

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT  
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE .

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT  
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



VOL. 2

No. 9

1965

251-276

## SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1965:—

February 25th	Projection of slides of Old Leatherhead, by J. G. W. Lewarne.
March 26th	Annual General Meeting.
April 29th	Lecture: "Viking People in Britain", by C. W. Phillips, O.B.E.
May 29th	Visit to Ashtead Park.
June 12th	Visit to Leatherhead Parish Church. Described by F. B. Benger.
July 24th	Visit to Guildford Grammar School.
August 21st	Walk over line of City Posts, Tadworth to Mogador.
September 18th	Visit to Sutton Place, Guildford.
October 14th	Lecture: "Stages in the Historic Development of Sutton", by R. P. Smith.
November 25th	Lecture: "Newest Methods used in Archaeology", by A. T. Clark.
December 16th	Lecture: "Local Flora, with particular reference to rare species", by K. Morford, C.B.E.

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No. 8 of Volume 2 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

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## NINETEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

*Held at the Council Offices on Friday, 26th March, 1965*

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1964 were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected as shown below.

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## OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1965

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

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

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*Committee Members:* F. B. BENDER, S. E. D. FORTESCUE

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

*Hon. Editor of the Proceedings:* F. B. BENDER

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

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**of the**  
**Leatherhead and District Local History Society**  
**Vol. 2, No. 9**  
**1965**

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## OCCASIONAL NOTES

ROBERT CHESEMAN, b. 1485 d. 1547

**I**N 1836, William Cotton of The Priory, Leatherhead, had printed twenty-five copies of *A Descriptive Catalogue of some Pictures Books and Prints etc. collected by Charles Rogers, F.R.S., F.A.S., and now in the possession of William Cotton, M.A., F.A.S.* This is prefaced first by a perfectly accurate account of the history of the Priory site from 1750 until Cotton's acquisition of it and enlargement of the house in gothic style; but there



*Reproduced by permission of the Mauritshuis Foundation, The Hague, Holland*

follows what appears to be an entirely fictitious account of a Cistercian priory which is stated to have existed on the site during the Middle Ages, and this is attributed to Rev. James Dallaway. It takes the form of a letter to the secretary of the Antiquaries Society in London dated 1824. This piece has always been an enigma. The late H. E. Malden (editor of the *Victoria County History of Surrey*) stated quite categorically that Dallaway did not write it;<sup>1</sup> moreover at least one of its references is so obviously inaccurate that it is difficult to believe that an antiquary of Dallaway's standing would have perpetrated it even in jest.<sup>2</sup> It seems just possible that it is a good-natured *jeu d'esprit* by William Cotton (himself an antiquary) poking gentle fun at Dallaway's enthusiasms, though if this is so, to publish it after Dallaway's death was hardly in the best taste. But at the end of this curious concoction the final paragraph commences:—

"I now return to the topography. At the time of the Dissolution (1545) the site of this Priory was granted to Thomas Chessman, or Cheeseman, Esq., one of the Yeoman Falconers to King Henry VIII, by whom the Mansion-house in Letherhead was originally built."

This reference to Cheseman, with (it should be noted) an incorrect Christian name, was not repeated by Cotton in his usually reliable historical notes appended to Miss Drinkwater-Bethune's poem *The River Mole* published in 1839, and, on account of the context of its first appearance, it might well be dismissed but for the fact that in Brayley's *History of Surrey*,<sup>3</sup> 1850, is the following definite statement:—

"The Mansion is supposed to have been originally built in the reign of Henry VII, the chantry chapel annexed to it, on the north side of the church, being of that age. In the next reign, it was held by Robert Cheseman, esq., who married Alice Dacres . . . and dying in 1547, was buried in the chapel of Norwood, where there is a mural monument exhibiting his arms, but without inscription."

Now this statement is made in spite of the fact that Brayley was well aware that the account of the Cistercian priory was a fictitious one<sup>4</sup> and it should be noted that the correct Christian name is given to Cheseman and that his surname is spelt as it is shown on the portrait of him by Hans Holbein the Younger which we reproduce here by permission of the directorate of the Mauritshuis at The Hague.

It does therefore seem probable that Brayley was aware of some proof of a connection between Cheseman and The Mansion, possibly a deed of some sort which was known also to whoever wrote the "1824" letter printed in Cotton's book of 1836; and the fact that Brayley went to some trouble to exactly identify Cheseman and his associations seems confirmation of his belief in Cheseman's connection in some way with The Mansion. This point could be finally resolved only by reference to Brayley's working material, which, as far as I am aware, no longer exists.

Before passing to a consideration of Cheseman himself and what is known of him, it is worth noting that whoever wrote the "1824" letter was aware that Cheseman was a falconer. This fact is not recorded elsewhere as far as I can determine, but it is borne out by Holbein's portrait depicting him with a hooded falcon at his wrist.

Robert Cheseman was the son of Edward Cheseman, Cofferer to Kings Henry VII and VIII, by his wife Joan Lawrence. His father's place of residence, which later became his own, was a house known as Dorman's Well in the manor of Southall, Middlesex, which still existed (as a farmhouse) as late as 1876.<sup>5</sup> The Chesemans were lords of the manors of Southall and Norwood, Middlesex,<sup>6</sup> and Robert is buried in the church at Norwood, where his tomb still exists, bearing his arms, on the north side of the chancel. He married (as recorded by Brayley) Alice Dacres, daughter of Henry Dacres of Fleet Street, merchant tailor, and sister of Robert Dacres, a Master of Request. Cheseman was on the commission of the peace for Middlesex<sup>7</sup> and, quite apart from the fact that his family was armigerous, as a magistrate he was entitled to the quality of *esquire* which is given him

Middlesex Pedigrees—collected by Richard Mundy in Harl. MS. No. 1551  
 [Harl. Soc. Pub. Vol. LXV, p. 47]

**CHEESMAN OF DORMANS WELL**

.... Cheesman, had 3 sons =

Edward Cheesman = Jone, d. of....  
 of Dormans Well in Lawrence of....  
 com. Midlesex, com. Lanck....  
 Cofferer to H.7 and reupt....  
 H.8 Banester  
 [will pr. 1510]

John Cheesman =  
 of Lewsam, Kent  
 [a daughter, no sons]

Robert Cheesman =  
 of Lewsam, Kent  
 [will pr. 1498]  
 [a daughter, no sons]

Robert Cheesman =  
 [born 1485  
 died 1547.  
 will pr. 1548]

[(1) Eleanor? Tawe]  
 [(2)] Allice d. of Henery Dacres  
 [of Mayfield, Staffs. and]  
 of Fleet Street in London  
 Marchantlor sister of  
 Robert Dacres Mr of  
 Request. [Her will pr. 1558]

Ellener  
 [m.....]

Elizabeth ux....  
 Carmino servant  
 to H.8  
 [.....]

Mary  
 [m.....]

Grace ux. a  
 Keeper in  
 Windsor Forest

Elizabeth  
 was first a Nun  
 at Hollywell  
 and after at  
 Keelborne

Ellenor [or Anne] d. and heire  
 ux. Francis Chamberlyn  
 of Sherborne in Com. Oxon.  
 [Vide Oxon.]

