at the same time preserving the close liaison and exchange of information which has always been one of the most attractive features of the Society to individual research workers. In Ashtead a team headed by the Chairman has achieved considerable progress during the past year in collecting and collating material (in which the assistance of a new member of the Group, Mr. K. F. Heany, has been invaluable); whilst at Bookham, Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A. and at Fetcham, Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne are both working individually to add to the considerable information which they have already collected. Though Dr. Kiralfy has left the district we are happy to say that his advice and help continue to be at the service of the Group. It may be said without denigration that Group "B" (architecture, buildings, surveying) and Group "C" (photography) are both in a sense handmaidens to the other groups; their services become invaluable upon occasion. Though there has been no field work during the year covered by this issue, Group "D" (archaeology) is fundamental to such a Society as this, and its activities are evidenced by the Cartographical Survey now in progress in

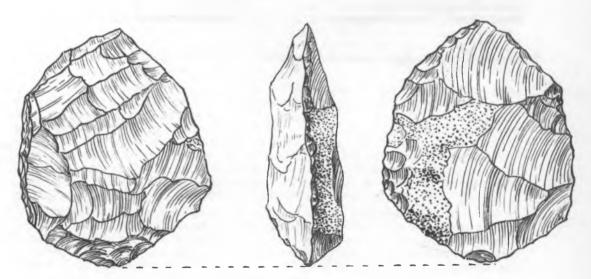
DRAWINGS BY L. W. CARPENTER OF TWO PALEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS (additional to those described in Vol. I No. 10)



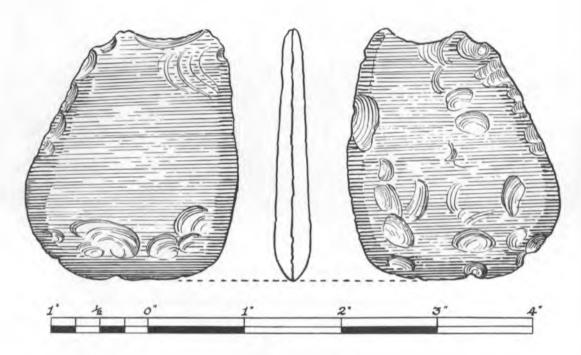
Dug up in the garden of "Knowlehawe", Epsom Lane, Tadworth, prior to 1939

Face a: Ice bleached ivory patina.

Face b: Bluish white patina tendency to "basket work" patina. Original flint showing through.



Dug up in the garden of "Knowlehawe", Epsom Lane, Tadworth, prior to 1939 Greyish patina in bleached. Black markings as on similar cordate from the Gallops site.



An Early Bronze Age discoidal polished flint knife from Leatherhead

these Proceedings. Group "E" (natural history) held a very successful "fungus foray" at The Old Quarry, Ashtead, on October 5th, 1957, led by Dr. Phyllis Topping, who identified the species found as enumerated below:-

(those marked \* were obtained the following day, beneath beech trees, in a corner of the ground not inspected during the actual foray).

1. \*Amanita aspera

Tricholoma aggregatum

3. Tricholoma nudum

4. Mycena galericulata

5. Marasmius peronatus

6. Clitocybe flaccida

7. Collybia maculata 8. Hypholoma fasciculare

9. \*Entoloma clypeatum

10. Lepiota gracilis11. Lepiota procera

12. Lepiota cristata

13. Stropharia aeruginosa

14. Mycena zephira

15. Coprinus plicatus

16. Cortinarius sp. 17. Panaeolus campanulatus

18. Helvella crispa

Lycoperdon sp.
 Paxillus involutus
 Xylaria polymorpha
 Stereum hirsutum

23. Polyporus betulinus

24. Peziza aurantia

25. \*Geaster fimbriatus (illustrated on cover)

# AN EARLY BRONZE AGE DISCOIDAL KNIFE OF POLISHED FLINT FOUND AT LEATHERHEAD

By L. W. CARPENTER

IN JUNE, 1957, while searching a freshly harrowed strip of the fields adjacent to the River Mole and to the east of the suspension bridge carrying the Leatherhead-Guildford by-pass road, I picked up the flint knife illustrated here. These fields have produced a quantity of battered mesolithic flint work of which only the cores seem to remain intact, the remaining blades and other pieces having been re-chipped and re-worked in late Neolithic or Bronze Age times, or else broken up by generations of ploughing on very stony soil. Beyond a bifacially worked leaf-shaped arrow point, two triangular ones and several fragments of unpolished neolithic-axe head, none of the flints before this latest find could be said to be typical of the late neolithic or early Bronze Age period. It could be assumed, however, that ploughing over a very long period on this stony ground has destroyed many implements or battered them beyond recognition.

This discoidal knife is of a semi-transparent to opaque pale grey flint and has a faint milky patina and a lustrous surface. It appears to have been made from a large flake, the under surface being slightly concave and smoothly polished. The upper surface has been dressed by the removal of a number of flakes before the polishing—it is difficult to show all these in the illustration as the polishing has been carried over the whole surface and is indicated by the horizontal shading. A fairly wide peripheral bevelling has been effected all round except the top edge. The chipping on parts of this bevelling would appear to be contemporary with its original use except for the larger chip on the left of the right hand illustration. This chip is of later date and likely to be the result of ploughing.

Examination of the surface under a lens shows that the polishing has been effected on both faces by a circular rubbing motion and that on the bevelled edges by rubbing parallel to each edge. The polishing stone is likely to have been a piece of hard grained Wealden sandstone of the ironstone variety as tiny specks of brassy-looking iron pyrites can be seen in some of the deeper scratches. Pieces of this stone can be picked up on these fields and occur in the exposed river gravels of the Mole nearby.

# A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

### III. THE BRONZE AND IRON AGES. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MAP

THE FIRST HUMAN BEINGS who inhabited or passed through our district, and who are known to us by evidence of their occupation, were those of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic periods, many thousands of years ago. That the evidence is confined to occasional finds of their stone tools is less remarkable when it is considered that, until the arrival of their successors of the Neolithic Age, and the first pastoral and agricultural ways of life, these people lived principally by hunting and fishing, supplemented by wild fruits in season. Such an existence was necessarily a roving one, but the chalk of this district contained the raw material, flint, from which they fashioned their weapons and tools; so that it is probable that these nomadic people would stay here for brief periods from time to time in order to replenish their stocks of the flint implements upon which their lives depended. Traces of one such "manufactory" were found a few years since south of the bridge carrying Young Street over the Mole. Many paleolithic implements of much older date have been found on the neighbouring Walton and Banstead Heaths. As far as is now known the Neolithic people who followed have also left little trace of their presence in this district—no "Long Barrows" or "Causewayed Camps" have as yet been found here—but their flint tools have been found in quantities.

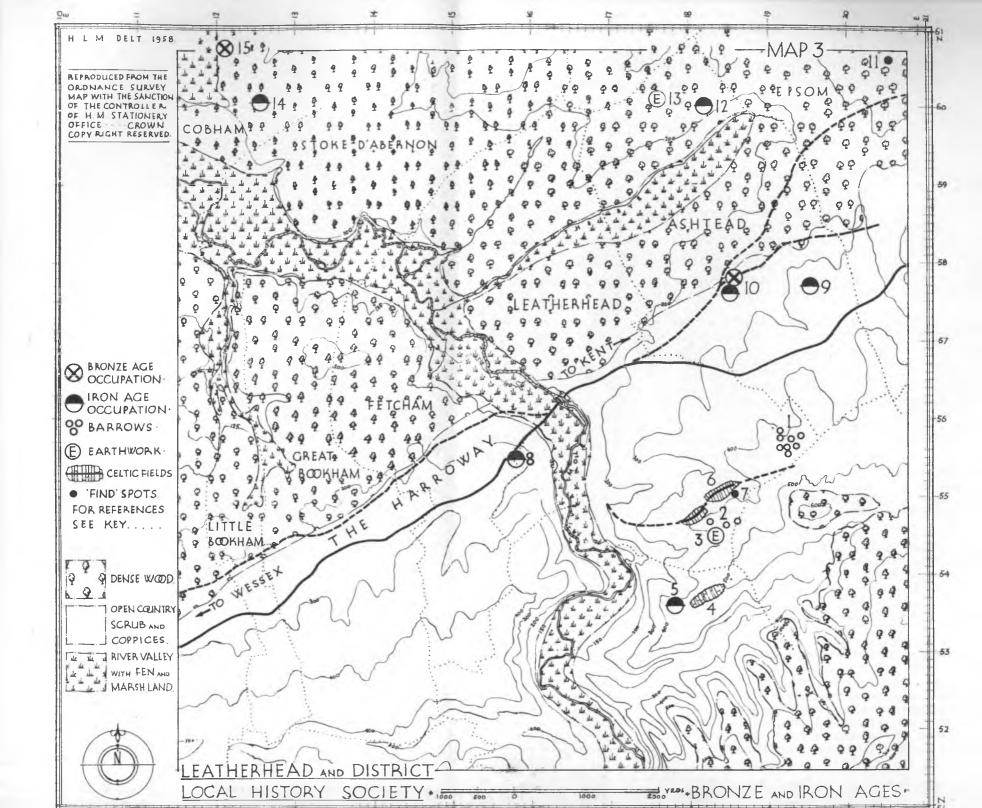
About 1900 B.C. a fresh wave of immigrants arrived, bringing with them a knowledge of bronze-making; and these inaugurated a period which has thus become known as the Bronze Age. Bronze came gradually into general use among the inhabitants (though it remained a prized and relatively scarce commodity) but flint was by no means completely ousted, and the fine flint knife described elsewhere in this issue dates from the early part of the Bronze Age. A knowledge of metallurgy had existed in the East for centuries, and the copper and tin of Cornwall and Ireland had found a ready market there before the advent of these Bronze Age people here: the so-called "Beaker Folk" (now known to have arrived before the close of the Neolithic period) were mainly a flint-using people, using little bronze; and they formed a link between the two periods. Some part-polished flint axes of this period, obviously copied from bronze axes, are known.

In the fifth century B.C., or perhaps a little earlier, the use of iron was introduced and took the place of bronze for weapons and implements. The ensuing period known as the Iron Age was one of continuous influx by invaders in large and small bands of different races; hence the varying pottery types and ornaments which they left behind them.

### THE MAP

The main feature of the map is the thick continuous line running from W. to E. along the high chalklands and representing part of the "Harroway" or ancient trackway from the west of England to the Kentish coast. The broken lines indicate possible alternative routes used in drier weather, but innumerable variations were no doubt used from time to time when a fallen tree or boggy patch occasioned a diversion. In our area the main line followed roughly the present Guildford–Leatherhead road (avoiding Hawks Hill) as far as the present junction with the Leatherhead By-Pass road, where it veered along Green Lane and eastwards across the downs. The variations marked run along the sandy Lower road (skirting the marshy land on its north at the eastern end), and between Ashtead and Epsom. This trackway is likely to have first come into use early in the Bronze Age.

There are several tumuli, or barrows, as shown by a ring or group of rings on the map, and many more have been ploughed flat and only discovered by aerial photography. Their date has not been ascertained; those so far explored have yielded no evidence and the others are not yet available for investigation. They may be of Bronze Age date and thus indicate neighbouring habitation sites, but an early Iron Age date is also possible. Known Bronze Age occupation sites (three in number) are shown on the map by a cross within a circle.



Six Iron Age habitation sites are known<sup>3</sup> and the pottery found at them shows that they continued in occupation until the Roman period. Two earthworks, possibly of this period but so far uninvestigated, occur within our area; one (No. 13) on Ashtead Common, the other (No. 3) on Leatherhead Downs. Celtic fields have been identified, Nos. 4 and 6 on the map.

The last arrivals of Iron Age folk in this country were of the Belgic race. A Belgic uninscribed gold coin was found in Leatherhead a hundred years ago; 4 its recovery position is not shown on the map, but another found more recently (described by Mr. A. R. Cotton, F.S.A. the present owner, in Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. XLIV, p.138, with an illustration) is indicated by the No. 11. These Belgic people formed the population of this area at the time of the Roman conquest; and were the bulk of the Romano-British inhabitants of Roman Britain. Thus the making of crude native pottery continued into the Roman period and frequently as late as 50-60 A.D.

Our next map will deal with the period of the Roman occupation so far as it effects this district, and will be accompanied by an article from the pen of our Chairman.

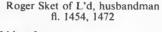
- 1. Proceedings of this Society. Vol. I No. 6, p. 5 et seq.
- 2. Ibid. Vol. I No. 10, p. 6 et seq.
- Surrey Archaeological Collections. Vol XLIX, pp. 104-6; Vol. L, pp. 142-3.
   Ibid. Vol I.

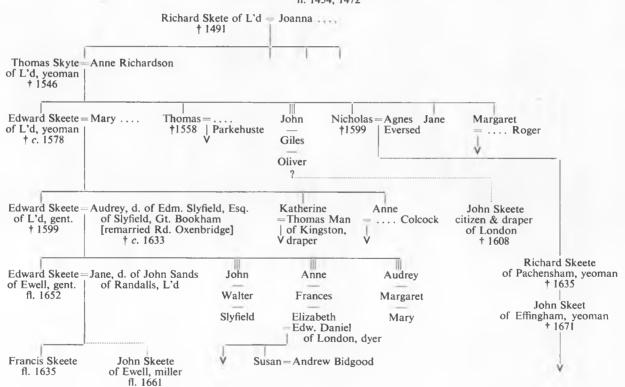
### KEY TO MAP No. 3

The numbered sites on the map are as follows:—

- A group of Bronze Age Barrows, levelled by ploughing but observed, as "crop-marks", on air photographs taken in 1941.
- Three Barrows still visible on the surface.
- Earthwork with traces of a bank and ditch. Probably of Bronze Age or Iron Age date but has not been tested by excavation.
- Celtic Field System, located and recorded by S. S. Frere (S.A.C. Vol. XLIX, pp. 104-6).
- Iron Age pottery, found and recorded as the last item (No. 4).
- Celtic Field System (part of), lying on both sides of a double-ditched trackway. Observed, 1941, as crop marks recorded on air photographs by B. Hope-Taylor.
- Saddle quern, probably Bronze Age or early Iron Age, found 1948. (penes A. W. G. Lowther).
- Iron Age "C" pottery and grain pits, found 1900 (S.A.C. Vol. XX, pp. 119-28 and Vol. L, pp. 142-3).
- Iron Age pottery, grain pits and two uninscribed Belgic coins found in the garden of "Inward Shaw", Park Lane, Ashtead (S.A.C. Vol. XLVIII, pp. 197-202 and Vol. L,
- 10. Late Bronze Age and Iron Age "A" pottery, grain store pits, pieces of quern stones and of loom weights, with quantities of calcined flints, found (1925 and subsequent years) in making the garden of "The Old Quarry", Warren Estate, Ashtead. (S.A.C. Vol. XLI, pp. 93-8).
- 11. Belgic uninscribed Gold Coin found on edge of Epsom Common. Published, S.A.C. Vol. XLIV, pp. 138-9 (penes A. R. Cotton).
- Numerous calcined flints with a few pieces of Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age pottery found, 1926, on the slope of Ashtead Common (A.W.G.L.).
- Small, triangular single bank and ditch earthwork. Possibly pre-Roman but undated and unexcavated. (N.B. Some native Belgic pottery was found during the excavation of the nearby Roman site, 1926-8 (A.W.G.L.).
- Iron Age occupation site at Street Cobham (S.A.C. Vol. XXII, pp. 137-54).
- Late Bronze Age cinerary urns found at Leigh Hill, Cobham (S.A.C. Vol. XX-XXI).

### THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF SKEETE OF LEATHERHEAD





6

### LEATHERHEAD FAMILIES OF THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES

By F. BASTIAN

### I. THE SKEETE FAMILY

IN 1906 there was published a History of the Families of Skeet, Somerscales, Widdrington, Wilby, Murray, Blake, Grimshaw, and Others, by a Connection of the same. The author was, in fact, Major F. J. A. Skeet who, in it, traced his own descent from a family which flourished in Leatherhead in the sixteenth century. The following account of the Leatherhead family differs from that given by Major Skeet by including new material as well as by putting a different interpretation on some of the old material; nor has any attempt been made to produce a formal family history. It is, however, only right to acknowledge the extent to which Major Skeet's book has been used as a quarry.<sup>1</sup>

Professor W. W. Skeat, the famous nineteenth century philologist, was himself a member of a branch traditionally descended from the Skeetes of Surrey, though not necessarily from the Leatherhead family. He considered the name to be undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin; and this is supported by the fact that the earliest examples in this country occur in East Anglia, where a "Sket miles" is mentioned as early as 1040. The name has not been traced in Surrey before the second half of the thirteenth century, when William and Roger Sket owned land at Weston, in Thames Ditton. In the following century the name is found at Kingston, Cuddington, Dorking, Blechingley, La Legh [Effingham] and Ockley. It seems likely that the Surrey family originated in East Anglia; and to attempt to link it with Danish incursions into Surrey several centuries earlier seems rather fanciful.<sup>3</sup>

It is not until the mid-fifteenth century that the name first appears in Leatherhead. In 1454 ROGER SKETE was granted by John White the younger, son and heir of Joan, one of the daughters and heirs of William Hendon and of Beatrice his wife, the reversion of all the lands and services in Ledrede then held for life by the courtesy of England by John White the father with reversion to the grantor.<sup>4</sup> In other words Roger Skete was acquiring all the Leatherhead property which John White the younger had inherited from his mother, subject to his father's life-interest in the estate. This may possibly be the origin of the family connection with the town which was to continue for over two and a half centuries.

A few years later we have a tantalising glimpse of Roger Skete as an actual resident at Leatherhead. In 1468 a pardon was granted to John Ware of London, "joynour", of his outlawry in the county of Hertford for not appearing before the King to answer Richard atte Welle, late of Ledered, "husbondman", on a charge of conspiracy.<sup>5</sup> It appears that atte Welle had been accused of breaking the close and house of Nicholas Carewe of Bedyngton, esquire, in November, 1460, and of stealing four horses, valued at 26s. 8d. He had been acquitted, and had then charged Carewe and Thomas Slyfeld of Great Bokeham "gentilman", with twenty-five others, almost all from Surrey, of conspiring against him. Among them was Roger Skete, of Ledered "husbondman". Others from Leatherhead were John Horne "husbondman", Henry Mountegewe the elder "fletcher", John Poweke "bocher", Thomas Bullok "baker", John Groffam "yoman", and Walter Holt "roper". Other local men were William Hyde of Feccham "gentilman", Richard Kyng of Great Bokeham "husbondman", John atte Lee of Effyngham "yoman", William Burford of Cobeham "tanner", John Beche of Asshestede "husbondman", and Adam Porter of Mickeham "husbondman". The conspiracy is alleged to have taken place at Great Offley, near Hitchin; but it would be rash to assume that Skete and the others were guilty of the charge brought against them. The most that can be said is that the events in dispute seem to reflect the unsettled state of England during the Wars of the Roses; and the presence of so many Surrey men at Great Offley suggests that those of humbler origin may have been there as

dependents of Carewe and Slyfeld in one of the military campaigns of the time. It may be mentioned that Bullok, Groffam and atte Lee had been among the local men pardoned for their part in Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450.

Roger Skete must have survived these difficulties, for at a Court of the Manor of Pachensham and Lethered on 22nd June, 1472, three culprits were each amerced 3s. 4d. for breaking into the lord's park and carrying off certain livestock, belonging to John Ripindenes and John Horne, which were emparked by Roger Sket the bailiff.<sup>6</sup> This, the last reference to him, shows him in a position of some responsibilty in the community.

We come next to a RICHARD SKETE who may well have been the son and heir of Roger, and was certainly the ancestor of the main Leatherhead family of the next century. Nothing is known of him until, in 1491, he came to make his will, which was proved in the same year. It makes no mention of his occupation or status; but a number of bequests of ewes suggests that he was a yeoman, and his request to be buried within the church of Leatherhead suggests that he was a man of local importance. He left the bulk of his goods to his wife Johanna, whom he also made executrix, and mentioned, without naming, his little sons and daughters ("cuilibet filiolorum meorum et filiolarum mearum"). His overseers were John Maye, vicar of Leatherhead, and John Hamersham (i.e. Agmondisham), gentleman.

The heir of Richard Skete was his son Thomas. The latter can probably be indentified with the Thomas Skete who was a party to a land transfer in Ewell in 1514,8 for the family is known later to have had land in this parish. In 1525 he was assessed in Leatherhead for the Lay Subsidy, at £10 in goods, being among the four or five wealthiest in the town.9 In 1533 he was mentioned as holding a lease of lands in Leatherhead and Mickleham from Reigate Priory; 10 and in the same year he was appointed one of the feoffees of John Lambert of Banstead. 11 His wife Anne came from another local family prominent at the time, the Richardsons. This can be gathered from the will of his brother-in-law, Oliver Richardson of London, mercer, made in 1546.12

He, himself, died later in the same year. In his will<sup>13</sup> he was styled "Thomas Skyte of Lederhed yoman", though he signed it "Thomas Skett". He asked to be buried "nigh unto the sepulcre of Richard Skyte my father", in the parish church. In the half century since his father's death there had been cataclysmic changes in religion. Luther had successfully defied the Pope; Henry VIII had asserted his supremacy over the Church of England and had used his power to dissolve the monasteries. Yet this will reminds us how little change there had yet been in the ritual in the parish churches. For there were bequests, closely comparable to those in his father's will, of 8d, to the high altar of Leatherhead church, and 6s. 8d. to the church of Leatherhead "to thintente that my candle shalbe burning there"; and, he went on, "I will that ther be xv preests at my buriall and every of them to have viiid, a pece and likewise as many at my monethes daie," 6s. 8d. was also left for the maintenance and repair of Leatherhead bridge. His three manservants and two maidservants were each to have a quarter of barley. Several of his eight children also received bequests of barley, bullocks and sheep, as well as £6 13s. 4d. sterling apiece. To his second son, Thomas, he left two acres in the common field of Leatherhead, in addition to the lands and rents already given to him. The eldest son Edward, who was made executor jointly with his mother, was to have all the rest of his lands, "my hole trane of horses and the carte withall the harness thereto belonging", and also a mazer and six spoons with images at the ends. Silver spoons were often the first step towards gentility; and we find "my well beloved ffrende Thomas Sands of Lederhed, gentleman", appointed as overseer.

For another generation the family continued with little change, nor is much more known about EDWARD SKEETE than about his father. At the time of his father's death he was already a married man with two children. A few years later he is mentioned, in 1550<sup>14</sup> and again in 1553, 15 as one of two sidesmen at Leatherhead responsible for taking inventories of church property, when further spoliation was being carried out during the reign of

Edward VI. In 1571<sup>16</sup> and 1576<sup>17</sup> he was assessed at £18 in goods for the Lay Subsidy. The increased assessment, compared with half a century earlier, does not necessarily reflect greater prosperity; but it is significant that on each occasion his was the second highest in Leatherhead, exceeding that of any of the gentry in the town.

His will<sup>18</sup> was made on 10th May, 1577 and proved on 13th March, 1578/9 and again its main interest lies in a comparison with his father's. He is styled Edward Skeete of Leatherhed, yeoman; and though he signed as "Edwarde Sket", the spelling Skeete now becomes the usual one. He asked to be buried in the church or churchyard of Leatherhead, but the anxious concern that the proper ceremonies should be observed had now disappeared. The number of servants had increased to seven, if we include "John Turnor my shepparde". Bequests of barley, cattle and sheep were made to them and to children of his two married daughters. He left a widow, Mary, whose family is not known, and an only surviving son, another Edward, who were appointed executors. The overseers were John Burtche (described as "Baron of thescheker", though the words were deleted) who had married a Stydolph, Thomas Lyfylde, esquire, and Rychard Gardener, gent (son of the Sergeant of the Cellar). The son Edward inherited all the lands; and it is interesting to find the six silver spoons and the mazer again specifically bequeathed to the heir, with one or two further items of plate. It is clear that Edward Skeete had maintained and even improved his estate, without rising above the status of yeoman.

The second EDWARD SKEETE is next mentioned in connection with a muster of the armed forces of Surrey, held at Cobham on 20th September, 1583.<sup>19</sup> The following record survives: "Hundred of Copthorne and Effingham. Defaltes . . . Edward Skeete, yoman, j (light horse): he allegeth disabilitie." Whatever may lie behind this cryptic comment (Skeete was a young man, in his thirties), it has the further significance of being the last reference to him as a yeoman. When he next appears, on the homage at a Court of the Manor of Pachensham and Letherhead, held on 15th September, 1586,<sup>20</sup> it is as Edward Skete, gentleman. The published records make no reference to the grant of arms which must have enabled him to cross the social Rubicon, nor is it known what arms he bore. It may well be that this step was connected with his marriage a few years earlier to Audrey, one of the daughters of Edmund Slyfield, esquire, and of Elizabeth his wife, of Slyfield in Great Bookham. Edmund Slyfield's tomb bears ample tesimony to pride of ancestry. Skeete's marriage was probably in 1580 or 1581, when he was still a yeoman, but it must have exposed him to powerful social pressures.

When Edmund Slyfield made his will<sup>21</sup> in 1589 he left to his daughter Audrey, after her mother's death, a silver gilt cruse and cover, and a covered silver jug, all gilt. Her husband, Edward Skeete was appointed an overseer, and was to have "one shorte cloake, called the Dutch cloke of Black Damaske furred with squirrell, faced with caliber and garded with velvet." He was also a witness of the will of his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Slyfield in 1597.<sup>22</sup> In it she left to her daughter Skeete "a cloth gown garded with velvet, and a Kirtell of wrought velvet".

Edward Skeete himself died early in 1599, leaving his widow Audrey with nine children, all minors. A curious feature of his will, which he made on 25th February of that year, was his request to be buried "in the place provyded for the Christian congregation". This strange circumlocution suggests that he may have been a member of the Brownists, then a new and persecuted sect, from which the modern Congregationalists took their origin. There does not seem, however, to have been any Brownist congregation nearer than London.

From this will and other sources it is possible to gain quite a good impression of his estate.<sup>23</sup> In addition to a personal estate of about £500, he owned lands said to have been of a clear yearly value of 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.), which would have had a capital value of about £2500. The bulk of these lands lay in Leatherhead, where he owned nearly 200

acres, all but 30 acres of which were freehold. There were also 24 acres in Fetcham, 33 acres in Blechingley and Nutfield, 20 acres in Thames Ditton, and a copyhold estate, of unknown size, in Ewell. The rents of the estate in Blechingley and Nutfield were to go to pay debts, stated not to exceed £40. Lands worth £50 per annum had been settled on Audrey Skeete as her jointure, which included a "mansion house" in Leatherhead. The rest of the lands were left to Audrey, charged with children's portions of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) each, to be paid to the two younger sons at 21 and to the six daughters at 24. The son and heir was a third successive Edward, then aged only eight. He was to receive £10 twice a year between the ages of 21 and 30, when, the children's portions having all been paid, he would come into possession of the lands. The entire personal estate went to Audrey, the sole executrix, to bring up and educate her family. Skeete's brothers-in-law Walter Slyfeld, gentlemen, and Thomas Man of Kingston-upon-Thames, and his cousins, Edward Rogers of Leatherhead, yeoman, and John Skeyt of London, draper, were to be overseers. The whole was fenced round with what must have seemed sufficient safeguards to ensure that, in the event of Audrey's remarriage, the children's interests would be secure.

The events of the next few years can be followed in unusual detail, but through the distorting medium of the *ex parte* statements of litigants. However, by reliance on unchallenged assertions and on inherent probability where the evidence conflicts, it is possible to reconstruct these events with a fair degree of confidence.<sup>24</sup>

After a year's widowhood Audrey Skeete remarried, to Richard Oxenbridge, gentleman, who, according to his stepson's subsequent account, "being then muche indebted and inclyned to deceipt and too muche given to suytes in law", took advantage of the children's tender years, paying out very little for their maintenance and education, and amassing a great sum into his own hands. "Amassing" can hardly have been the right word, for in 1606 or 1607, at the instance of Martin Freeman, citizen and fishmonger of London, he was committed to the King's Bench prison for a debt of £200. An extent to the value of £30 5s. 5d. was levied on his lands, for Freeman's benefit. It was claimed that the children were left destitute; but there is little doubt that both they and their mother were relieved at his disappearance from the scene.

In April, 1610, EDWARD SKEETE, then aged 19, was married at St. Saviour's, Southwark, to Jane, daughter of John Sands, of Randalls, Leatherhead.<sup>25</sup> He thereby gained a most useful ally, though, as he was not to come into his estate until he was 30, his financial position can hardly have warranted such a step. According to Skeete, at about Michaelmas, 1611, presumably on reaching the age of 21, he became lawfully seized of certain lands which, he claimed, had been forfeited by Oxenbridge. The latter clearly thought otherwise. These must have been the copyhold lands in Leatherhead (Great Rydons and Great Rydons Mead) and in Ewell.

About Easter, 1612, Oxenbridge, having made an agreement with his creditor, Freeman, was released from the King's Bench prison. It was claimed that the agreement contained a provision that the tenants put in by Freeman on the extended lands should continue in occupation until Michaelmas so that they might take the hay and the crops which they had sown. Again, Oxenbridge seems to have had a different view.

In May he appeared in Leatherhead with a number of Southwark men, "and other like evell disposed persons comonly used and ymployed in desperate cases about forcible entryes and takeing and holding possessions by force". His object was to take immediate possession of the lands on which the extent had been levied, and of the copyhold lands now in the possession of Edward Skeete. He had already sent one, Bartholomew Walters, from the King's Bench prison to take possession of the latter, but without success; and at Assizes held on 8th July, 1612, Oxenbridge and his associates indicted Skeete for the murder of Walters. The judges stayed proceedings and referred the bill for further examin-

ation to two Surrey justices, Sir Thomas Gardner and Sir William Mynne, who found that Walters had actually died of the plague in London long before the date of his alleged murder.