^  
 [.....]

Visit. Oxon. [Harl. Soc. Pub. Vol. 5, p. 236]  
 Franciscus Chamberlaine = Ann, filia and haeres  
 locumeen. de Woodstock Roberti Chesman  
 et insula Garnsey de Dormandswell  
 in com. Midd. arm.

both in the "1824" letter printed in 1836 and by Brayley in 1850. As will be seen from the pedigree, not only was Robert's father a court official but two of his sisters married servants of the royal household. Thus, though there seems no actual record surviving to show that he was himself a royal servant, it seems very probable that he was one. Indeed, the fact that his portrait and that of Thomas Cromwell painted in the following year, 1534, are thought to have led to Holbein's appointment as painter to the King<sup>8</sup> is a further indication of a connection with the Court. In 1531 Robert Cheseman bought a manor in Greenford, Middlesex,<sup>9</sup> which he sold in 1534 to John Smith, a London baker; in 1534 Syon Abbey leased the estate of Osterley to him<sup>10</sup>; and in 1537 the Trinitarian friary of Hounslow leased all its lands to him for 99 years.<sup>11</sup> The second and third of these transactions are significant to us, because, as Mr. Frank Bastian has pointed out, in the closing years of the monasteries, when the writing was on the wall, a quite extensive practice grew up of leasing monastic property at uneconomic annual rents but with substantial entrance fines which never found their way into the monastic common purse.

Robert Cheseman's will is a lengthy document. In it he refers to his house of Dormanswell and to property at Kentish town, but makes no reference to Leatherhead or any Surrey property. His widow's will is confined to household effects, jewellery, etc.

It therefore seems likely that if he did have tenure of The Mansion of some sort for a time it may well have been one of the under-the-counter transactions referred to above, for The Mansion was the local centre of the manor of Minchin in Leatherhead, which until the Dissolution of 1536 belonged to the Benedictine nunnery of Kilburn,<sup>12</sup> and it may well have been some lease of Minchin which Dallaway or Cotton and Brayley had seen. The possibility is strengthened by the intriguing fact that Robert Cheseman's sister Elizabeth was a nun of Kilburn. In his will he left an annuity to "my sister Elizabeth formerly a Nune".

There is one further fact to add. In the south aisle of Leatherhead Church there is a charming marble memorial upon the wall to the memory of Dame Elizabeth Eaton, widow of Sir Peter Eaton Knight and Citizen of London, who is buried nearby. There seems to be some confusion as to the date of her death. Her burial is recorded in the parish register, 14th October, 1730, the *Gentleman's Magazine* records her death as on 29th September, 1733, and Manning & Bray give the date as 30th September, 1736.<sup>13</sup> Within a cartouche her arms are displayed upon a lozenge impaled with those of her husband. Her arms, on the sinister side, are *Per chevron crenelle, Argent and Sable, three mullets pierced counterchanged*. The Surrey historians Manning and Bray recorded these arms in 1809 as those of Cheseman. The Cheseman arms on the tomb in Norwood church, Middlesex, are recorded by Brayley (IV, p. 435, note 18) as *Per chevron, embattled, Arg. and Sab. three mullets, pierced, counterchanged*. It is clear that Lady Eaton was born a Miss Cheseman, c. 1650 (she died at the age of 80), and that she came of the same family as Robert Cheseman. Dallaway noted the monument and arms in a note book which he used in 1807<sup>14</sup> and identified the arms as those of Cheseman. How and why did this lady, who seems to have had little connection with Leatherhead, come to be buried here? Was it because there lingered in her family some memory of its former connection with the place? The quest for local history so often leads to unfulfilled questions yet exciting possibilities.

Since writing the above, Mr. B. J. T. Hanson of Southall Local History Society has kindly sent me the following additional notes:—

There is no evidence that Edward Cheseman [Robert's father] was buried at Norwood and, indeed, he left instructions in his Will that "myn bodie to be buried in the Church of the Freres Prechers called the Black Friars next Ludgate in London". However, he left further instructions that his son, Robert, was to pay a priest to sing Mass for his soul in Norwood Church.

In his Will, Robert left instructions that "my bodie to be buried in the Parish Church of Norwood aforesayd before the picture of Our Lady there as myn tomb is new made." It would therefore seem that Robert built the altar tomb during his lifetime.

The Lords of the Manors of Norwood and Southall were the Archbishops of Canterbury from 830 A.D. until Cranmer exchanged the Manors for lands in Kent with Henry VIII in 1543. Edward Cheseman was therefore an under-Lord of the Archbishop although for all practical purposes he was Lord of the Manors. After the exchange Henry immediately sold both Manors to Robert Cheseman who thus became the first resident lord living at Dormanswell.

This year the Borough of Southall, before its incorporation in the London Borough of Ealing, published a short history of the Borough by its Reference Librarian, Paul Kirwan M.A., F.L.A. On page 16 Mr. Kirwan states "Both he [Robert] and his father had served two successive kings in various capacities; on 31st December, 1539, for example, he was one of the 120 esquires sent to meet Anne of Cleves on her arrival from Düsseldorf to marry Henry VIII. Cheseman was also concerned with the trials of Queen Katherine Howard and Cardinal Wolsey. With his brother-in-law, John Tawe, he was often appointed to serve on royal commissions and act as justice for the county.

Robert Cheseman's first wife, Eleanor, had died childless. His second was Alice, the daughter of Henry Dacres of Mayfield, Staffs., and merchant-tailor of London. She survived until 1558. They had a daughter, Anne, who before the death of her father and while still very young was married to Francis Chamberlayne."

I must express my indebtedness to Mr. Frank Bastian who provided me with the pedigree of the Cheseman family, and investigated the Cheseman wills at Somerset House. I should also like to thank Mr. Frederick Onslow for having visited the Norwood church of St. Mary to establish that the Cheseman tomb still exists, though bearing an incorrectly dated modern inscription.

F. B. BENDER.

#### NOTES

1. In a letter to Rev. T. H. Hobson, Vicar of Leatherhead, in Leatherhead Church Chest.
2. E.G., the decision of a church dispute in 1454 by William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, entered in his Register. Edington died in 1366.
3. Brayley. IV, p. 435.
4. Brayley. IV, p. 437, note 21.
5. Thorne (James), F.S.A., *Handbook to the Environs of London*. 1876. Vol. II, p. 559.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Calendar of State Papers. Henry VIII.
8. *Hans Holbein the Younger*. Foreword by S. Lane. *Portfolios of Great Masters*. 1926.
9. Middlesex Record Office. Acc. 473/4 (V.C.H. Middlesex III. 210).
10. V.C.H. Middlesex III, p. 109.
11. V.C.H. Middlesex III, p. 106.
12. *Proceedings* of this Society, Vol. I No. 7, p. 7.
13. Manning & Bray. *Surrey*, II, p. 678.
14. *Miscellaneous Collections for an Account of the Parish of Leatherhead*. 1807. [Manuscript notebook.] Guildford Muniment Room 52/7/4.