Meanwhile the battle of the hay had been joined. About July 12th, while Edward Adeane of Leatherhead, yeoman, one of the tenants put in by Freeman, was in Halemead with his servants and workmen, "moweing, makeing and carrying the said grasses and hey," Oxenbridge and his followers, armed with "gonnes, bills, swords, daggars, staves, and other warlike weapons as well offensive as defensive," attacked them there. Adeane's men can hardly have been taken unawares, and honours were probably even; for Adeane did at least get in his hay, though he had to do so at night. About July 20th there was a similar encounter in Rydon's meade, where Skeete, with his tenants and servants, were also attempting to get in the hay. Here Oxenbridge was more successful, and was left in possession of the field; for the greater part of the hay, some thirty loads, was carried to his barns. One of Skeete's party, John Lucas, here "receaved suche hurt that from that tyme he languyshed and not long after dyed as yt was generally conceaved".

About August 8th, Skeete received a message from his mother Audrey "to come to her in the feilde where she was with her harvest people to speak with her, and that yf he desired to see her alive, he should come unto her as soon as conveniently he could", for she had been beaten by her husband to the point of death. Skeete, his father-in-law, Sands, and their wives went to see her, but found that she had been brought to the house of Philomuses Deane, and was thought to be beyond all hope of recovery. Shortly after leaving her, with great grief of mind, Skeete declared that her people cried after him, "She is dead, she is dead, take the villaine take him or words to that effect." Hereupon, apparently without returning to investigate, Skeete, Sands and about ten others went to the house of William Ponder, where Oxenbridge was then at supper with his friends and servants. According to Skeete and Sands, the door was opened to them and they entered "peaceably"; but for once Oxenbridge's version, that they entered forcibly, sounds more probable. Sands took charge of the proceedings, and is said to have caused a pitchfork to be held to the breast of Oxenbridge in order to arrest him. When the latter enquired for a warrant or constable, Sands is said to have declared that he would be constable. He later admitted that he might well have said this, "yet the same he might in such case as aforesaid well saie without offence". He also stated that he had commanded all present in the King's name to keep the peace, "which he beleiveth . . . it was lawful for him to do". It seems that the constable eventually arrived, and Oxenbridge spent the night in his custody. Oxenbridge complained that at about 10 or 11 o'clock at night the great bell was "knowled in mockery". After all this it is a relief to find that Audrey was not dead, and that by the next morning she was "much amended", so that Oxenbridge was released. His enemies would appear to have put themselves to some extent in the wrong; for although they claimed that the incident had taken place "without any such hobbub, outcryes or clamoures made as the complainant pretendeth", he was able to get them bound over to keep the peace.

Not long afterwards, however, as Oxenbridge came from church in the morning he was arrested in the churchyard by Richard Rogers, the constable, and John Childs, a common bailiff. In the afternoon Skeete and Sands, being in the house of one Mr. Godman, "neare adioyninge to the open streete there", and hearing a commotion outside, went out to investigate, and found that Childs had just recaptured Oxenbridge who had escaped. Childs "being weakly assisted" called on them in the King's name to assist him. This they did, though they denied laying hands on Oxenbridge, but "did accompany them to the signe of the Swanne in Leatherhead", which was on their direct way home.

There is no evidence of where the "mansion house" of the Skeetes was situated, but it seems that at this time Edward Skeete was living with his father-in-law at Randalls. Not long afterwards he removed to Ewell, and apparently never returned to live in Leather-

head. He later alleged that on 12th September, 1613, while he was at church in Ewell with his tenants and servants, Oxenbridge's men had made a forcible entry into the house of one Adrey Lucas, his tenant, pulling down the walls to get in, and dispossessed Skeete and Lucas of the house, and "spoyled spent and wasted" their goods.

All this went on against a background of litigation. Oxenbridge brought no fewer than three cases in the Star Chamber, the defendants including not only Skeete and Sands, Skeete's tenants and servants, but his own wife, Rogers the constable, most of the leading Leatherhead residents, Sir Thomas Vincent and Francis his son, J.P.'s, and Edward Bysshe, the under-sheriff. It is interesting to find Edward Rogers, tenant of the rectory, and Richard Levitt, the vicar, who a few years earlier had themselves been involved in complicated litigation over tithes, now joined as defendants in the same bill. Oxenbridge obviously felt that the entire population of Leatherhead was in league against him; and there can be no doubt where the local sympathies lay. Skeete and Edward Adeane, early in 1614, brought a case in the Star Chamber themselves; and it is significant that none of those they named as Oxenbridge's associates were local men. The bills, answers and interrogatories of these four cases have survived, but not the judgments.

From later documents it seems that Oxenbridge was still alive in 1627, but that he predeceased his wife Audrey, who died in 1633 or 4. In the later part of her life she had had more than her share of tragedy. Apart from her disastrous re-marriage and the consequences just related, she saw the ruin of her original family, the Slyfields, with the loss of their ancestral home in 1614, and also lived long enough to know that a similar fate threatened the Skeetes.

Whatever the cause, little seemed to go right for Edward Skeete of Ewell. In 1630 he apprenticed his son Francis, then aged about 18, to Richard Helliard, a Southampton merchant, paying a premium of £60. Within a year or so Helliard died; his widow Jane refused to refund the premium or bind him to another merchant; Skeete brought in a Bill in Chancery; before this could take effect, Jane also died; Skeete next, in November 1635, brought in a Bill²6 against Daniel Hersent of Southampton to whom he claimed letters of administration had been granted; Hersent denied this, and named two others who he said might be in possession of the books and papers. The outcome is not known, nor that of another case²7 begun by Skeete on 7th January 1636/7 concerning the Thames Ditton lands which had been part of his mother's jointure. Leases granted by Oxenbridge in 1614 and 1624 appear to have been at the root of the trouble. Skeete was having difficulty in establishing his title, which he probably needed to do in order to sell—for it is clear that he had long been living on his capital.

The Feet of Fines reveal the piecemeal sale of his freehold lands in Leatherhead and Fetcham.<sup>28</sup> The sales began in 1620 as soon as he came into his estates, and during the years 1620-1, 1627-9, and 1637-9 he disposed altogether of 5 messuages, 2 cottages, 4 barns, 4 stables, 8 gardens, 5 orchards, 127 acres of arable, 17½ acres of meadow and 35 acres of pasture. There were twelve transactions, involving ten different purchasers, all but two of whom can be identified as relatives or local men. The largest sale was to Andrew Bidgood, a nephew by marriage,<sup>29</sup> in 1637 and this almost certainly included the "mansion house" By 1639 little if any can have been left of the Skeete lands, much of which must have been in the family for five or more generations. The total nominal consideration was £665, but the actual sum realized must have been considerably greater. How much of it went in litigation, and how much in supporting, in a style befitting a gentleman, a family embarked upon before he was in full possession of a gentleman's estate, we can only guess. His reduced circumstances can be inferred from the Ewell Lay Subsidy Assessment of 1629,<sup>30</sup> where Edward Skeete, gent, was assessed at 40 shillings in lands, a typical assessment of a small yeoman.

It has been suggested that Skeete's object in selling his lands was to enable one of his sons to settle in Barbados; for by the middle of the 17th century there was a family named Skeet there, which in later generations attained some prominence in the island.<sup>31</sup> It may well be that one of his sons emigrated in an effort to restore the family fortunes, though there is no direct evidence to connect the two families; but that this was his motive in selling his lands is highly improbable, as the sales began within ten years of his marriage, and five years before the first settlement in Barbados. A further suggestion that Edward Skeete was slain in the Civil War fighting for Charles I must be definitely rejected. Not only is there no evidence of royalist sympathies, but there is proof that he was still alive in 1652.<sup>32</sup> In 1661 there was living in Ewell a miller, John Skeete,<sup>33</sup> who was probably one of his sons; while the Surrey Hearth Tax List of 1664 shows in Ewell, only a widow Skeete, taxed for four hearths. With these, as far as can be told, this branch of the family came to an end.

It remains to deal with the collateral branches of the family in Leatherhead, though no attempt will be made to do so comprehensively. As early as 1472 there was a William Skete, who was granted a customary tenement, formerly Thomas Wrennye's, in the Little Croft, and 1 (or 2) acres of land lying in Manfelde.<sup>34</sup> In 1497 a Robert Sket was paid 8/- for 24 days work when the manor house of Thorncroft was rebuilt.<sup>35</sup> Neither of these can be assigned a definite place in the pedigree. By the following century there were several families of the name; and in 1576, of 27 Leatherhead men assessed for the Lay Subsidy, 5 were named Skeete.<sup>36</sup> To disentangle these families completely would be profitless, even if it were possible. The name still appeared in the seventeenth century, though with less frequency. Apparently the last Leatherhead householder of the name was Richard Skeete, a wheelwright, who was living there in 1687, then aged 45; but two years later he had removed to Thames Ditton.<sup>37</sup> His younger brother John was in 1689 living in Fetcham, but in 1707 made his will as John Skeete of Ashtead, corn chandler. He still owned copyhold lands in Leatherhead, and he was buried there on 31st December, 1708, as was his widow Amy on 11th February, 1721/2. This is the last reference to the family in the Registers.

Another branch of the family descended from Nicholas, one of the younger sons of the Thomas Skeete who had died in 1546. This Nicholas Skeete was a yeoman of Pachensham (or Patsom) the small hamlet on the Leatherhead-Stoke d'Abernon road. His grandson John migrated to Effingham in the middle of the seventeenth century, but retained his freehold lands in Patensham, which remained in his family until after 1727, three generations later. It is from this branch of the family that Major Skeet, referred to above, traced his own descent.<sup>38</sup>

The name of Skeete did not at once die out of the memory of Leatherhead men, for it was preserved by the oldest of the Leatherhead charities, that of John Skeete, citizen and draper of London, who died in 1608. He has been identified as another of the sons of Thomas Skeete. This is most unlikely, unless we can believe that his sister Jane, three of whose children were minors in 1608, had been born before 1546. He was much more probably a grandson of Thomas and a son of either John, Oliver or Giles Skeete. He had prospered greatly in trade, his estate being apparently over £5000 (nearly double that of his cousin Edward Skeete who had died in 1599); and bequests of rings to friends at Boston and Ipswich hint at possible interests in overseas trade. He left no wife or children, and the chief beneficiaries were his sister Jane, wife of Thomas Otway of Leatherhead, and her children. After them came several members of the family of Man of Kingston-upon-Thames. This family had been established in Leatherhead half a century earlier, and had intermarried, probably more than once, with the Skeetes. Several members of it had been drapers at Kingston, where the family still continued, though also owning land at Leatherhead. A Thomas Man was John Skeete's apprentice at the time of his death. Apart from these family bequests, which did not extend to any of the Skeetes of Leatherhead, there were numerous charitable bequests.

Among these was a gift of £200 to the poor of Leatherhead. Thirty poor inhabitants were to receive £2 a piece; while the remaining £140 was to purchase lands, the profits of which were to be distributed in bread to the poor of Leatherhead every Sunday after morning prayer. By an indenture dated 16th January, 1611/2, the trustees, consisting of eight of the leading inhabitants of Leatherhead, bought with the £140 and £20 added interest, from Robert and Thomas Tyffen, 15½ acres in Kingston-upon-Thames, which were leased out at £8 12s. 0d. per annum. The charity long continued in its original form, for in the 1870's bread was still being given on Sundays. The original trustees commemorated the gift by a monumental inscription, surmounted by the Drapers' Arms, within the church; and this, repaired and beautified by the trustees in 1849, remains as the only tangible memorial of a family which for over two centuries played a prominent part in the life of the town.<sup>39</sup>

### **NOTES**

- 1. Unchecked references to original authorities drawn from Major Skeet's book are given in brackets.
- 2. Skeet, op. cit., p. 5.
- 3. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 4. Cal. Close Rolls H. VI (1454-61), p. 45.
- 5. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. IV (1461-70), p. 545.
- 6. Surrey Record Office. S.C. 6/6r.
- 7. Skeet, op. cit., pp. 9-10. P.C.C. 2 Dogett.
- 8. Sy. Record Soc. Sy. Feet of Fines, 285/10.
- 9. P.R.O. E 179/184/150.
- 10. Sy. R.O. 3/55 (viii).
- 11. Lambert, History of Banstead, Vol. II, p. 104.
- 12. P.C.C. 9 Alen.
- 13. Skeet, op. cit., p. 10. Original will proved Arch. Sy.
- 14. Sy. A.C. Vol. XXI, p. 59.
- 15. Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 21.
- 16. P.R.O. E 179/185/303.
- 17. P.R.O. E 179/257/19.
- 18. Skeet, op. cit., p. 12. Original will, Arch. Sy.
- 19. Surrey Musters, p. 182.
- 20. Sy. R.O. S.C. 59/1/4.
- 21. Skeet, op. cit., pp. 13-4.
- 22. Ibid., p. 14. Arch. Sy. 290 Herringman.
- 23. Ibid., p. 16. Arch. Sy. 438 Herringman. Pach. & Ld. Ct. Rolls, Sy. R.O. S.C. 59/1/4. Litigation referred to below.
- 24. P.R.O. St. Ch. 8 Bundle 272, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 29.
- 25. Skeet, op. cit., pp. 18-9, [Genealogist Vol. VII, pt. 1]: Harl. 1561 fo. 31b in Visit. Sy.
- 26. Skeet, op. cit. p. 24 [Ch. I. S.89, No. 27].
- 27. Ibid., pp. 22-3 [Ch. I. S. No. 27].
- 28. Ibid., pp. 20-2. [Feet of Fines, Sy., Bdles. 360, 361, 492, 494, 495.]
- 29. Ibid., p. 16. See Pedigree of Daniel, Visit. Lond., 1634.
- 30. Ibid., p. 21 [186/441].
- 31. Ibid., p. 24.
- 32. Charity Commissioners, Report on the Charities in the County of Surrey, 1839. Skeete's Charity.
- 33. Skeet, op. cit., p. 27 [257/28,1661].
- 34. Sy. R.O. S.C. 6/6r.
- Merton Coll. Estate Muniments, Roll. 5777b. Extracts in the Records of L'head & Dist. Local Hist. Society, W.7.
- 36. P.R.O. E 179/257/19.
- 37. Skeet, op. cit., p. 27. Allegations for Marriage Licences in Commissary Ct. of Sy. (ed. Bax), pp. 14, 22.
- 38. Skeet, op. cit., pp. 25, 30-49.
- 39. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-2. Manning & Bray, *Hist. of Sy.*, Vol. II, pp. 679, 683. P.C.C. 80 Windebanck. See also note 32, above.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF BOOKHAM, SURREY-Pt. IV

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

THE TURBULENCE of the fifteenth century gave place to renewed calm and prosperity under the early Tudors, and this is reflected in the wills of local inhabitants. Some twenty of these survive from the period before the Dissolution, showing the keen interest taken in church life. Richard Roger, who died in 1491, left to Great Bookham Church a torch worth 6s. 8d., a banner of the same price, and 3s. 4d. for painting an image of St. Thomas in the church; Richard Elys (d. 1517) gave "a stok afore our Lady of a quarter barly" (i.e. the value of a quarter of barley for tapers to burn at the Lady Altar), and he refers to his debt of 13s. 4d. "for a stoke of 2 tapyrs for the old Rode" (the Rood or Crucifix on a beam at the chancel arch); while John Gardener (d. 1518) left 8d. to the "ymage of Seynt Nicolas". In 1533 the church received under the will of John Roggere 20s. for making "the Celinge over the Roode loft" and 13s. 4d. "to the paintynge of the Roodlofte", while his son Bartholomew was to maintain for his life the stock of 2 lbs. of wax "beffor our Lady"; two years later Richard Goodmyn left 37s. "to the reparacions of the church of Saynte Nicholas of Greate Buckham"; and in 1536 Thomas Nele left 6s. 8d. to the roodloft, and John Hylder a quarter of barley to the gilding of the roodloft. In 1537 John Harryson of Little Bookham left 12d. to the High Altar of Little Bookham Church and a stock of two quarters of barley to keep a taper of 2 lbs. of wax burning "afore our Lady in the Church" there.

The mention of the old rood at Great Bookham in 1517 suggests that a new one was then being made, and a new roodloft was evidently being finished, painted and gilt in the 1530s. It was no doubt to accommodate this new loft, stretching across nave and aisles, that the two eastern arches of the nave were altered and raised. To this woodwork the screen on the south of the chancel perhaps belonged: the heavier and earlier screen-base in the Slyfield Chapel may survive from an earlier rood-screen.

The wills contain much material of value to the genealogist, and references to various properties and to household goods. Thomas Stile (d. 1517) left to his daughter Agnes half his sheep, "a Flok bed, 2 blanketts, 2 shets, a bolster", while his son Richard was to have "a grete pewter charger, half my pewter vessells, one of my best pannes, half the residue of my brasse", the other half going to Agnes. John Dudeley, who died in the winter of 1522–23, disposed of "my pewter and candylstyks, my best androns (andirons or firedogs), my best trevet (trivet or three-legged iron stand), a pot of brasse, a bed of floks, 8 pare of sheets, a towell and tabull cloth." Bequests for civil purposes had not yet become popular, but Walter Hudson in 1523 left 20d. "to the Causey towarde the Comyn there as most new is", this no doubt implying that the old road across Bookham Common to Slyfield was shifted from time to time owing to the waterlogged clay soil.

No detailed information survives as to the effect of the Dissolution upon Great Bookham. It was probably slight, for the Abbots of Chertsey had long since ceased to exercise any close control over the life of the village, and the system of land-tenure survived them. Leases and copies granted by the abbey and its courts remained valid, and there is no indication that the sudden change of lordship produced any local results. There are, however, signs that the leasehold system was being extended, and this process might have continued had the Manor not passed into lay hands. It is recorded in the Survey taken in 1548² that Ralph Stephens, assign of Philip Stephens, held by indenture under Common Seal (i.e. a lease sealed with the Abbey Seal) of 20 April 1519 a messuage with a virgate of land called "Wodewards" at Slyfield (now the Millfield estate) which had lately belonged to John at Wod, formerly to John Barnesdale, and once to John Wodeward. The property had been held by John at Wod by copy of Court Roll, and was surrendered to the use of

Philip Stephens in 1518-19. The terms of the lease, which was to run for 99 years, were suit of Court twice yearly and 8d. yearly for Common Fine, with 5s. a year rent, a fixed heriot of 13s. 4d. on inheritance and 26s. 8d. relief for the entry of the heir; in addition the tenant was to pay 17s.  $7\frac{1}{4}d$ . when the Crown raised a Fifteenth in taxation. The total area of land was about 38 acres.

This record has a double interest. It is an example of the deliberate conversion of copyhold into leasehold, apparently at the Abbot's will; and it provides a link with the brass, still in Great Bookham Church, asking prayers for the soul of John Barnisdale and Marion his wife, "the which John desseced iii August in the yere of our Lord M CCCC LXXXI." We know then that the Barnesdales were neighbours of the Slyfields and furthermore, we have evidence of the earlier history of their property, for John Wodeward must have been descended from Thomas le Wodeward, to whom in 1342 Abbot Rutherwyk had granted a croft of land at Slyfield, surrendered by Gilbert Leuwyne.

Leases were also being granted of the lay Manor of Little Bookham. A surviving account<sup>3</sup> for 1542-45, kept by Arthur Assheby, bailiff of Little Bookham for Lord William Howard, refers to the old rent of £8 13s. 4d. paid as far back as 1507 in the time of William Westbrok, then bailiff, which he contrasts with the new rent of £11 a year, paid for the site of the Manor with all its houses, barns, stables, and other buildings and lands. The rents from freeholders and copyholders amounted to £11 2s. 9½d. yearly. Out of this, 9s. 4d. had to be paid to the Manor of Great Bookham, 18d. to the Manor of Effingham, and  $11\frac{1}{2}d$ . to the Manor of "Nyze Courte" (East Court) in Effingham. Assheby himself drew a salary of 13s. 4d., and paid out 13s. 8d. for repairs, including 6s. 6d. to a plumber for new making an old gutter by the Kitchen of the Manor, of which 6d. was for carriage of the gutter from Kingston. The plumber also received 8d. for re-setting it in position. Complications of manorial tenure are suggested by the despairing note with which Assheby concludes: "And in the hands of — — Slyfield gent, for a certain free rent for his lands in Bookham, 6d. yearly, lately paid to the Lord of this Manor, which is now denied; and it is not known where he may be distrained for the same."

The disappearance of Chertsey Abbey provided the occasion for making the first detailed survey of Great Bookham which is known to survive. While the Manor was in the hands of the Crown it was surveyed on 17th October, 1548, the entries giving very brief descriptions of each holding, its tenure (freehold, copyhold, or indenturehold), the date of copy or indenture, and the rents and other services issuing from each property. In some cases the properties are given names, in others the names of one or more previous owners are supplied. Although no map was made, it is possible to identify most of the holdings with those recorded in the later survey and map of 1614.

Of outstanding interest is the fact that all the rents are in money, while many heriots are given a cash value and some are expressed as being money sums payable in lieu of a beast. The only service mentioned is Suit of Court, the universal duty of attending the manorial courts of the Manor. In five entries (out of a total of 55) a separate payment for pannage (usually 4d.) is specified, in addition to the rent; this was for the right to pasture swine in the woods of the Lord's waste. All those who paid pannage dwelt along the line of the Lower Road: one in Eastwick, two in the High Street, and two in Preston, and their pigs would have been turned out on the Lower Common to feed on the acorns. Of the heriots recorded, six were horses, 18 were oxen or cows, 13 were in money, and one took the form of two sheep. Since the custom was that the heriot was the most valuable animal, it is safe to conclude that only a relatively small number of Bookham farmers owned horses, but that many kept cattle.

Apart from the descriptions of holdings, only one piece of information is given: that there was an ancient fair held at Great Bookham on the day of St. Michael the Archangel.

No estimate of the profits made from dues is given, and the implication is that the fair did not count for much. Moreover, it had become a one-day fair in spite of the original grant of 1243 having been for one of two days. Bookham, however, was recovering from the decline of the later Middle Ages, and the fair lingered on to the end of the eighteenth century.

The total of 55 holdings (which does not include those in the manors of Eastwick and Little Bookham) was concentrated among 35 individual holders, showing that an appreciable degree of petty "landlordism" already existed in Bookham. On the other hand, this had come about without any extensive enclosures. The common fields and common wastes still made it possible for smallholders and cottagers to survive in some degree of independence, though there must also have been a growing class of sub-tenants who probably paid high money-rents to the small group of landlords, men such as John Gardyner senior, Henry Hilder, and Thomas Hilder. While the total of yearly rents amounted to little over £21, an average of 12s. per individual holder, these three men paid nearly £5 between them, of which John Gardyner was responsible for £2 13s. 5d. Besides these landlords there were the large estates of Polesden, for which William Castleton paid 32s., Bagden, rented at 47s. by Thomas at Wod, and Sole Farm, for which Walter Roger had to find £1 2s. 4d. a year.

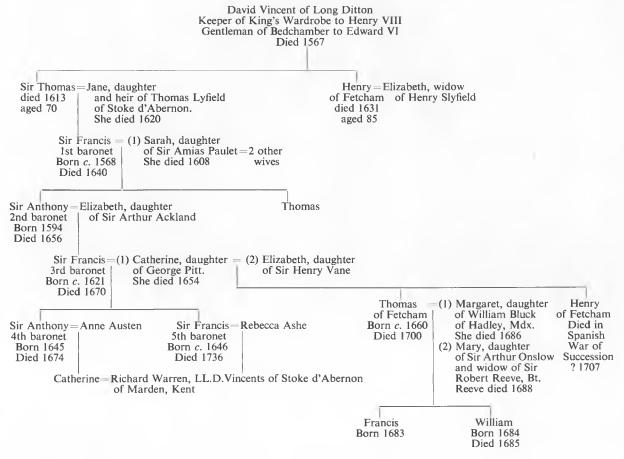
While agriculture may have been the source of some of this local wealth, connections with the wool trade, then the staple of English prosperity, are indicated also. On 3rd February of the same year, 1548, a number of men had burglariously entered the house of "Thomas Hylder alias Elys" at Great Bookham between the hours of 7 and 9 p.m., assaulted Thomas and Maud his wife, and stolen five pairs of sheets, a "swath bonde", four yards of woollen cloth, 14 "kerchers" and 16s. in money. This suggests the stock of a draper, and the house in question was probably Frantons, on the site of Burpham, the baker's shop in the High Street.

That Bookham was riding a wave of relative prosperity in the sixteenth century is proved by the considerable number of houses built, many of them apparently between 1500 and 1560. Some took the name of the family responsible for building them, and this provides independent evidence confirming that of the structures, where they still exist. A third line of evidence has been used in one case, that of dendrochronology (dating from tree-rings), which proves that the timber of the main beams of Rolts (now Half Moon Cottage) was cut down c. 1490–1500. Also of the beginning of the century were Marters (Half Way House), and Woodcote in Eastwick, and rather later Englands (Victoria Cottages) in the High Street. Foxglove Cottage in Little Bookham Street dates from c. 1555, and Handleys Cottage on the Isle of Wight in Bookham Common, from 1556. From the latter part of the century are the old White Hart Inn (later Saracen and Ring, and now Grove Cottage), Dawes Cottage in Little Bookham Street, Tanners Hatch, and Yewtrees Farm. Remains of sixteenth-century work exist in several other houses in the High Street, at Sole Farm, Childs Haugh, Potters (The Windsor Castle), and Bagden Farm, while a watercolour in the Loan Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>5</sup> shows a farmhouse of the same date, now destroyed. The essential material for all this building, sound oak timber, was available in large quantity, though supplies must have been greatly depleted by the Crown purveyance of timber for Nonsuch Palace from "Bowcham Common" in 1538, for by 1614 it was said to contain only small timber trees of no value except for fuel.

In connection with the building campaign, it is interesting to note that many new families appear in the years around 1500, which were to continue for a long period to be the influential yeomanry of Bookham. Such are the names of Dudley (1523–1629), Durden (1495–1674), Eliot (1512–1800), Hibberd or Hubbard (1518–1732), Hilder (1516–1697), Hudson (1485–1761), Martyr (1508–1796), Rogers (1485–1718), Snelling (1485–1598), and

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### GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF VINCENT OF STOKE D'ABERNON AND FETCHAM



Wood or Atwood (1519–1935). In most cases, the later generations became less prosperous, and this almost certainly reflected the depression of their whole class during the eighteenth century. But for some 150 years they were the backbone of village life.

(To be continued)

- 1. Mostly proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, whose records are now at Somerset House. Abstracts of all the wills in the first surviving Register, Spage, have been printed by the Surrey Record Society,
- 2. Public Record Office, E.36/168.
- 3. Public Record Office, S.C.6/Hen. VIII/6235.
- Public Record Office, E.36/168, f.106, et seq.
   No. 81-1894, by Henry Edridge, A.R.A. (1769-1821); probably of Hogden Farm, Little Bookham.
- 6. The dates given are of first and last mentions in Bookham, or to the last recorded male death.

### PEN SKETCHES OF OLD HOUSES IN THIS DISTRICT

By F. B. BENGER

### No 8—FETCHAM PARK

THE SITUATION of this house, near to the parish church, is a typical one for manor houses of the Norman and early medieval periods (the original manor house of Ashtead was similarly placed), and it may legitimately be surmised that here stood the capital messuage of one of the three manors into which Fetcham was divided at the time of the Domesday Survey. As the manor history of Fetcham is by no means a clear-cut one it may be useful to commence this account of the history of the house with a short narrative of the descents of these manors.

### The Manorial History of Fetcham

At the time of the Domesday Survey there were three separate manors in Fetcham:—

- 1. The King's manor, held in Edward the Confessor's time by Edith, his Queon. This comprised some 275 acres of land, and had four mills attached to it, indicating that it either lay near the river or near the summit of the downs, or perhaps extended from one to the other to include both water and wind mills.
- 2. The Bishop's manor (belonging to Odo, Bishop of Baieux, brother of the Conqueror), held in the Confessor's time by Biga. At the time of the Domesday Survey it was held from Odo by Richard of Tonbridge. This manor comprised some 200 acres of land, and a share in two mills.
- 3. Oswold's manor. Oswold had held it in the time of the Confessor, indicating that he was a Saxon who had conformed to the new dispensation. This comprised some 600 acres of land, with one mill.

It will be noted that Oswold's manor was by far the largest, and it was valued in the Survey at twice the value of each of the others. When Bishop Odo's estates were confiscated in 1088 his Fetcham manor was granted in fee to Richard of Tonbridge, and thereafter became held as of the Honour of Clare. The King's manor appears to have been granted, subsequently to Domesday, to the Earls of Warren and thus became part of the Honour of Warren. Oswold's manor may have reverted to the crown at his death; nothing definite is known of it until in 1178 it is found in the ownership of the prior and canons of Merton Priory, in whose possession it remained until the dissolution of the priory in 1538. The other two manors, which were no doubt subject to the payment of

dues to the Honours of Clare and Warren until the enactment of the Statute of Tenures in 1660, gradually became regarded as one manor; and Ingelram d'Abernon died seized of the bishop's manor in 1234,1 while in 1236 (when John of Gatesden had the custody of the youthful heir of Gilbert d'Abernon) he was holding one knight's fee of the Honour of Warren (i.e. the king's manor of Domesday).2 From this time onwards the king's and bishop's manors were held by the d'Abernon family of Stoke, and followed the same descent as Stoke d'Abernon through the families of Croyser, Norbury, Haleighwell, Bray, and Lyfield; until Jane, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Lyfield, married Thomas Vincent in the 16th century. Oswold's manor, which by reason of belonging to Merton Priory became known as Cannon Court, was granted in 1541 to Urian Brereton<sup>3</sup> (second husband of Joan, widow of Sir Edmund Bray) and appears to have formed part of the marriage portion of Jane Lyfield when she married Thomas Vincent. From that time onwards the three original manors of Fetcham are always referred to as the manors of Fetcham and Cannon Court. Sir Francis Vincent, 1st baronet, settled the manors of Fetcham upon his son Anthony at the time of the latter's marriage in 1617 to Elizabeth Ackland,4 and Anthony's son, Sir Francis 3rd baronet, settled the manors of Fetcham and Cannon Court in 1666 upon the eldest son of his second marriage, Thomas Vincent.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Vincent sold the manors to Thomas Folkes and others in 1693/96.6 They were either acting for Francis, 5th Baron Howard of Effingham, or later sold the manors to him, for in 1717 Thomas, Lord Howard of Effingham is cited as lord of Fetcham and Cannon Court in an award made by the arbitrators of a dispute between him and Arthur Moore of Fetcham Park. In 1801 Richard, last Earl of Effingham, sold the manors to the trustees of James Laurell,8 who had also bought the Howard residence of Eastwick Park, Great Bookham. Laurell sold the Fetcham manors to the Hankey family of Fetcham Park.9 The date of this transaction is not known, but it must have been after 1808, when Laurell's name appears for the last time as lord in the Gamekeepers' Deputations, and may have been circa 1810 when Laurell sold Eastwick Park. The Hankey family remained in possession of the Fetcham manors until within a year or two of the time when, there being no unenclosed common, all feudal rights were abrogated by Lord Birkenhead's Act (which came into force 1st January, 1925).