## A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

### X. THE FETCHAM PARISH TITHE MAP OF 1791

By J. G. W. LEWARNE

THE FETCHAM PARISH TITHE MAP of 1791 was surveyed by D. Mumford and is described as "A Plan of the Parish of Fetcham in the County of Surry, the Advowson and small tythes of which were purchased by Robert Sherson M.D., taken 1791." Accompanying the map is a Terrier contained in a parchment bound book. The estate, described as "A most desirable Freehold Estate and part Copyhold together with the Perpetual Advowson of the Rectory", was sold by Mr. Christie at his Great Room in Pall Mall on Thursday, 29th May, 1788. The estate, which included a small parcel of land in Leatherhead, was purchased by Thomas Hankey, a banker of Battersea, for £29,310.<sup>1</sup> The Advowson is stated to have been sold to Mrs. Ann Kirkpatrick<sup>2</sup> by Sir George Warren, but on the evidence of the 1791 map it appears that Sir George actually sold it to Robert Sherson. The latter was an eminent member of the medical profession and is notable for having five wives, four of whom he buried and the fifth survived him. The Rector in 1791 was Rev. John C. Knowles who was presented by Sir George Warren in 1772<sup>3</sup> and Robert Sherson presented his son Rev. Abraham Sherson in 1794. The Tithe Map is drawn to a scale of approximately 25 inches to the mile, and each of the 385 land divisions is numbered corresponding to the entry in the Terrier which provides details of area and usage. The information provided gives some picture of the form of the Manorial Land System and also important data on the parish at the close of the 18th century. It will be observed on the map that the East and West Fields are shown and remains of field strips are evident. Further there are some small traces of what might have been the North Field in parcels 150, 250, and 290A in Nutt Croft. Fetcham Common and Downs are also shown. In the Terrier parcels 114 and 128 to 134 inclusive are described as "in Fetcham Common Meadow", and in the terrier to the 1777 map, which was the subject of an article by A. T. Ruby,<sup>4</sup> the whole of Calf House Meadow was noted as in the Common Meadow. The probability is that it embraced most of the fields adjacent to the River Mole. Thus is provided a fairly complete anatomy of the Manorial System in Fetcham, the East, West, and North Fields, the Common Meadow, the Common and Downs, the Fields and Meadow having been the subject of early enclosure. In 1811 the Common and Downs were enclosed.<sup>5</sup> In 1791 Thomas Hankey's Mansion, Garden, Pleasure Ground and Park, together with the Matterdons comprised 134 acres.

Details of the other principal holdings were:—

<i>Farm and Tenant</i>		<i>Total Acreage</i>	<i>Arable</i>	<i>Meadow</i>	<i>Pasture</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Other</i>
HOME							
M. Richmond	..	308	254	34	3	12	5
CANNON							
J. Stiles	.. ..	266	148	72	7	1	38
FARTHER GT.							
Late Ld. Tyrconnel		124	108	—	—	13	3
MONKS GREEN							
Willm. Mills	..	85	65	16	1	—	3
MILL							
H. Ellis	.. ..	52	21	16	—	—	15†
SLYFIELD ESTATE							
Stockley	.. ..	126	66	42	8	10	—

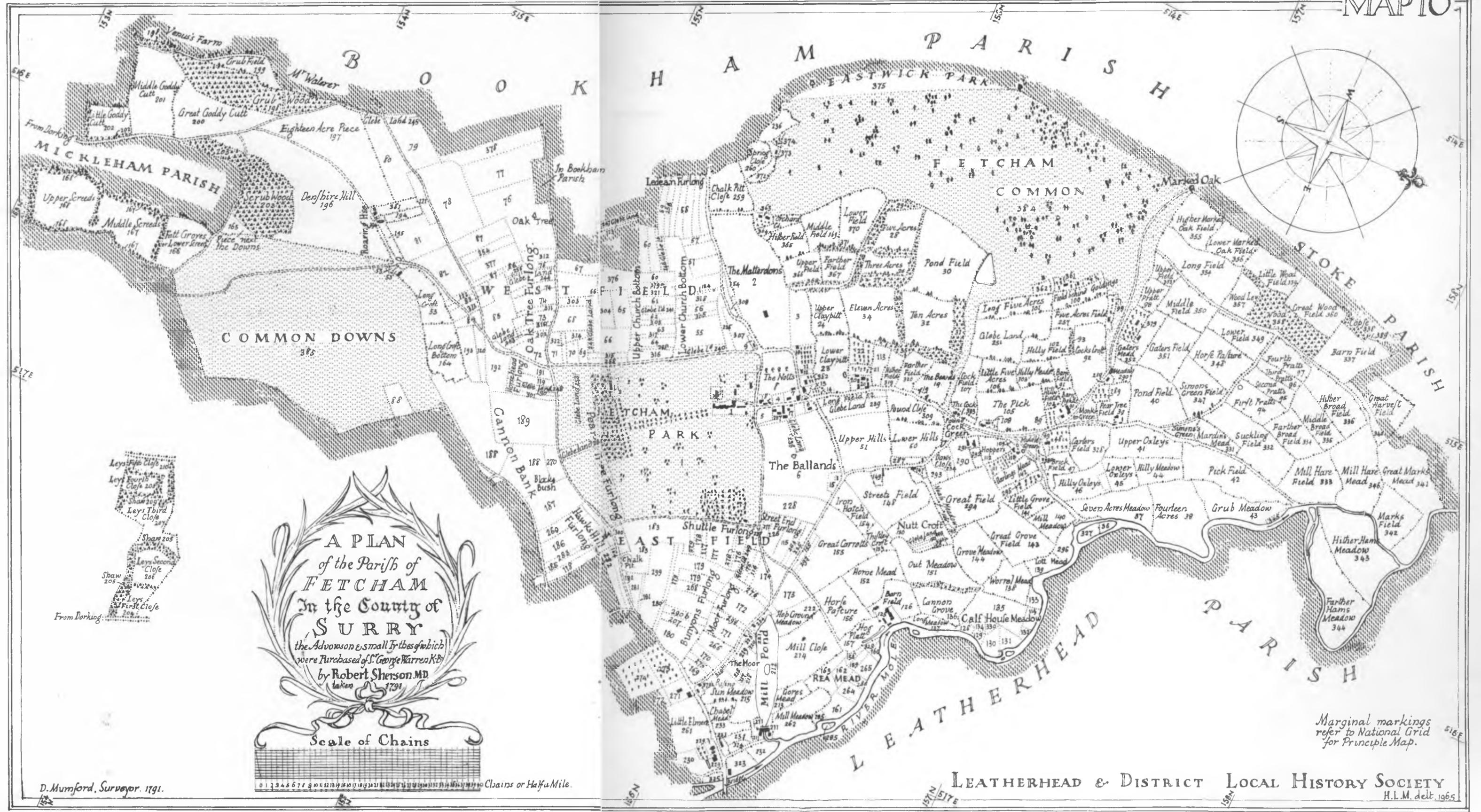
<i>Farm and Tenant</i>	<i>Total Acreage</i>	<i>Arable</i>	<i>Meadow</i>	<i>Pasture</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Other</i>
SLYFIELD						
Bray .. ..	71	56	15	—	—	—
ROYDON=						
Waterer .. ..	26	24	—	—	1	1
<i>Total</i> .. ..	1,058	742	195	19	37	65

NOTES: † includes Mill Pond 7 acres  
= later known as Kennel Farm  
Figures indicate acres to the nearest whole number

The Glebe Land totalled 30 acres of which Martin Richmond rented 13 acres (3 meadow, 10 arable), John Mills 10 acres (all arable), and Mr. Stiles 1 acre (arable), the balance being incorporated with the Parsonage.

The following tenants, etc., are listed in the Terrier:—

<i>Parcels</i>	
1 - 3	Thomas Hankey, Esq.
4 - 6	Rev. Mr. Knowles (Rector)
7 & 8	Mrs. Donald
9	Francis Cox. (Later the first Fetcham Post Office)
10 & 11	H. Dumbrell
12	B. Johnson and G. Lee
13 & 14	Miles Denby. (The Bell Publick House)
15	William Goreing
16	Kitchersides and Sawyer
17	Waker
18	Clements. (The Salt Box)
19	Bristow Webb. (Smiths Shop)
20 - 88	Martin Richmond. (Home Farm)
89 - 124	William Mills. (Monks Green Farm)
125 - 193	James Stiles. (Cannon Farm)
194 - 210	late Lord Tyrconnel. (Farther Great Farm)
	Parcels 204-210 are in Mickleham Parish
211 - 228	Henry Ellis. (Mill Farm)
229 - 233	Robert Sherson, M.D.
234 & 235	Nettlefold
236	B. Castledine
237 - 253	Glebe (various occupants)
254 - 260	Fetcham Poor (various occupants)
261 - 270	Epsom Poor (various occupants)
271 - 290b	Walker
291 - 309	Nettlefold
310 - 318	Waterer (W. Mills tenant)
319 - 322	Martin Richmond
323 - 326	Wade
327 & 328	late Lord Tyrconnel
329 & 330	Admiral Sir Francis Geary, Bart.
331 - 342	Bray Part of Slyfield Estate
343 - 360	Stockley Part of Slyfield Estate
361 & 362	Golding
363 - 371	Waterer Roydon Farm
372 - 374	Fetcham Poor Includes the Almshouse
375 - 379a	Earl of Effingham



A PLAN  
of the Parish of  
**FETCHAM**  
In the County of  
**SURREY**  
the Advowson & small Tythes which  
were Purchased of S<sup>r</sup> George Warren K<sup>t</sup>  
by Robert Sherson M<sup>d</sup>  
taken 1791

Scale of Chains

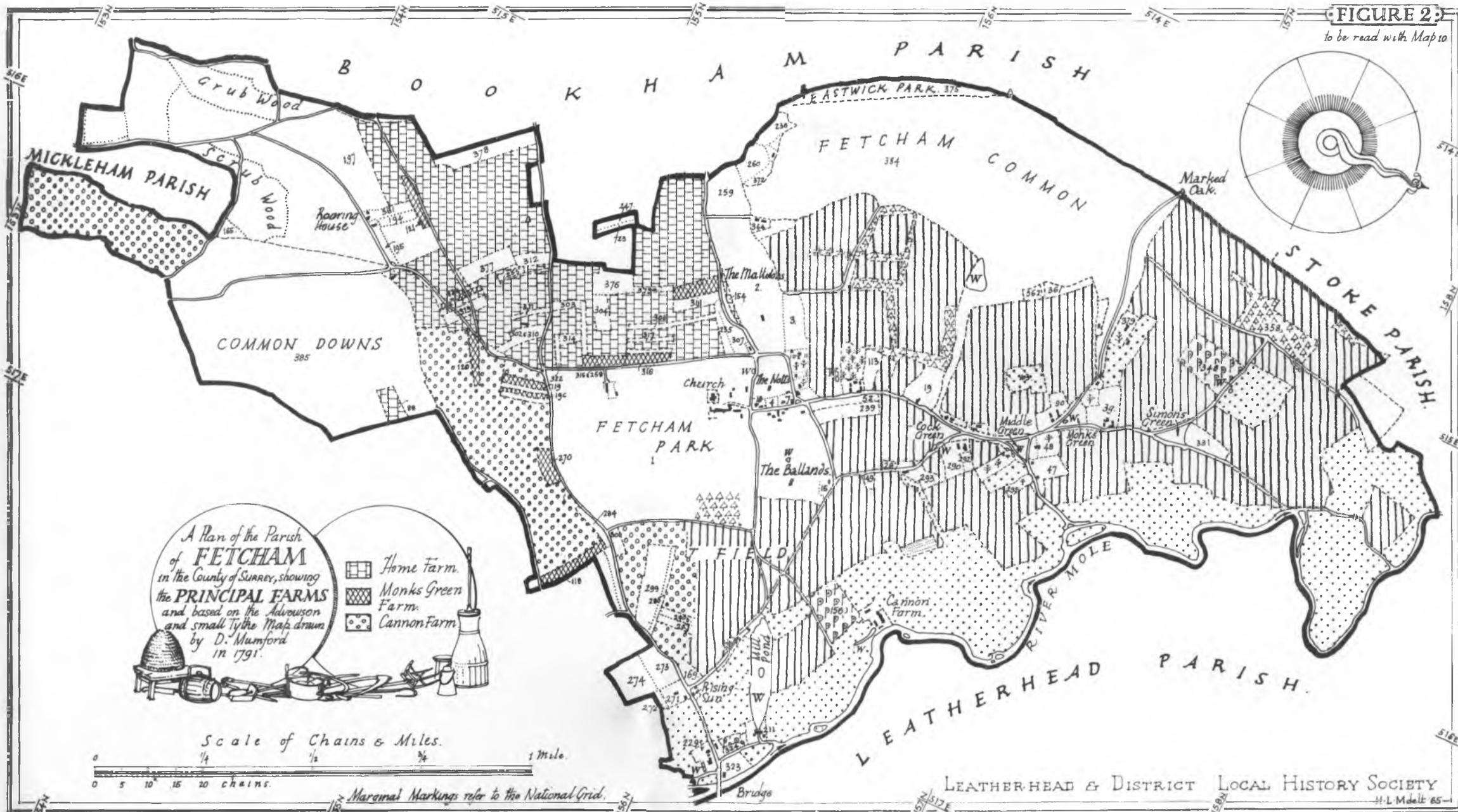
D. Mumford, Surveyor. 1791.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 Chains or Half a Mile.

Marginal markings refer to National Grid for Principle Map.

FIGURE 2

to be read with Map 10



<i>Parcels</i>	
379½	Mrs. Cooper Rising Sun Alehouse
380	Daniel Burgess
381	The Roaring House (in Bookham Parish)
382	Robinson
383	Shiring The Cock Alehouse
	License was suppressed 1811 <sup>6</sup>
384	Fetcham Common
385	Common Downs

The following were Copyhold: 271–274, 289, 290–309, and 328. All the remainder were Freehold.

The distribution of the three farms, Home, Monks Green, and Cannon is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 2 shows the land usage of the Parish as far as can be ascertained from the Terrier.