The earliest known extant manor rolls or court books of Fetcham are those of 1737–1770 attached to the manorial records of Great Bookham (now in the Surrey Record Office). A few transcripts of individual transactions made for tenants at earlier dates are also extant; but the general lack of early records greatly increases the difficulty of giving a detailed account of the transmission of individual properties within the manors.

The common fields of Fetcham were enclosed by an Act passed in 1801. The great open arable field lay east and south of the enclosure of Fetcham Park, to which it was subsequently added, extending from the junction of Lower Road with Cobham Road, thence to the junction of Cobham Road with Guildford Road, and thence as far westward as the Ridgeway. Just upon the border of Fetcham Park in its earlier form stood the windmill. This is depicted in J. Richardson's survey of the Fetcham Park estates in 1777, and on Lindley & Crossley's map of 1793, but it is not shown upon the first edition of the Ordnance Survey of circa 1816. It is described by James Edwards in his Companion from London to Brighthelmstone, c. 1789–1801, Pt. II, p. 40, as a handsome Windmill' which suggests that the one then standing was designed as a piece of park landscaping. The repair of the mill is one of the items in an account book of works at Fetcham Park in 1788–90. 12

### Fetcham Park House

The d'Abernons, Croysers, Norburys, Haleighwells, Brays, and Lyfields were all seated at Stoke d'Abernon; and, though it is conceivable that there may have been occasions when the manor house at Fetcham would have been useful for a widow or younger

son, it is probable that for most of the time it was treated as a copyhold of the manor and was leased to tenants.13 Moreover, the customary tenants holding it could, with consent of the lord, assign their interest to others. On 27th September, 1587, at a time when Frances Lyfield held the Fetcham manors, a bond was drawn up between John Drewe of Fetcham and Robert Gavell of Cobham by which Drewe guaranteed in the sum of £300 that Gavell should have peaceable enjoyment of "the manner place, fermehouse, and landes of Fetcham" which Drewe had obtained by demise from Francis Crosse of Stoke five years earlier and the interest wherein he had assigned to Gavell.14 The compilers of the Victoria County History (III. 287) were of the opinion that this probably referred to Cannon Court, though they advance no proof. It is worthy of note, however, that Robert Gavell married Dorothy, one of two sisters who were co-heiresses of George Bigley of Cobham; the other sister married Edward Carleton of Clandon and Walton and about the middle of the following century Thomas Carleton of Carshalton was the customary tenant of the manor of Fetcham holding the house near the church in copyhold.<sup>15</sup> Though the two Bigley sisters had equal rights to the manor of Cobham, yet in the event Dorothy Gavell came into possession of the whole of it, and there can be little doubt that some form of family arrangement took place by which the Gavells surrendered part of their properties to the Carletons in exchange for the unencumbered ownership of Cobham manor. Thus the Fetcham house may have passed from the Gavells to the Carletons, who became the customary tenants. This is the kind of question which could only finally be resolved if the Fetcham manor rolls were available, but my view is that the weight of evidence favours the supposition which I have outlined.

A similarly uncertain position exists regarding a house at Fetcham mentioned in the will of Henry Vincent, dated 8th April, 1625.16 Henry Vincent was the younger brother of Thomas Vincent, the first of the Stoke d'Abernon Vincents, and he died in 1631, being buried in Fetcham church, where there is a monument to him with graceful verses, possibly by Ephraim Udall, the then rector, who is known as a man of letters. In this will he leaves to his wife £400, and states that he had "invested her with an estate during her life in my new dwelling house in Fetcham and the lands thereunto belonging". It may well have been that in the first quarter of the 17th century Henry Vincent had acquired from the Carletons for the life of himself and his wife an assignment of the copyhold of the manor house, and that, to maintain his prestige as a near relative of the rising Vincent family at Stoke, he had rebuilt the house in brick, as other gentry were then doing in the neighbourhood. But, again, it is known that later Vincents owned another house in Fetcham Street<sup>17</sup> (possibly that now known as The Salt Box) and it may have been this which Henry Vincent built. This other house was quite a small one and the only land attached to it was two half-acres in the common mead; hardly the type of dwelling for a country gentleman whose brother was a wealthy local squire. The weight of reason and evidence is on the side of the manor house being that which Henry Vincent rebuilt, though for want of the manor rolls an element of uncertainty must remain.

It is a relief to turn from such tantalizing uncertainties on to more solid ground, but before doing so it should be mentioned that there exists a tenant's transcript from the manor rolls, dated October 1655,18 by which it appears that Sir Anthony Vincent, 2nd baronet, was then lord of Fetcham (though all the county histories state that he died in 1642, his burial is recorded in the Stoke d'Abernon registers under date 10th December, 1656). At the court baron on this occasion Mathew Carleton presided as steward of the manor. This was the grandson of that Edward Carleton who married the sister-in-law of Robert Gavell of Cobham. He was a leading lawyer of the time, of Lincoln's Inn, and Escheator for Surrey. It is unlikely that he lived at the Fetcham manor house, but he may well have held the copyhold and leased the property to others. He is referred to as "cousin" in the will of Sir Francis, 3rd baronet, in 1669.

Sir Anthony Vincent is said to have been a supporter of Charles I, and this is worth

remembering in connection with his son's second marriage, for it evidences the conflicting loyalties which must have caused much heart-searching at that time. Sir Francis, 3rd baronet, son of Sir Anthony, was holding courts at Fetcham from 1657.20 He married firstly Catherine, daughter of George Pitt, by whom he had three sons and two daughters: she died in 1654 and Sir Francis married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Vane the elder. Sir Henry Vane was in large measure responsible for the fall of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; and it is said that Vane's antagonism arose from personal rather than political motives. Wentworth having taken the title of Baron Raby and Vane being the owner of Raby Castle. Sir Francis Vincent thus became the brother-in-law of that turbulent spirit Sir Harry Vane the younger, who espoused the puritan cause, was governor of Massachusetts in 1636/7,21 played such a prominent part in the Civil War on the Parliament side, and paid the penalty on the block at the Tower in 1662. By this second marriage Sir Francis had two sons and two daughters. Thomas, the elder son of the marriage, was probably born in 1660, for his age in 1675, when he was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, is given as 15. In June 1663, Sir Francis executed a deed settling the income of the Fetcham manors upon his wife Elizabeth for life should she survive him, 22 and this was followed in March 1666 by a further deed<sup>23</sup> which, after reciting that of 1663, settled the manors in trust for his son Thomas, the elder of his sons by his second marriage, reserving for the younger son Henry the "tenement, barn, stable, and orchard and garden now or late in the tenure or occupacion of Samuel Rows". This was the smaller house in Fetcham Street already mentioned. Young Thomas Vincent could not have been more than six or seven years of age at the time of the 1666 trust deed. It is probably at that time, also, that his father bought out the copyhold of Fetcham manor house from the customary tenant, Thomas Carleton of Carshalton,<sup>24</sup> for Carleton died in the following year.<sup>25</sup> The house thus became either demesne or freehold, but it was no doubt let until circa 1676.

Sir Francis, 3rd baronet, died in 1670. In his will, 26 made in the previous year, he had confirmed the settlement upon his son Thomas, added to it the advowson of Fetcham church, and bequeathed to him a black cabinet standing in his study at Stoke (perhaps one of the japanned ones then coming into fashion). Sir Francis was succeeded by his eldest son Anthony. Sir Anthony died in 1674, leaving only a daughter, Catherine, who married Richard Warren, LL.D. of Marden, Kent. By his will, dated 10th August, 1674, Sir Anthony, desiring that his estates should pass with the title to his brother Francis, made that provision subject to the payment of an annuity to his widow and the sum of £5,000 to his daughter.<sup>27</sup> Two years later, in May 1676, Sir Francis, 5th baronet, formally released the Fetcham manors to Thomas Vincent by an Indenture of Release and Confirmation<sup>28</sup> in conformity with the 1666 settlement. Thomas was then at Christ Church, Oxford, and he may not have set up a household for himself at Fetcham until 1681, when he came of age. We are able to give some account of the house as it then was and its situation. It is generally cited in deeds as "All that (capital) messuage or tenement with the Barnes Stables Edifices and Buildings Gardens Orchards Courtyards and other Yards and Backsides thereunto belonging scituate lying and being in Fetcham on the East part of the Street there near the Church . . . with the Fishponds and Fishing thereunto belonging."29 Fetcham Street, which we are now accustomed to think of as ending at its junction with Lower Road, then, and for many years after, continued to the parish church; indeed the right of way to the church over this southern portion of the street was exchanged for another only in recent years. Opposite the manor house, on the western side of the street and on the site of the present stables, was the rectory.<sup>30</sup> The manor house was separated from the street only by a small courtvard and a thin strip of manor waste. To the east of the house, extending also to the south, lay the gardens and enclosed demesne, perhaps some 80 acres. Beyond these lay the great open field of the manor.

At Michaelmas 1680 a deed called an Exemplification of Recovery<sup>31</sup> was drawn up for Thomas Vincent, and this was followed by a deed of Lease and Release dated 19/20th

October<sup>32</sup> which placed the manors of Fetcham in the hands of trustees. The purpose of these deeds was probably to break the entail provided by the 1666 settlement and allow Thomas more latitude in dealing with his properties. The usefulness of them was exemplified in December 1682 when he entered into a marriage settlement<sup>33</sup> with Margaret, eldest daughter of William Bluck, of Hadley, Middlesex, and the manor house was secured to Margaret as her jointure. There were two sons of this marriage; Francis who was born in 1683, and William who was born in 1684 but survived only until the following year. Margaret Vincent died in April, 1686.<sup>34</sup>

The radical views of his mother's family may account for the fact that Thomas Vincent stood as a Whig candidate for the borough of Reigate in the election for the Convention Parliament of 1689 which offered the throne to William and Mary jointly after the Revolution of 1688. He was unsuccessful, but he petitioned to the new House, which was overwhelmingly Whig, against the return of John Parsons (a high Tory of Jacobite hue) which declared in his favour so that he gained the second seat. In the election for the following Parliament he was again at the bottom of the poll, again petitioned, but this time without success.<sup>35</sup>

According to Manning & Bray,<sup>36</sup> whose information about Fetcham Park is somewhat hazy and unreliable, Thomas Vincent had commenced to rebuild the house before his death. If this was so it may explain why he (who by this time had married secondly Mary, daughter of Sir Arthur Onslow and widow of Sir Robert Reeve, Bt.) sold the manors of Fetcham to Thomas Folkes and others in 1693,37 reserving to himself the freeholds within them; for by this means he may have intended to provide the cash for his project. We cannot confirm this, for nothing remains of any structure of that time. The sale does not seem to have been finalized until December, 1696,38 in June of which year Vincent made his will,<sup>39</sup> appointing his friend Stephen Bluck, Stephen Hervey of the Middle Temple, and Charles Trubshaw of London, as guardians of his son Francis until the age of 21, the expense of which was to be met from the rents and profits of his estate in and near Fetcham "called by the name of Cannon Farm, Church Farm, The Mill, Arnalls Farm in Mickleham, my mansion or dwelling house with gardens and orchards and millpond and other lands being the jointure of my wife, Mother of aforesaid son." Bluck was probably his brother-in-law; Stephen Hervey lived at Betchworth, was Steward of the manor of Reigate, was Steward also for John Evelyn at Evelyn's first manorial courts in Surrey in September 1701, Member of Parliament for Reigate in 1698, a Justice of the Peace, and described by Musgrave as a poet, though I can find no published work of his.<sup>40</sup> All that I know of Trubshaw is that he was described as of Gray's Inn when he received a grant of armorial bearings in 1688.42 Neither he nor Bluck appear to have survived until Francis Vincent reached his majority.

Thomas Vincent may have left Fetcham in 1693 when he sold the manors, for his name does not appear in the Freeholders' List from its commencement in that year until 1700, 42 in March of which latter year he is described in a lease as "late of Fetcham, now of Ranworth Hall, Norfolk." The possibility exists that Arthur Moore rented the house from him from 1693 onwards. Moore was certainly living at Fetcham Park by October 1700, and in the preceding November had received admission at the manor court to a messuage and smith's shop in the village. Thomas Vincent's younger brother, Henry, who, as we have seen, received a house in Fetcham Street under the 1666 settlement, is said by Manning & Bray to have died in the Spanish War of Succession. It may well be he whose death as a colonel in 1707 is noted by Le Neve. Before his death he had sold the smaller house to Arthur Moore.