Dwellings of all kinds listed total 40, and it is interesting to note that in 1801 there were 50 inhabited houses and two uninhabited with a population of 271 (male 128, female 143).<sup>7</sup> One interesting omission is the windmill shown in the 1777 map of Fetcham Park.<sup>8</sup> In the Account Book of Hanscombe and Fothergille who carried out repairs and alterations at Fetcham Park in 1788 to 1790 the repair of a door of the windmill is mentioned.<sup>9</sup> In 1804 Mrs. Hankey is stated to be owner and occupier of the Mansion House and Windmill. These last two pieces of evidence confirm that the windmill was in existence at the time the survey was made.

Two further points may be thought worthy of mention. Firstly, there were three Manors in Fetcham.<sup>10</sup> One of these Manors, that known as the Bishop's Manor, had been held in the Confessor's time by Biga. Great Bickney is mentioned in 1614<sup>11</sup> and Bigney Lane ran in a northerly direction from Simons Green.<sup>12</sup> Parcel 342 Marks Field is alternatively named in the Terrier as Bigneys and this may give a clue to the site of a manor house. No trace can be observed on the surface to-day.

Secondly, Mr. Stockley was tenant of parcels 345 and 346 (Mill Hare Meadow). The latter may have been the site of an early mill, parcel 345 providing facilities for clearing obstacles and debris from the mill stream.

A detailed examination of this map is most rewarding but in picturing Fetcham as it was in 1791 it must be pointed out that it does not include streams and many of the ponds which were without doubt existing at that time. Amongst the latter, ponds were located in the Notts (8) and in Fetcham Park. With the demands for more and more water the table has been lowered and most have now disappeared.

The courtesy of the Rector of Fetcham in allowing the author access to the Map and Terrier is acknowledged with thanks. Work done by Mr. S. G. Nash on this subject has been incorporated. The drawings of the maps which accompany this contribution have been prepared by Mr. H. L. Meed, without whose careful and skilled work the above would not have been possible.

#### NOTES

1. Sale Particulars 1788. Societies archives.
2. V.C.H. Surrey.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Proceedings of the Society*, Vol. 2, No. 5.
5. Enclosure Award, Fetcham Church.
6. Vestry Minutes, Fetcham Church.
7. Census 1801.
8. *Proceedings of the Society*, Vol. 2, No. 5.
9. Surrey Record Office, Kingston.
10. *Proceedings of the Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 19.
11. *Proceedings of the Society*, Vol. 1, No. 4.
12. *Proceedings of the Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Map p. 103.

## THE DALTON FAMILY OF LEATHERHEAD

By F. BASTIAN

IN HIS HISTORY OF LEATHERHEAD, published in 1821, the Rev. James Dallaway refers to the old manor house of Thorncroft, which was replaced by the present building in 1766, as "a large manorial residence of timber frame, in which several generations of Daltons passed away"; and, again, he writes of "ancestors who had long held the manor of Thorncroft and were by patent serjeants of the King's wine cellar." No doubt Dallaway relied on the memories of local men who could tell him that the Daltons had resided at Thorncroft in the middle of the eighteenth century, and on the commemorative inscriptions in Leatherhead Church and entries in the parish register which seemed to throw back the connection for a further century. It is now clear that Dallaway's quite reasonable inference from this evidence was mistaken.

The following account of the Dalton family of Leatherhead is very heavily indebted to a long article, "Dalton of Leatherhead (1616-1821)", by C. W. Firebrace, in *Notes and Queries* (12th Series, Vol. 12), 1923. Much of the genealogical detail has been taken from this source; but an attempt has been made to produce a narrative rather than a formal genealogical account, and it has been possible to develop the local aspects rather more fully.<sup>1</sup>

The Daltons first appeared in Leatherhead in the reign of James I. Where they came from is not known, but they were probably a branch of the yeoman family of that name which was already established in the more southerly parts of the county of Surrey, the name being found in the parishes of Ockley, Ewhurst, Abinger, and Wotton.<sup>2</sup> They seem to have come to Leatherhead as the result of the marriage, some time before 1616, of RICHARD DALTON (I) to Frances, daughter of William Rogers, a yeoman of Leatherhead, who had died in 1598.<sup>3</sup> In Lay Subsidy Assessment lists of 1619, 1625, and 1628, Dalton appears as a yeoman assessed at 20s. in lands, the lowest taxable assessment, and not enough to qualify him to vote as a freeholder at parliamentary elections.<sup>4</sup> But he seems to have achieved a modest prosperity, for in 1639 we find him buying a freehold estate of 15 acres from Edward Skeete, and when he made his will shortly before his death in 1642 he was able to leave at least £20 to each of his four unmarried daughters, the money to be taken from "the rents and profits of my lands and tenements."<sup>5</sup>

RICHARD DALTON (II), born about 1616, is the only son mentioned in his father's will. In 1641 he is mentioned as a turnbroach in the Kitchen of Charles I. He presumably followed the court to Oxford during the Civil War, and apparently had risen to be Yeoman of the Cellar before the final collapse of the King's cause. He must have made his peace with the victorious parliamentarians, for there is no record of any sequestration proceedings and he soon returned to live quietly as a married man at Leatherhead, where a son, Richard, was baptised early in 1647, and a daughter Mary, in the following year. His signature, "Ric. Dalton of Ledered", on a document of 1651, looks more consequential than any of the score or so others;<sup>6</sup> and in the following year he and his brother-in-law, Robert Boughton, witnessed the will of one of the most prominent local residents, Thomas Godman, Esq., of Church House.<sup>7</sup> One feels that he was a man of some local importance, still rising in the world, but whether in the wine trade or otherwise we do not know.

In April 1660, on the eve of the restoration of Charles II, he submitted a petition in which he called himself "now yeoman of the wine cellar", declaring that he had contributed £100 to the King's cause and had "suffered much for being active for the King in the Surrey business." "He wishes to be serjeant of the bake-house as you have bestowed on Mr. Hethwait his place of serjeant of the wine-cellar." Secretary Nicholas had endorsed his note of the petition with the word "Fiat"; but in fact Dalton's career was to be in the Cellar after all. On 17th August, 1660, he was sworn as Gentleman and Yeoman, and 24th October of the same year he attained his desired position as Serjeant of the Wine

Cellar. His wages were £11 8s. 1½*d.* a year (7½*d.* a day) with an allowance of £52 *per annum* for living out of court. Even this was often in arrears: £260 lodging allowance for 1663–8 was not paid until 1679. Dalton had in August 1660 rented Samuel Pepys's house in Axe-Yard, and although we do not know how long he remained a tenant, we know that they drank together on several occasions. It is unlikely that Pepys had any difficulty over his rent, for Dalton certainly did not depend on his official wages. We know, for instance, that he held the contract to supply Spanish wines to the Court in 1664–5, and again from 1670, except for the year 1674, until his death in 1681. No doubt he also supplied many of the courtiers, and in an age not noted for its sobriety this must have been a lucrative business.

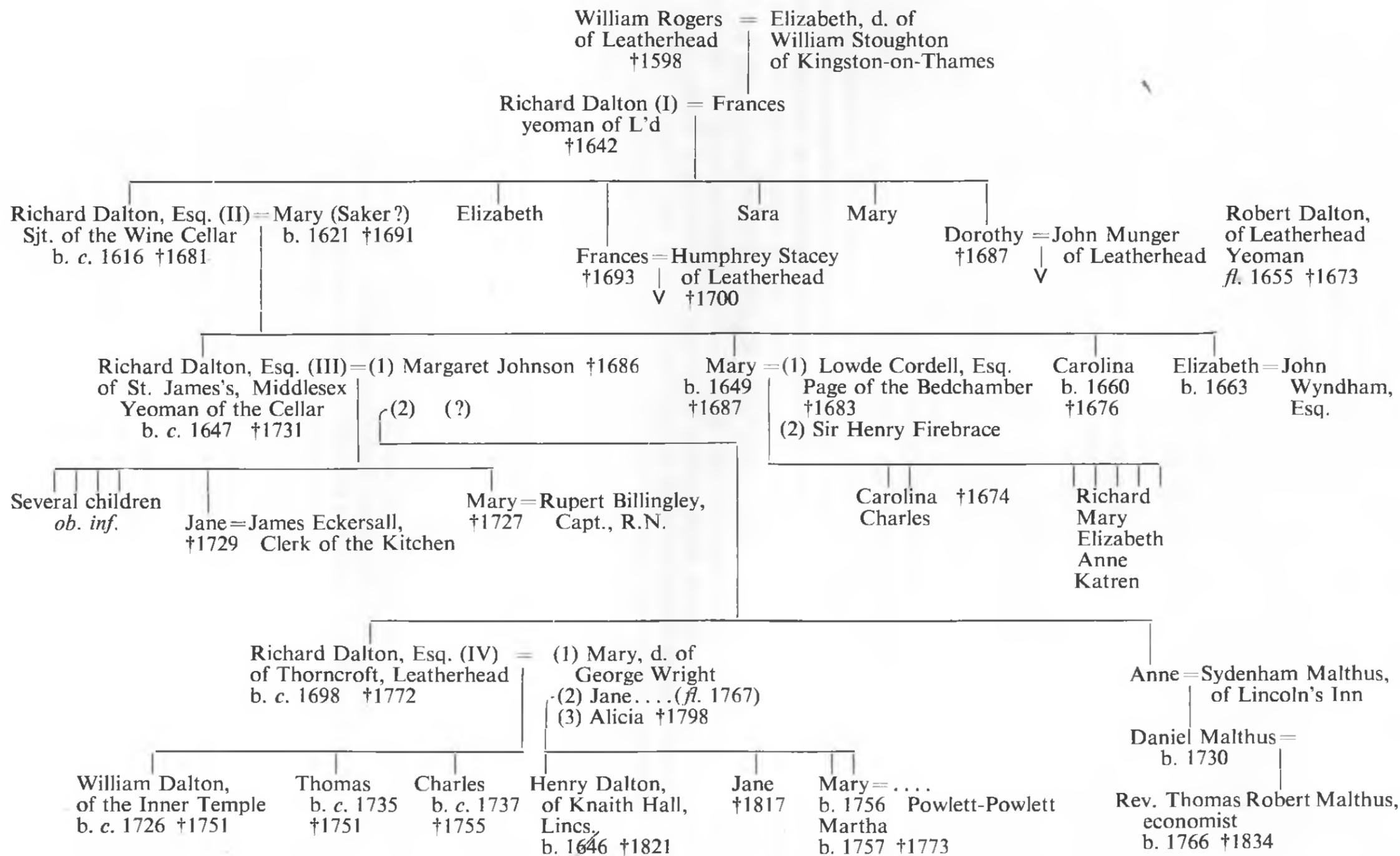
Dalton did not by any means lose his contacts with Leatherhead. There was a Robert Dalton there from at least as early as 1654 until his death in 1673, a small yeoman whose house had only two hearths and whose wife appears in the burial register as "Goody Dalton". He can hardly have been a brother, for there is no mention of him or of his family in the will of Richard Dalton (I) in 1642 or in that of the Serjeant of the Wine Cellar in 1681; but he may have been a more distant relative. Serjeant Dalton did not forget his two married sisters and their families—Frances, wife of Humphrey Stacey, and Dorothy, wife of John Mounger, both Leatherhead men. His will also mentions, in addition to his house and freehold lands in Leatherhead, another house in the occupation of John Booth and Thomas Stacey, both probably connections of his.<sup>8</sup> On his death on 4th October, 1681, Dalton was buried in the chancel of the parish church, where there is a floor slab, and on the south wall a black marble slab and urn with a commemorative inscription. The arms are *Argent three lozenges gules each charged with a saltire of the field: crest A ram's head issuant of a ducal coronet.*

Dalton's eldest daughter, Mary, who had been born at Leatherhead in 1649, was married in 1670 to LOWDE CORDELL, who in 1673 was appointed Page of the Bedchamber to Charles II. Of their seven children one, Carolina, was buried at Leatherhead in 1674, as was Cordell himself when he died in his 36th year in 1683. Mary remarried, to Sir Henry Firebrace, but herself died in 1687 and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. A pension of £60 which had been allowed to her on her first husband's death, was continued in the form of pensions of £20 to each of the three surviving children of her first marriage.

Another daughter of Richard Dalton, Carolina, had been baptised at Leatherhead in 1660 and buried there in 1676. His youngest daughter, Elizabeth, baptised at Leatherhead in 1663, appears to have married John Wyndham, Esq. The latter must be the Mr. Wyndham who is named in a Quitrental of the Manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead in 1693 as paying 5s. for a tenement and copyhold lands "late widow Sakers". At a Court Baron of the same manor held on 9th October, 1704, the death of John Windham is presented, his holding defined in detail, and said to be "anciently the tenements of Richard Saker and lately of Richard Dalton". In the 1664 Hearth Tax list for Leatherhead "Widow Saker" had been assessed for four hearths, and Richard Dalton did not appear: in 1674 there were no Sakers, but Mr. Dalton was assessed for four hearths. We cannot be sure that this was the same house; but the evidence at least suggests that Dalton's wife Mary may have been a Saker, through whom that family's holding passed first to the Daltons and then to Wyndham. She survived her husband by nearly ten years, being laid beside him in Leatherhead Church on 6th April, 1691.