Thomas Vincent died in 1700, and, as directed in his will, his body was brought back to Fetcham and buried in the parish church on 31st August.<sup>48</sup>

Arthur Moore was a colourful character of the kind which was beginning to emerge in increasing numbers at the end of the 17th century. Little is known of his early life. He is said to have been born at Monaghan in Ireland circa 1666, and to have been either the son of the goaler there or of the publican at the prison gate. Bishop Burnet says that he began life as a footman, and had received no education. He must, however, have had great natural ability, for he studied trade matters and quickly amassed money. In 1695 he was returned to Parliament for Grimsby, which constituency he continued to represent, with the exception of the short Parliament of 1701, until 1715; and was a again elected in 1721. He was High Steward of Grimsby from 1714 until 1730. He showed great ability in Parliament and was considered capable of the highest office, though he never achieved such. He mediated between Harley and St. John in their quarrels, and in after years supported Walpole. He was appointed Comptroller of the Army Accounts in 1704, and in 1710 one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. He was mainly responsible for the commercial articles of the treaties with France and Spain in 1712, which were the most important approach to free trade before Pitt's measures of 1786. He was a director of the South Sea Company, but in 1714 it was alleged that he, amongst others, was an interested party in the Asiento Contract, which brought him into conflict with the company, and a committee was set up to investigate charges that he had been privy to private trading in the company's ships. He insisted on his complete innocence, but, apprehensive lest the charges be nevertheless found proved and that he might thereby forfeit his own South Sea stock, he sold it before the issue was decided. He was censured by the company and declared incapable of further employment by it. This blow was not so severe as it must have appeared at the time, for he thus preserved a fortune which would otherwise have evaporated when the bubble burst. Moore married first, in March 1692, Susanna, eldest daughter of Dr. Edward Browne and grand-daughter of the famous Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, by whom he had two daughters, both of whom died in infancy. Susanna Moore died in 1695, and Arthur Moore married secondly, in November 1696, Theophila, daughter and heiress of William Smythe of the Inner Temple and Epsom, by Elizabeth, daughter of the first Earl of Berkeley. Of this union there were three sons and three daughters.49

At a Court Baron of Fetcham and Cannon Court held 30th October, 1700, it was agreed and allowed that Moore should enclose a footpath or lane lying in the common field between his garden wall and a row of walnut trees in the field.<sup>50</sup> This makes it quite clear that he was then living as a tenant in the manor house. In May of the same year he was concerned in the first of a series of transactions by which John Sandes of Randalls Park, Leatherhead, mortgaged and ultimately sold his freehold and manor lands of Little Pachenesham.<sup>51</sup> As far as Moore was concerned these seem to have been purely business transactions, but they do show that he was already known and established in the district. He continued as a tenant of Fetcham Park until 1705. In December 1704, Francis Vincent, who had just reached his majority, took the first steps to obtain freedom to sell the house by entering into a deed to Declare the Uses of a Fine<sup>52</sup> in respect of it, which was designed to break the entail of his father's will of 1696. On 19th June in the following year, Francis Vincent and Arthur Moore signed Articles of Agreement<sup>53</sup> for the sale to the latter of the manor house and other properties in the sum of £8,250; a sum which indicates that the house was a substantial one and does lend colour to the suggestion that Thomas Vincent may have effected a certain amount of rebuilding. The actual transfer by Lease and Release was carried out on 16th/17th November, 54 and on 19th November Moore mortgaged the property to Francis Vincent,55 which suggests that he preferred to pay interest rather than to engage his capital in the whole of the purchase price. In these transactions Vincent's name is coupled with that of Stephen Hervey, the surviving trustee, who died 24th May,

Although it is known that Arthur Moore very largely rebuilt the house, we have no

Historical Note. Extract from Indenture 12th year William the Third 1699.

between Thomas Vincent late of Fetcham and now of Hamworth Hall in the county of Norfolk and John Marter of Fetcham, miller. Lets the Water Mill or Mills with the appurtenancies commonly called or known by the name of Cutt Mill in tenure and occupation of Thomas Downs and now of the said John Marter, and all houses buildings, waters, watercourses, ways, grounds, passages, easements and commodities whatsoever to the said mill or mills belonging and all the meads, parcel of meadow ground commonly called and known by the name of Chappell Mead theretofore parcel of and belonging to Cannon Farm containing 3 acres formerly devised with the said mill to Thomas Downs, except and always reserved out of this present demise unto the said Thomas Vincent all the fish and fowles from time to time being breeding and remaining in and about the said pondes, waters and watercourses. And free liberty at all times with servants or otherwise to enter upon the premises and take the said fish and fowles. And also to erect. set up, fix, repair, amend and maintain such crates stacks and other things in and about the said pond waters watercourses and any part thereof as to the said Thomas Vincent from time to time shall be thought necessary and convenient for the better increase preservation and keeping of the said fish and fowles so as it be not hurtful to the passage of the water for the driving of the said mill or mills 21 years lease at rent of £28 also four couple of fatt live capons, at Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

69 Cobham Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey. J.G.W. Lewarne, Hon. Secretary



FETCHAM PARK 1823

evidence as to when he commenced to do so. Brayley & Britton<sup>57</sup> state that about 1718 he enlarged the property by enclosing some of the common field (which seems to be confirmed by particulars of sale in 1788<sup>58</sup> which mention 12 acres of copyhold) but this enlargement appears to be of the pleasure grounds rather than of the house. My own view is that Moore is more likely to have embarked on the rebuilding when he purchased the free-hold in 1705, and that it was more or less completed by 1710, when an account of garden works by the gardener, Mr. Brookes,<sup>59</sup> shows that work was still in progress round the canal and fountains.

William Talman (1650-1719) was the architect employed by Moore.<sup>60</sup> Talman had been Comptroller of the King's Works until the death of William III in 1702, when he was succeeded by Vanbrugh. As Comptroller he supervised the completion of Wren's new buildings at Hampton Court and laid out the grounds, 1699-1701. Perhaps one of his best known individual works is Chatsworth, with its noble state dining room painted by Laguerre. 61 Chatsworth is regarded as an early example of English baroque; but modern research is commencing to lay some importance upon Talman's work of another kind, the construction of country houses in rather austere brickwork enlivened by clever fenestration, as at Kimberley Park, Norfolk.<sup>62</sup> Talman employed Louis Laguerre (1663-1721) at Fetcham, and the principal glory of the house as rebuilt for Moore must have been the painted hall, staircase, saloons, gallery and other rooms which this artist executed; and which were probably almost breath-taking to a casual visitor entering what was by no means a large mansion. The exterior seems to have remained little altered until 1823, when John Hassell made the water-colour view<sup>63</sup> which we reproduce, though there is some doubt as to whether the curved wings shown by him are those built by Talman or later reconstructions. There is a considerable general similarity between the house as depicted by Hassell and Kimberley Park. Inside, the somewhat low entrance hall progressing to a lofty staircase (all that now remains to us of Talman's interior) is typical of this architect's work—a baroque effect which he learnt from the work of Hugh May at Windsor Castle. Arthur Moore also had a stable block built on the site of the old rectory, and provided the rector with a new parsonage in Fetcham Street.64 The stable block brickwork remains very much as built, and from it one may gain an impression of how Talman's house appeared.

There is an interesting account of the house and gardens by Celia Fiennes<sup>65</sup> which, from internal evidence, may be dated as having been written between 1710 and 1712. Though by no means a model of clear literary style, this account mentions the canals and fountains served from the fishponds of Thomas Vincent's day, and says that the ponds were supplied with water drawn from Leatherhead (? from the mill-pond); though the particulars of sale issued after Moore's death<sup>66</sup> mention three ponds with deep springs covering six acres which supplied the canals and fountains and furnished the house with water, drawn up by engines.

There is not much that we can tell about Arthur Moore's life at Fetcham. We know from the parish registers that he owned an Indian boy, called Zebedee Lovemore, who was baptized in September 1720, and this, coupled with what we know of the painted baroque interior and the garden with its statues and fountains, gives us a hint of a lively nouveauriche, with all the trappings of self-made prosperity, perhaps a trifle on the flamboyant side. It is known that Moore, with all his economic capacity, was improvident; and that he spent a great deal more on Fetcham Park than he should have done. Of his three sons the youngest, James, was born at Fetcham in 1702, later took his mother's maiden name in addition to his own, inherited part of his maternal grandfather's wealth, became a minor man of letters, fell foul of Alexander Pope, and died in reduced circumstances in 1734.<sup>67</sup> Arthur, the second son, also died in that year. William, the eldest son, succeeded not only to the residue of his father's estate but was also the heir of his uncle Col. Thomas Moore of Polesden. Arthur Moore had purchased Polesden in 1723 and had sold it to his brother

in 1729. William Moore was M.P. for Banbury in the second and third Parliamants of George II. Like his father he was of a prodigal disposition and when he died, unmarried, in 1746 his Polesden estate was sold to meet his debts.<sup>68</sup> Arthur Moore's expenditure must have been upon a lavish scale, and it may be for this reason that in February 1723 he raised a mortgage on Fetcham Park and other properties.<sup>69</sup>

Moore died 4th May, 1730, and was buried in Fetcham church.<sup>70</sup> His affairs seem to have been in some disorder (it was said at the time that "his profusion consumed all" and that he was "broken in all respects but in his parts and spirit") for his executors, Thomas and Robert Moore, renounced their duties and probate was eventually granted to Lord North of Guildford and Thomas Parr.<sup>71</sup> Three years later we find one of the Masters in Chancery making a report on the value of Fetcham Park,<sup>72</sup> and a manuscript bill of sale in similar terms is among the North papers in the Bodleian.<sup>73</sup> It was not until August, 1737, that the house was finally sold to Thomas Revell,<sup>74</sup> Agent Victualler at Gibraltar and M.P. for Dover in the Parliaments of 1734, 1741, and 1747.

Thomas Revell was married three times; his third wife, whom he married after purchasing Fetcham Park, was Jane, daughter of Hon. William Egerton, and by her he had a daughter, Jane, who eventually became his heiress. Little is known about Revell except that he was a man of great wealth. He does not appear to have made any alteration to the house, and his activities in Fetcham seem to have been limited to the exchange of lands with the Earl of Effingham and thus adding parts of Fetcham Common Field to his estate, though they were not necessarily enclosed at that time. He died in January, 1752.

Revell's daughter Jane, married, in June 1758, George Warren. Warren was installed as Knight of the Bath in April 1762. This couple continued to live at Fetcham, and Sir George remained there after his wife's death in December 1761. They had only one child, a daughter, Elizabeth-Harriet, who married Viscount Bulkeley. Sir George married, secondly, in February 1764, Frances, daughter of Sir Cecil Bisshop, Bt., of Parham, Sussex. Warren seems to have taken some interest in Fetcham, for he was churchwarden in 1772. In 1777 he commissioned J. Richardson (probably of Leatherhead) to draw up a survey of his Fetcham estate. This beautifully drawn survey, consisting of ten plans, still exists, and from the first plan it can be seen that Arthur Moore's canal remained, though the curved wings of the house are not depicted. Sir George Warren sat in Parliament for Lancaster from 1758 until 1780, and again in 1785.

From the existing deeds in the Surrey Record Office there appears to be no substance in Manning & Bray's statement that the surveyor Richardson bought Fetcham Park from Warren and his daughter in 1788. If Richardson was concerned in the matter at all it was probably only as an agent for one of the parties in the eventual sale which materialized from a draft agreement prepared in January 1785 by Christie the auctioneer, 83 between Warren and one Maurice Lloyd, who appears to have been acting on behalf of Thomas Hankey, a Fenchurch street banker. The purchase price for the Fetcham estates was to be £31,500. This agreement was not signed and did not apparently mature, for three years later Christie prepared particulars and conditions of sale by auction on May 29th, 1788.84 Whether Hankey arrived at some agreement before the auction we cannot tell (the copy of these auction particulars cited is endorsed in margin 5000 guineas) but in the same year he certainly gained occupation of the house, for he commenced a very considerable overhaul which continued until 1790. The contractors, Hanscomb and Fothergill, kept an account book<sup>85</sup> which shows that the total cost was over £4,400. The wings of the house were either renovated or rebuilt then, for they are mentioned in the account the south wing containing ante-room, lavatories, and greenhouse; the north wing, the kitchens, dairy, and laundry. There must have been some security for this great outlay of money on a house which as yet remained Warren's property, for the actual transfer to Hankey did not take place until June 1792 by two indentures, 86 between Warren and the Bulkeleys, and Hankey and Lloyd.

Thomas Hankey died in September 1793,87 so that he had not long enjoyed possession of Fetcham Park. His widow was in possession in 1804.88 and it must have been she who enclosed the remains of the great open common field into the park after the enclosure Act of 1801. As Mr. John Harvey has pointed out, the process of enclosure which was going on throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries in this district had the effect of sterilizing good agricultural land within park palings; and it may be added that in most cases the park palings have only disappeared to allow rose and herbacious borders, but it is common justice to point out that rather excessive retribution has fallen upon the landed proprietors, a fact which might well be borne in mind by other classes tempted to take more than their share from the national pot. John Barnard Hankey, Thomas's son, was owner in 1850,89 by which time Talman's austere brickwork had been stuccoed over, and, to judge from Hassell's water-colour of 1823, Arthur Moore's fantastic and rather fussy garden had given way to the cool, park-like, surroundings which remain to this day. Talman's house was still in existence in 1876, when Fetcham Park was described by James Thorne, F.S.A.<sup>90</sup> as a large formal stuccood mansion, the seat of G. B. Hankey, Esq.

It would be pleasant to end this article at this point, but for the sake of historical accuracy it must, unfortunately, be recorded that at some date which I am unable to determine, but which was probably soon after 1876, the Hankey family almost entirely rebuilt the house in a manner to simulate a small French chateau, with mansard roof and window-heads in ornamented terra-cotta. This disaster, which has not only robbed us of a work by a leading English architect, but has introduced a quite alien note into what remains a charming scene, is mitigated by one stroke of good fortune. Painted walls and ceilings were, at the time of this rebuilding, returning to vogue; and Talman's hall and staircase were embodied in the reconstructed house almost untouched, so that today, after passing with an inward shudder through the incredibly drab western facade, one finds oneself almost immediately surrounded by the magnificence of Talman's baroque and Laguerre's paintings. The hall and staircase alone are full warranty for the official protection which the house enjoys as a listed building.

The Hankeys took a considerable part in county affairs, both in civil administration and in the hunting field. When Mr. John Barnard Hankey, great-grandson of Thomas Hankey, died soon after the end of the first German war the estate was sold to a development company, who issued a prospectus of proposals for development in 1924.91 The house and some 20 acres around it were bought by the late Rev. J. G. Wilkie, one-time rector of Badingham, Suffolk, who established at Fetcham the well-known educational establishment named after his former parish, which is now carried on by his son, Rev. A. J. Wilkie. The remainder of the park was divided into building plots, and, considering the lack of planning powers at that time, the general result is not unpleasing.

In conclusion I desire to express my acknowledgments for great help received in the compilation of this account from Mr. John Harris of the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects (an account by whom of the paintings at Fetcham Park we hope to include in a future issue); Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne, who has not only directed me to the appropriate deeds at the County Record Office, but who has actively helped me by taking transcripts of wills, etc.; the officials of the Surrey Record Office, Kingston, who have given me kindly assistance with the records there; Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A., who as usual gave me good advice; and Mr. F. Bastian, whose knowledge of local families is always so useful. The Society's archives have also once again proved of value.

### NOTES

- 1. Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.), 1,270.
- Testa de Nevil.
   Victoria County History (hereafter referred to as V.C.H.), III. 287.
- 4. Chancery Inq. p.m. (series 2), cccxcii, 106.
- 5. Surrey Record Office (hereafter referred to as S.R.O.), 175/1/2.

6. Feet of Fines, Surrey, Hil. 5 William & Mary. A Lease and Release dated 9/10 December 1696 is cited in the schedule of deeds attached to a mortgage of Randalls Park, Leatherhead, in 1700 et seq. Wimbledon Corporation.

7. S.R.O. Accessions.

8. Feet of Fines, Surrey. Trin. 41 George III.

9. Brayley & Britton. Surrey. IV. 414.

10. Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. L, p. 159.