RICHARD DALTON (III), the only son, who had been baptised at Leatherhead on 25th January, 1647, followed in his father's steps, becoming a Page of the Cellar in 1670, and steadily rising through the various grades, including the quaintly named ones of Yeoman of the Mouth (1681) and Yeoman of the Ice and Snow (1685) until by 1689, as Gentleman and Yeoman of the Cellar, he was junior only to the Serjeant, receiving the same wages, £60 *per annum*, including board wages. He also took over his father's contract for supplying

## DALTON OF LEATHERHEAD



1746

the court with Canary and Sherry wines. He also held the position of Comptroller General of the Accounts of the Wine Licence Office during the years 1690–3 at a salary of £200 *per annum*. Other means of acquiring wealth are suggested by a complaint made in 1692 that the officers of the Cellar were selling wine daily and making their cellars places for tipping and disorder. An order to stop this was made, but we may doubt whether it was effective for very long. Dalton was obviously by this time a man of considerable wealth. Between May 1689 and April 1690 he had made eight separate loans to the Exchequer on the security of parliamentary aids, towards the expenses of the French War then just begun, totalling in all £15,900; and in consideration of this he was paid in 1690 the £208 arrears of lodging allowance for the years 1679–84, and in the following year a further £104. Another indication of his financial standing is the appearance of his name in 1696 high among the list of sponsors of Chamberlain's Land Bank, the unsuccessful Tory rival of the newly-formed Whig Bank of England. At the end of William III's reign in 1702 he was still Gentleman and Yeoman, and he never rose to be Serjeant of the Cellar like his father, for the position seems to have been abolished during Queen Anne's reign. Dalton continued to serve at Court; in 1715 we find him being given leave to go to Bath, and again in 1717 he received a month's leave on account of his health. The waters, or the society, at Bath must have had a beneficial effect, for he lived until 24th November, 1731, when he died at the age of 84 years and 10 months.

It is difficult to assess how close his links were with his native Leatherhead. The absence of his name from a Church Rate assessment list of 1695, and from the freeholders lists which have survived for the years from 1696 to 1708, shows that he cannot have been a resident; but he still owned some property there, and voted as a freeholder at the election of 1710. But he seems gradually to have been relinquishing this property. As well as the Saker copyhold, which had passed from the family by 1693, there is a reference to Curst Tom's Acre, "being land of Richard Dalton" in 1707; but by 1730, "land of late Mr. Dalton now Mr. Buckworth".<sup>9</sup> In his will made on 10th July, 1731, he styled himself "of St. James Middlesex" and made no mention of Leatherhead; but two of the witnesses were Leatherhead men, and if his request to be buried in the parish where he died was observed, it was to Leatherhead that he came to die, on 24th November of the same year; for on 27th November he was buried near his parents in the parish church.

He married twice. His first wife, Margaret, sister of Nicholas Johnson, Receiver and Paymaster to the Army, whom he married in 1675, died in 1686 and was buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey. There must have been at least six children by this marriage, but the only two to survive were his daughters, Jane, who married James Eckersall, Clerk of the Kitchen, and Mary, wife of Captain Rupert Billingley, R.N. It is not known who was Dalton's second wife, probably the mother of his daughter Anne, and certainly of his only surviving son, Richard.

RICHARD DALTON (IV), born in 1698, broke with the family connection with the Court. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in June 1714, and although he did not proceed to a degree he seems to have been a man of culture who on his death was to leave books in French, Italian, Latin, and Greek. It was he who some years after his father's death settled down to live in the old manor house of Thorncroft at Leatherhead. No leases from this period have survived among the records of Merton College, to whom the manor belonged, but it is very likely that he succeeded Andrew Meure, the tenant who died in 1737. He was certainly in occupation by 2nd October, 1744, when as Richard Dalton of Thorncroft he joined with Charles Wilcox of Fetcham in the purchase of houses and land in Leatherhead, formerly part of the estate of Arthur Moor, Esq. Other legal documents and baptismal entries in the parish register establish his continued residence down to 1758.<sup>10</sup> When the freeholders lists resume in 1762, his name is missing; and the list for 1763 sees the arrival of Henry Crab Bolton, who in 1766 was to begin rebuilding the house to the design of Sir Robert Taylor, and who had Capability Brown to remodel

the grounds. It thus seems likely that it was about 1762 that Richard Dalton left the "large manorial residence of timber frame", apparently the one which had last been rebuilt in 1497; and the Daltons had not in fact lived there for "several generations", but for a quarter of a century at the most.

While Dalton had been living at Thorncroft, his eldest son, William, of the Inner Temple, had been killed in a duel on 23rd May, 1751, at the age of 25, by Horatio Paul; according to Dallaway, "unfairly". A tablet to his memory in Leatherhead Church merely states that he was "deprived of life in the vigour of health, in the flower of youth", and also records the death of the second son, Thomas, in the same month at the age of 16, and of the third son, Charles, who died on 4th January, 1755, aged 17, and was buried in the church. These three were probably the children of Dalton's first wife, Mary, daughter of George Wright. By the time that he came to leave Thorncroft about 1762 he had raised another younger family—a son Henry, baptised at Leatherhead in 1746, and three daughters, born to him by his wife Jane. These were all still living when he made his will in 1767, as of Reigate, Surrey, leaving portions of £4000 to each of his daughters, and considerable estates in Lincolnshire to his son Henry.<sup>11</sup> He died in 1772, and was buried at Leatherhead as Richard Dalton, Esq., of Summerhill, Berks. He had then apparently married for a third time, for the widow who survived him and who died at Hurstbourne Tarrant in Dorset in 1798 was named Alicia.

HENRY DALTON, once again a solitary male heir, who had been born at Thorncroft in 1746 and who had spent his boyhood in Leatherhead, lived for the last fifty years of his life on his estates at Knaith Hall near Gainsborough in Lincolnshire; and if we can believe the long laudatory epitaph after his death at Knaith in 1821, he was an exemplary landlord and a man of great erudition. With him this branch of the Dalton family came to an end.

Richard Dalton (III) had had a daughter Anne, presumably by his second marriage, who had married Sydenham Malthus of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Their son, Daniel Malthus, was born in 1730, and like his uncle Richard Dalton, he attended Queen's College, Oxford, without taking a degree, and lived the rest of his life quietly among his books on a small estate near Dorking. He was a man of ideas, believing in the perfectibility of mankind. He knew the famous French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, and according to one account was his executor after his death in 1778. He was also executor of the will of Richard Dalton (IV). It thus came about that the administration of the Dalton estates eventually passed, in 1825, to his son, the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, the famous economist and population theorist. The latter had been born near Dorking in 1766, and thus can only have known Thorncroft in his boyhood as a place where there had formerly stood an old house in which his Dalton cousins had lived. Nor is the story of the Dalton family likely to have contributed to his ideas on the subject of population, except perhaps as an example of one in which, although for several generations there had been no lack of children, providence had so arranged it that in each case there was only a single surviving son to inherit the bulk of the family property. Here was an example of wealth accumulating when there were not an excessive number of mouths to consume it.<sup>12</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Unsupported statements in this article have in general been taken from this source (*Notes and Queries*, Nos. 247, 248, and 249, January 6, 13, 20, 1923).
2. See *S.A.C.*, IV, p. 13; X, pp. 21-2.
3. These details can be inferred from an indenture of 1650, by which Richard Dalton (II) sold a small property in Ewell which had descended to him from William Stoughton of Kingston-upon-Thames, father of William Roger's wife, Elizabeth. Surrey Record Office, Kingston, 22/4/17.
4. *P.R.O.*, E 179/186/408.../428.../441.
5. *P.C.C.*, 206 Harding.