11. Minet Library. M.149.

12. S.R.O. 175/2.

13. The conversion of a capital messuage to a copyhold was, it is true, of rare occurrence; but if, as seems highly probable, Fetcham Park was originally a manor house, then its later copyhold status is proved by S.R.O. 175/1/12, "All that Messuage or Tenement . . . being lately copyhold and purchased by Sir Francis Vincent . . . of Thomas Carleton of Cashalton . . . late one of the Customary Tenants of the said Mannor of Fetcham.

14. Public Record Office. Calendar of Ancient Deeds, A.12297.

15. S.R.O. 175/1/12. 16. P.C.C. St. John 60.

17. S.R.O. 175/1/2 and 175/1/24.

18. S.R.O. 175/4/43.

19. Manning & Bray. Surrey (hereafter referred to as M. & B.), I. 458 star. 20. S.R.O. 175/4/44

21. Morison (S.E.), Builders of the Bay Colony (1930).

- 22. S.R.O. 175/1/1.
- 23. S.R.O. 175/1/2

24. S.R.O. 175/1/12.

- 25. Surrey Arch. Collections, XXXVI, 121.26. P.C.C. Penn 68.
- 27. M. & B. II.724.
- 28. S.R.O. 175/1/7
- 29. e.g. S.R.O. 175/1/12. 30. M. & B. I.486.
- 31. S.R.O. 175/1/9.
- 32. S.R.O. 175/1/8.
- 33. S.R.O. 175/1/12.

34. Fetcham parish registers.

35. Hooper (W.), Reigate, 1945, p. 119.

36. M. & B. I.486.

37. Feet of Fines, Surrey. Hil. 5 William & Mary.

38. See note 6.

39. P.C.C. Noel 147.

(a) Bysshe. Visitation of Surrey, 1662.
 (b) Evelyn. Diary 29 Sept., 1701.
 (c) Musgrave. Obituary.
 (d) Hooper. Reigate. p. 120.

41. Grantees of Arms. Harleian Society LXVI.

- 42. S.R.O. QS.7/5/1.
- 43. S.R.O. 175/1/14.
- 44. S.R.O. 175/4/59.
- 45. M. & B. I.480.
- 46. Monumenta Anglicana. 1717. p. 144. 47. S.R.O. 175/1/24.

- 48. Fetcham parish registers.
- 49. Dictionary of National Biography.

50. S.R.O. 175/4/65

- 51. (a) Wimbledon Corporation. Randalls Park deeds. (b) S.R.O. Accessions 377.
- 52. S.R.O. 175/1/15.
- 53. S.R.O. 175/1/16.
- 54. S.R.O. 175/1/18.
- 55. S.R.O. 175/1/19.
- 56. Le Neve. Monumenta Anglicana. 1717. P. 143.

57. Brayley & Britton. Surrey. IV.414.58. Original in possession of M. Hankey, Esq., Plush, Dorset.

59. Surrey Archaeological Society's collections, Guildford.

60. Bodleian Library. MS. North b.24.61. Colvin (H. M.), Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840.

62. Information supplied by John Harris, Esq., R.I.B.A. Library.

63. British Museum. Crach. (Grangerized Manning & Bray.)

64. M. & B. 1.486.

65. The Journeys of Celia Fiennes. Ed. C. Morris. pp. 352/3.

66. Bodleian Library. MS. North b.24.

67. Dictionary of National Biography, James Moore Smythe.

68. Proceedings of this Society, I. No. 9 (Polesden).

69. S.R.O. 175/1/125.

70. (a) Musgrave's Obituary. (b) Fetcham parish registers.
71. Will. P.C.C. Auber 133.
72. S.R.O. 175/1/28 (Attached schedule).

73. Bodleian Library. MS. North b.24.

74. S.R.O. 175/1/28.

75. M. & B. I.483.

76. V.C.H. III.288. 77. S.R.O. 175/1/30 and 175/1/31.

78. (a) Musgrave's Obituary. (b) Fetcham parish registers.

79. M. & B. I.483. 80. Ibid., 1.485.

81. Minet Library. M.149.

82. M. & B. I.483

83. S.R.O. 176/22/6. 84. Original in possession of M. Hankey, Esq., Plush, Dorset.

85. S.R.O. 175/2.

86. S.R.O. 175/1/51 and 175/1/52.87. Musgrave. Obituary.

88. M. & B. I.483.

89. Brayley & Britton. IV.415.

90. Environs of London.

91. Copy in Society's archives.

### ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO PEN SKETCHES OF OLD HOUSES IN THIS DISTRICT

No. 4—NORBURY PARK, MICKLEHAM (Proceedings, Vol. I, No. 8)

Dr. Marie Stopes, the present owner of the house, writes "In your current issue (No. 9), p. 30, Mr. Benger in his interesting further notes on Norbury Park, says of the description by William Gilpin of Barrett's mural paintings in the drawing room<sup>1</sup> 'In it he says that the landscape on the south wall depicts the real view between Boxhill and Dorking.' There was and is no landscape painting on the south wall, but very large windows open on to the actual view of Boxhill and Dorking. The paintings on the south wall are two large statue figures by Cipriani. Mr. Benger mentions also water for the house being raised 'from a depth of 361 feet by a horse operated engine.' It may be of interest to mention that the same well in the same engine house still is the sole source of water for the house."

### ADDENDA TO

## EDMUND TYLNEY: MASTER OF THE REVELS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH I

(Proceedings, Vol. I, No. 5)

It has recently come to my notice that the University of Illinois Library at Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A., possesses an unpublished folio manuscript volume from the hand of Edmund Tylney. It is entitled The Topographicall Descriptions Regiments and Pollicies of Itallie, France, Germanie, England, Spayne, Scotland and Ireland. Each of these nations is dealt with under the headings "The description of the Countrie", "The worth of the People", and "ye Abillitie of the Prince".

It seems very likely that Tylney compiled this work with a view to publication, and that it may date from around the year 1581, when his name was mentioned as a possible ambassador to Spain and when he may have had good reason to display a knowledge of international affairs. F. B. BENGER.

<sup>1.</sup> See Brayley & Britton History of Surrey, 1850, IV, 452, where Gilpin's description of the room is reprinted in full.



ASHTEAD PARK IN 1689

### ASHTEAD AND ITS HISTORY-Pt. IX

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

## The Manor under Sir Robert Howard and his son Thomas, 1680-1701

IN 1680, Sir Robert Howard, sixth son of Thomas, first Earl of Berkshire, bought the Manor of Ashtead from his cousin Henry, Duke of Norfolk. This change of ownership was a matter of great importance for Ashtead, for Sir Robert, unlike previous owners since the Astons, bought the Manor in order to make it his chief place of residence. His considerable wealth enabled him to build a new and imposing Manor-house (as shown by a contemporary pencil sketch in the writer's possession, reproduced above) and to lay out and enclose the Park, planting it with avenues of trees and providing fountains, ponds, and gardens, all in the rather formal taste of the day.

The old manor-house, described in later editions of Camden's *Britannia* as being "but a mean, decayed farm-house", was not pulled down when the new building was erected, as the latter was on a new site—that of the present building a hundred yards or so to the south-east. The old house was occupied for a time by the Mordaunts, friends of John Evelyn who visited them on several occasions, and it seems that a Lady Mordaunt continued to live there after Sir Robert Howard's purchase of the property. It appears finally to have served as a dairy, with a number of out-buildings round it, as portrayed on a map dating about 1708 prepared, as the accounts show, when the cutting of certain *vistas* in the Park woods was under consideration by Lady Diana Feilding who then owned the manor. It was not pulled down until 1790, when the then owner, Richard (Bagot) Howard, also demolished Sir Robert Howard's mansion to build a new one, apparently of the same dimensions, upon the site of the previous mansion.

Work on Sir Robert's house was finished by 1684, as is shown by an entry in Evelyn's diary for the 10th May of that year. Work on the Park which, as the Court Rolls show, necessitated the acquisition by the lord of the Manor of certain copyhold properties, seems to have continued for quite a time. The "Perry Croft" lands, together with the house, and the other nearby holding known as "Blakes", all of which had been held by

Mr. John Pepys, had to be acquired from Mr. George Rouse, since (as can be seen from the Lawrence map) it formed a large portion of the land which was to be enclosed. The transaction, with Mr. Rouse's "surrender", is recorded in the Court Roll for the court held in September 1683, but the payment made to achieve this surrender, probably a considerable sum of money, is not stated. Other similar surrenders are recorded for both this and the year following but, owing to the fact that the Court Rolls for the next six years are missing, it is not possible to learn how long it took before all the different holdings were in Sir Robert's hands and the Park, with its vistas, avenues, water-features and statuary could come into being.

[Since the above was published (in *The Ashtead Resident* No. 24), further volumes of account books of the manor, apart from the one mentioned below, were brought to light and made available to the writer. These, in Guildford Muniment Room, have now been studied in detail and have provided a wealth of new information on Ashtead manor; on Lady Diana's town house in Duke Street, Westminster; on her property at Castle Rising, Norfolk; and on life in the period in general. These accounts now cover the period from 1691 to 1722].

Fortunately, there is still in existence (for the years 1693–95, and in the Minet Library) an account book for the Manor, a large folio volume giving the day-by-day expenditure for the farm-work, hedging and general management of the Manor lands, together with the amounts received for sale of crops, etc. It has not yet been possible to make a full study of this interesting record, but this is now being done, and the following points are of special interest. The account was kept by the bailiff of the manor, one Charles Sprules, and is written with decidedly quaint spelling (e.g. "Willobe" for "Willoughby" and "pd danill gillam" or again "gooarg gillett for 10 Quartars of otes", etc.).

At this time Thomas Howard was managing the estate for his father who was near the end of his life (died: September 1698) and the signature "Thos. Howard" at the end of each week's account, together with such endorsements as "Remains in Charles' hands . . " with the amount of the balance at that date. From these accounts it will be possible to obtain much information as to the wages paid and the cost of various materials at the close of the seventeenth century, also—a matter of considerable local interest—the use to which different land was put. Items of interest, taken at random, are: "pd. Goody Symes, Mary Symes, Goody Legis, Goody Elyett 7 days apeece pitching stone and spreading molehills in the Santay", the amount being 14/- each. (What is meant by "the Santay" is not clear.) "Pd. the darking (Dorking) man for dressing the oxen, 6 jorneys—£1. 10s. 00d." Again, "pd. the hedley men for making 1,925 bavins (i.e. faggots of brushwood) in Ninwood (i.e., in the Ninwood Copse, at the southern end of the present park) £1 18s. 06d."

Of Sir Robert Howard and his life, the plays that he wrote (mostly in collaboration with Dryden, who married his sister Elizabeth) and of his various marriages (he had four wives in all) there is no need to write here. (A fairly detailed account is to be found in Ashtead and its Howard Possessors, 1873, by Mr. Paget, a Rector of Elford.) Sir Robert was knighted by Charles I for rescuing the Royalist comrades at the skirmish at Cropredy Bridge, in 1644. His son, Thomas, who survived his father by only about three years, married, in 1683, Lady Diana, daughter of Lord Newport. Of their three sons, two predeceased Thomas (in 1689) and the third died, at the age of fifteen, in 1702 less than a year after his father's death.

Lady Diana, as mentioned above, inherited the property, and outlived her second husband, and, in fact, all her children and near relatives. On her death, in 1732, she left her Ashtead property, as well as her town house in Duke Street and her property at Castle Rising, to the then Earl of Berkshire, a descendant of the same line as that of her first husband.

As regards Sir Robert Howard mention must here be made of research carried out by Mr. Oliver, Senior Lecturer in English at Sydney University. His work, results of which he has very kindly made available to the writer, has, among other things, settled the vexed question of Sir Robert's four marriages. Thus we now know that (1) on the 1st February 1644/5 he married Anna Kingsmill, of Malhanger, and that she was the mother of Thomas, b. 1651: (2) on the 10th August 1665, or 1666 (there is a contradiction among the authorities on the point) he married Honoria O'Brien, widow of Sir Francis Englefield; she died in September 1676: (3) Mary Uphill; date of marriage unknown, but the tomb of her parents at Dagenham states that she was the wife of Sir Robert Howard—apparently she was not the actress of the same name and it seems, therefore, not true that he married an actress as is sometimes stated. She died in 1682: (4) On the 26th February 1692/3, Annabella Dives, a Maid of Honour and daughter of Sir Lewis Dives, a courtier of that day (Paget states, p. 58 "She was employed in the Queen's household, being in some way connected with the Royal Laundry"). As to this fourth marriage, it took place when she was aged 18 and he appears to have been over 70. He lived for only some five years after the marriage, and when he died his widow inherited £40,000 under his will, which was proved on 7th September 1698. Sir Christopher Musgrave, writing to Robert Harley on 4th September 1694 (H.M.C. 14. II. p. 554) states "For Sir Robt. Howard to show to the world in one year a book and a child is next a miracle, his age considered". This implies a child of the marriage; if so it must have died in infancy, and did not receive mention in the will. This last marriage of Sir Robert is of most concern to us, as it caused a complete rift in the family, and there seems to have been no contact from then on between Thomas and his father, who retired to his estates near Bath, where he died. The account books show that Ashtead manor, which had formed the Marriage Settlement of Lady Diana when she married Thomas in 1683, now passed to her and did not wait for Sir Robert's death. It seems possible that Sir Robert Clayton of Marden Park, a close friend of both Thomas and Lady Diana, one of those who witnessed the Marriage Settlement and a man of considerable wealth and importance, may have been instrumental in bringing this about. Certainly Sir Robert Clayton and his wife were frequent guests at Ashtead Park after Sir Robert Howard's departure, and the friendship remained after Thomas's death down to Sir Robert Clayton's death in 1707. Typical of these visits is the one from 13th Sept. to 16th Sept. inclusive, 1702, when the following entries in the Ashtead Cellar Book for this period show that Sir Robert and Lady Clayton were at Ashtead with some of their men servants in attendance.

"1702. White wine drawn out of the hogshead.

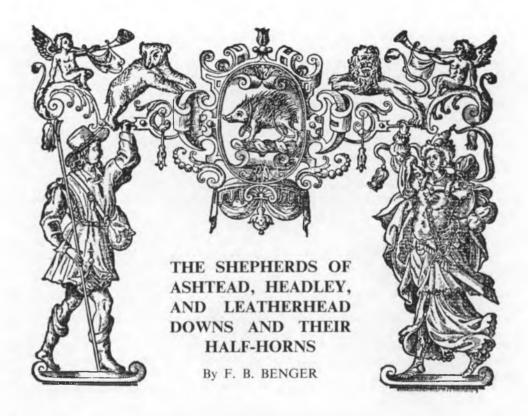
Sept. ye 13. 1 bottle att Dinner, Sir Rob. and Lady Clayton [similar entries for the 14th, 15th, and 16th.]

Strong Bere in Bottles.

Sept. ye 13. 3 to Sir Rob. Clayton's men."

[also for the three ensuing days.]

Lady Diana is not mentioned, but only the guests. We do not know for certain, but she may not have drunk wine on these occasions because there is mention in the cellar book of light ale specially brewed for her.



A CONSIDERABLE PART of the rising ground between Ashtead, Leatherhead, and Headley was in former times bare common waste; devoted (like other chalk uplands in England) to the raising of sheep. The "Sheep-Walk" at Ashtead is shown in John Lawrence's Survey Map of 1638, an interpretation of which by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A. appeared in No. 10 of the first volume of these *Proceedings*. The Leatherhead common waste on the downs occupied roughly the present limits of the Cherkley estate within the urban district of Leatherhead.

At some time between 1604 and 1613 an acute controversy seems to have arisen concerning the common rights on Leatherhead Downs. The then lord of Pachenesham, Sir Francis Stydolfe, was believed to be attempting an enclosure of the downs, and a memorandum1 was drawn up by the officials of Merton College, Oxford, which owned the other large manor of Thorncroft in Leatherhead. This states that "the whole towne hath towe great commons, a lower common for great cattell, in which every lord's soyle is bounded and knowen and they and theare tenants have and doe entercommon. An upper Common called Lethered Downes alias Kings Downe which containeth near 1000 acres, and this is only for sheepe. In this Upper Common all the aforesaid Lords and theare freehoulders, farmers and customary tenants have had and used common for sheepe without stinte or number time out of minde, and the soyle hath ever bin accounted a common soyle unto all the said Lords, and not the demeanes or freehoulde of anyone." The memorandum goes on to say that Stydolfe was claiming to be the sole owner of the soil of Leatherhead Downs, that he had made a by-law at his manor court laying down stints for his tenants, and had impounded the sheep of the farmers and tenants of the other lords. He certainly never succeeded in effecting enclosure, for the downs are shown as common waste in the

1782/3 Survey Map; but no doubt for a time things were awkward for the tenants of the other manors and the dispute must have quickened the shepherds in their duties of keeping flocks well in hand and of preventing them from straying into neighbouring arable, much of which was held by Pachenesham tenants.

Flocks of sheep were controlled in the hedgeless open field by two means—the dog and the half-horn. The half-horn was a long staff to the end of which was nailed a cow's horn split lengthwise. When in use a stone was placed in the hollow of the horn, and by swinging the staff over the shoulder forwards the stone could be hurled a considerable distance, no doubt followed by others in rapid succession, so that a straying sheep found itself confronted by a barrage of falling stones which would turn it back towards the flock. It is probable that this instrument goes back to very early times; indeed it seems no flight of fancy that with some such "sling" David struck down Goliath. An illumination in a 13th century manuscript Psalter in the British Museum (Royal MS. I. D. X) depicting the angel appearing to the shepherds seems to show the latter holding half-horn staves; and an illumination in a French 15th century Book of Hours (B.M.Add.MS. 28785) very obviously shows a shepherd holding one. We reproduce here a part of the well-known woodcut frame to the title-page of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1593, showing a shepherd holding his half-horn staff, with his satchel at his waist in which no doubt the stones were stored.

There is a charming description by Samuel Pepys in his diary (under date Sunday, July 14th, 1667) of a day's outing by coach with his wife and his cousin Mrs. Turner. They spent the morning in Epsom, and in the afternoon came on to Ashtead, where, after looking at the house formerly occupied by Pepys' cousin, they walked through the woods to the Sheep Walk, and there found a shepherd watching his flock whilst his small son sat by him reading aloud from the Bible. "I did give the poor man something, for which he was mighty thankful, and I tried to cast stones with his horne crooke. He values his dog mightily."

In the second volume of John Aubrey's Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey published in 1718 (Aubrey's original manuscript was compiled circa 1678 and the passage which I quote is almost certainly from his pen, not from that of his editor Rawlinson, as it alludes to "our Western Sheep Crooks") occurs the following under Headley, where he discusses the downs between Headley and Ashtead: "The Shepherds of the Downs use a half Horn, Scil: Slitt secundum longitudinem, nail'd to the End of a long Staff (about the length of our Western Sheep Crooks) with which they can hurl a Stone a great distance, and so keep their Sheep within their Bounds, or from straggling into the Corn. Such I have seen in some old Hangings (viz. the Kings design'd by Rafael de Urbino) and before the first Edition of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia: but never saw the thing, before I pass'd over these pleasant Downs." Rev. Thomas Cox, in the fifth volume of his Magna Britannia Antiqua et Nova published in 1730, borrows this passage almost word for word (without acknowledgment) but significantly adds "not in Use anywhere but here."

In 1808 William Bray of Shere (the county historian) enquired about this custom and was told by a man aged 79 that he remembered the shepherds in this neighbourhood having a horn at one end of their crook in which they placed a small stone, and threw it for the purpose of getting in a stray sheep, which they would hit at a distance of 20 rods: he had not seen any used within the last 40 years. Another man remembered an old shepherd named Weston having such a horn.<sup>2</sup> This evidence seems to show that the half-horn staff was in use until *circa* 1765. I can find no later reference to it. Ashtead Downs were enclosed some time between 1793 and 1840, Leatherhead Downs remained open until 1862:<sup>3</sup> after the planting of hedges no doubt a dog alone was sufficient to control a flock.

### NOTES

<sup>1.</sup> Merton College, Oxford, Muniments No. 738. See also Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol. XLI.

<sup>2.</sup> Manning & Bray. 11.637.

<sup>3.</sup> Surrey Archaeological Collections, XLVIII. Article Enclosure Acts and Awards, by W. E. Tate.

### LEATHERHEAD JUST OVER A CENTURY AGO

Extracts from the Journal of Miss Amelia Hunter,\* written while staying at Leatherhead (possibly at Elm Bank near Leatherhead Church; and, apparently, with relations) from 2nd September, 1852 until 15th June, 1855, when she returned to Brighton.

### 1852

- September 6th. Misty early in the morning. Fine day. Walk in Randalls Park. Black cattle feeding. Gloomy appearance over Box Hill and Norbury. ½ past 8—Lightning, Thunder, and Steady Rain. Nuthatch very busy. Wagtail lying on the Walk. Robins singing. Flowers very gay. Verbenas, Geraniums, and some pretty Roses.
- September 21st. Walk to Fetcham. Martins skimming the surface of the River. Animated, pretty sight. High blue sky. The Dab Chicks on the Mill Pond—curious flight.
- September 23rd. [Temperature] 64[°]. Pleasant day. Little sunshine. Yellow Cactus flowering. Nuthatch killed yesterday. Walk to *Highlands*. Surprised with the multitudes of flying Ants. They appeared to come from the West, flying, in file, direct towards the Apple Trees and Hay-stacks in the Farm. They were very annoying as we walked along, fixing on us in numbers. Their bite, or sting, disagreeable.
- September 24th. Drive to Headley. Beautiful Wood. Bright pines. Close Lane. Good position of Mr. Strachan's house. Bright sunshine on our return after the close, sultry morning.
- September 27th. Very dreary day. Walk to Hawk's Hill.
- October 5th. Tremendous rains. The Mole overflowed more than has been known or remembered for 26 years. Burford Bridge gave way on the Dorking side, and communication by carts and carriages was stopped for a day or two. Persons were obliged to come through Bookham to Leatherhead.
- October 6th. River still swollen. The Inhabitants of the cottages at Leatherhead Bridge obliged to occupy their upper rooms. Ducks floating in at their doors. Flooded at the Laundry belonging to Mr. Claggate.<sup>3</sup> Under water at *Thorncroft*. Impassable between the sweep to the house and the Bridge. Black Clouds and occasional showers. Cold.
- October 8th. . . . One beautiful blossom on the Magnolia (the last of the 6).
- October 11th. Leatherhead Fair was held to-day. Dry and cold.
- October 15th. Ther[mometer] above Temperate; 58[°]. Pleasant bright morning. Walk, after Service, up Hawk's Hill. Trees unusually green for the Season. The Beeches beautifully tinted. Landscape uncommonly pretty. Ruth and I watched a little Squirrel in Mr. Bridger's wood. The sharp eye, thick brushy tail. The soft and wonderfully quick movement passing from Branch to Branch interested us in this graceful little animal.
- October 18th. 55[°]. N.E. Bright and dull alternately. Beautiful afternoon. Walk through Norbury Park to Mickleham and home by the road. Trees and foliage very pretty. A great many fine Turkeys at Capt. Boulton's. Rooks feeding with them. Liquid manure being distributed before the ploughing and weeds burnt in heaps over it immediately. Rather a frosty evening.
- November 10th. 57[°]. Dryer and brighter. Very fine all day. "The Duke's" Funeral to-day.

<sup>\*</sup>Great-aunt of Miss Hunter of Broom House, Ashtead, who gave the manuscript to Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., who has prepared these extracts.

- November 27th. 58[°]. N.E. Clear blue sky. Sunshine. Very pleasant day. River much swollen, the fields on our side inundated further than on former occasions. Fine bright night.
- December 3rd. 52[°]. N.E. Clear Weather. Walk to the Lodge at Norbury with Miss Parke. Road still flooded by Mr. Corrie's. A Spring bubbling up in Mr. Colvin's field.
- [After a number of entries such as "Rain all day" and "Torrents in the afternoon and evening"]
- (*December*) 26th. . . . In the evening the Wind increased amazingly. The Trees rocked and the house was quite shaken. There was violent rain besides. The tempest continued all night. Our old Apple tree fell with a crash owing to the Wind.

### 1853

- February 5th. Fine morning. Cold, 45[°]. N.E. Hunters coming over the Bridge.
- February 11th. . . . The Hills, trees and houses covered with Snow.
- February 12th. . . . to sunshine all day, and the snow falling lightly but steadily.
- February 13th. ... In the evening falling snow. Very cold.
- February 14th. More ice than Snow. . . . Bradmere Pond<sup>7</sup> nearly covered with Ice.
  - [Entries record cold weather and further snow for the next ten days.]
- February 28th. Therm. 45[s] in the middle of the day. Wind W. Sunshine. A thaw succeeded by a light drying wind. Saw the delicate swinging of the long-tailed, or bottle, tit; and watched a golden wren (a female I think, for there was no crest). The lightness of weight and the colour made me at first take it for a leaf blown by the wind. It hovered familiarly and hopped from spray to spray in the laurels.
- March 3rd. . . . Very dirty walking. Went to Vale Lodge.
- March 4th. . . . Pleasant walk to Fetcham with Julia and Miss Mather. We saw a good many Moor fowls on the Mill Pond, but the path round was so wet that we were obliged to turn back.
- March 11th. N.E. 55[°]. Very fine weather. Went to Croydon by Train. Lavender planted out on the slips of ground beside the railroad. Young lambs in the fields. Mr. Ruck had got 10 single lambs and 10 twins. A fine pr. of Ferrets. The eyes of the male very red. In a cage or hutch.
- March 12th. 53[°]. N.W. A little more cloudy and not quite so fine. Walk to the Common.<sup>8</sup> A great number of the Hunters assembled at the Bull Inn. The stag meanwhile had taken to the river and was kept back by a rope stretched across. We met the Foxhounds coming from Barnet Wood.
- March 18th. 43[°]. N.W. Very cold . . . the snow resting on the ledges. The thrush was so cramped in the Stable that we had the Cage brought into the Kitchen.
- [The following entries are mainly of very cold weather and more snow until Easter Sunday, March 27th, when there was rain with frost at night. However, it did not prevent "Planting Potatoes" which is recorded for the 28th.]
- March 30th. Fine morning. 45[°]. Bright all day. Mary and John Hunter<sup>9</sup> walked over from Epsom. Returned in the afternoon to Ashtead Park with them. Beautiful deer in the Park, crossing the path, quite tame. Fine antlers.
- April 4th. . . . Walk to Highlands. Observed the thatched piles of Beet in the Chalk Pit. 10
- April 8th. Cold N.W. Wind and Hail showers. Walk across Randalls Park. Heard Thunder. Rooks cawing, and very busy; fine hooded ones strutting along.

- April 24th. 53[°]. Cold rain. S.W. Swallows and Martins, in number apparently from 20 to 40, flying restlessly over the Cottages near the river.
- April 27th. 54[°]. W. Fine weather. Walk to Norbury Lodge. Rooks very noisy in the Elms at Vale Lodge. Season backward in vegetation. White throats in the garden. Cold night.
- April 30th. 55[°]. N.W. Afternoon, N.E. Sunny and pleasant. Walk through Fetcham Park. Delicate green underwood. We saw 5 splendid Hares. Started them; the pace very swift; black ears and white tail; very strongly marked. Rooks nests in numbers on some trees growing in a hollow, or former chalkpit; close to Fetcham House; very noisy and busy. Heard a cuckoo for the first time in the wood by the roadside.

(To be continued)

### **NOTES**

- 1. Probably the road from Juniper Hall to Headley.
- High Ashurst, which had been the property of Andrew Strahan the king's printer, and upon his death in 1831 devolved on his nephew William Snow, who assumed the name of Strahan.
- 3. Thomas W. Clagett lived at Bridge House, Fetcham, later known as Fetcham Grove.
- Probably Thomas Bridges, then living at The Elmers, where are now the East Surrey Water Company's works.
- 5. Capt. Richard Boulton, lord of the manor of Pachenesham, then lived at Givon's Grove.
- 6. The Duke of Wellington.
- 7. Bradmere Pond was beside the Kingston Road, at the foot of what is now Park Rise.
- 8. Leatherhead lower common at the northern end of Kingston Road was not enclosed until 1863.
- 9. John Hunter was possibly the son of Peter Hunter of Abele Grove, Epsom.
- 10. Probably the marling pit now in the grounds of Four Acres, Headley Road.

### LEATHERHEAD AND DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

# Account for the year ended 30th September, 1957

Dr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance at 30th September, 1956:— General Library	81 10 10 18 1 2	99 12 0
" Subscriptions:—  128 at 10s. (including £3 received in 1955)  19 at 7s. 6d	64 0 0 7 2 6 4 0 15 0 8 1 6	80 3 0
" Surrey County Council Grant		15 0 0 10 0 0 32 17 11 13 7 0 9 15 10 5 0 0 7 6
Takings	17 16 9 16 4 0	1 12 9 £267 16 0

Cr. By Printing and Duplicating By Postages, stationery, and su	and m	dia	£	s.	d.	£ 13	s. 6	d. 1
bursements		uis-				8	19	2
" Subscriptions and Affiliation I Surrey Record Society South Eastern Union of			1	0	0			
Societies		4.4		12	6			
Field Studies Council			1	1	0			
						2	13	6
" Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> , 1955						118	15	9
" Printing of Proceedings, 1956						86	0	0
" Balance at Bank						35	19	3
" Cash in Hand		1.6				2	. 2	3

£267 16 0

# Library and Publication Fund

To Balance brought forward ,, Donations—Publication Fund	 £ s. d. 18 1 2 13 7 0	By Balance carried forward	 £ s. d. 31 8 2
	£31 8 2		£31 8 2

Note.—The Account does not include items for the value of Archives, equipment, and library.

(Signed) S. E. D. FORTESCUE, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct, (Signed) A. H. KIRKBY, Hon. Auditor.