6. S.P.(Dom.), Vol. 124, No. 27.
7. P.C.C., 140 May.
8. P.C.C., 140 North. A licence had been issued for the marriage of Nicholas Booth, St. Saviour, Southwark, and Elizabeth Stacey of Leatherhead, on 16th April, 1678.
9. Leatherhead Church Vestry Book. Terriers of Lands of Leatherhead Bridge.
10. Surrey Record Office, 13/26/89; 19/9/45; 3/93; 13/26/98.
11. P.C.C., 302 Isham.
12. T. R. Malthus married Harriet, daughter of John Eckersall of Claverton House, near Bath, and died at his father-in-law's house. The family tree suggests that she may have been his second cousin, also descended from Richard Dalton, Serjeant of the Wine Cellar.

## JOHN WESLEY'S VISIT TO LEATHERHEAD

By F. B. BENDER

ON WEDNESDAY, 23<sup>RD</sup> February, 1791, John Wesley, in his 88th year and already failing in health, journeyed to Leatherhead. Unfortunately for us he had ceased to keep his great journal, because of failing eyesight, in the previous October; but he still made diary notes. These, partly because they are in an abbreviated form (almost a private shorthand) and partly because the handwriting has become almost illegible, are difficult to decipher. The entry for this day has been interpreted by his editor Nehemiah Curnock<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

“Wednesday 23

4.45 prayed, on business, read: 6.30 prayed, tea, conversed: 7 chaise, read Gustavas Vasa; 9 with Ja[m]es Rogers; 10.30 at Mr. Belson's, [-] conversed; 12 Isai. lv. 6; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer; 4.30 at Mr. T[-]l[-]ford[s], tea, conversed; 6 within; 8 supper, conversed; 9.30 prayed.”

In the diary notes there is no more than the heading for the following day, and except for a letter to William Wilberforce written on 26th February, he seems not again to have put pen to paper. The letter to Wilberforce is indirectly connected with his Leatherhead visit, for it seems to have been inspired by the book which he had read on the journey, a narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, a former negro slave, first published in 1789 and reprinted in 1790.

Wesley died exactly a week later, on March 2nd, 1791.

One of Wesley's closest disciples, Elizabeth Ritchie, wrote an account of his last days which was published soon after his death.<sup>2</sup> Of the Leatherhead visit she records “On Wednesday morning Mr. Rogers went with him to Leatherhead to visit a family who have lately begun to receive the truth. They had the honour of this almost worn-out veteran in his blessed Master's service, delivering his last public message beneath their roof. O that all that heard may take the solemn warning, and so embrace the blessed invitation he gave them from ‘Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near’, as to meet our dear departed friend at God's right hand.”

His companion, James Rogers, recorded his own account of the Leatherhead visit:<sup>3</sup> “Wednesday 23 he went to Leatherhead (a village about twenty miles from London), at the particular request of a gentleman, who had lately buried his wife, and who, till then, was an entire stranger to Mr. Wesley. Mr. Bradford being engaged, I accompanied him thither, little suspecting it to be his last journey; but so it proved. In less than two hours after our arrival our kind host who was a magistrate, and well beloved in the neighbourhood, sent his servants to invite the neighbours to hear preaching at his house. A considerable number soon assembled, and were ordered upstairs into a spacious dining-room, set round with fine mahogany chairs, and covered with a beautiful carpet. The plain country

people, who had come plodding through the mire, seemed rather out of their element; however, they all appeared to hear with deep attention, while Mr. Wesley gave them a most solemn warning from Isaiah lv. 6, 7, 'Seek ye', which was the last sermon this eminent minister of Jehovah ever delivered. And it was a little extraordinary that, of his almost innumerable acquaintance, there should be none to hear it, except myself and Richard Summers, who drove his chaise, all the rest being entire strangers. In the afternoon we drank tea with a clergyman, at whose house we slept."

The house in Leatherhead to which Wesley and Rogers had come (later known as Kingston House) stood upon the site now occupied by the offices of Leatherhead Urban District Council, and was demolished in 1934 to make way for them. The property is shown on George Gwilt's Leatherhead Survey of 1782-83 as parcel 85<sup>a</sup> and though in the terrier to that survey it is included as a freehold property of "Widow Eades" it appears to have been purchased from Elizabeth Ede by Richard Belson on 27th September, 1779<sup>5a</sup>, and a Release dated 14th October, 1818<sup>5b</sup> cites it as "formerly in the tenure or occupation of Elizabeth Hill afterwards of Richard Belson deceased . . . and lately of Captain Wychham". Photographs of the interior of the house<sup>5c</sup> indicate that it dated from the end of the 17th century or the early 18th century.



KINGSTON HOUSE, LEATHERHEAD

We are able to give some particulars of the Belson family from the table tomb which still exists in the parish churchyard at Leatherhead, to the south of the path passing east of the chancel, and from the parish registers. The inscriptions on the stonework of the tomb are weather-worn and not easily legible. Upon the flat top is recorded that beneath are the remains of Mr. Richard Belson; the date of death is illegible but one may read that at death he was aged 70 years. The register states that he was buried 29th November, 1805, aged 70. Upon the north side of the tomb is an inscription "In Memory" of Hannah his wife, who died 28th August, 1791, aged 41 years (this inscription is noted in Manning &

Bray's *Surrey* II, p. 679). Her burial is not recorded in the register, so she is presumably buried elsewhere. Upon the south side of the tomb are inscriptions to the memory of Ann, daughter of Mr. Richard Belson, died 14th(?) January, 1791, aged 27(?), and to another daughter Susannah, who died 4th(?) October, 1805, aged 37(?). Ann is presumably she whose burial is recorded in the register under date 19th January, 1791, aged 25; and Susannah is very possibly the Susanna Beeson whose burial is recorded in the register on 13th October, 1805, aged 35. Other members of the Belson family recorded in the parish registers are John and Elizabeth Belson and their son John Louis Gask, recorded at the baptism of the latter in 1796, and Robert Belson, buried 13th October, 1805, aged 39.

The family mentioned by Elizabeth Ritchie may then well have been Richard Belson and Hannah his wife, their sons Robert and John, and their surviving daughter, Susannah. The bereavement which they had lately suffered was not, as supposed by James Rogers, from the death of the mother of the family, but from that of the eldest daughter Ann, who had died little more than a month before Wesley's visit.

Roger's statement that Richard Belson was a magistrate also seems unlikely to have been correct, since he is described on the family tomb as *Mr.*, a socially correct description for a freeholder, whereas a magistrate would have been entitled to that of esquire.

Apart from their tomb and the parish registers little is known of the Belson family. It does not appear that they had antecedents in the place, and the earliest reference to Richard Belson of which we know, apart from the Kingston House deeds, is as the holder of a copyhold parcel in the Fairfield mentioned in a conveyance from Lord Tyrconnel to Louis Montolieu in 1788.<sup>6</sup> In 1793 he acquired from Merton College the copyhold of 24/26 Church Street, Leatherhead,<sup>7</sup> which was bequeathed on his death to Richard Whitehouse Jennings.

Of Leatherhead as it was in 1791 we are able to reconstruct some picture from the description of it in *The Universal British Directory* of that date, and we can at least make an intelligent guess at the name and abode of the clergyman who entertained Wesley to tea and at whose house he passed the night. The clergy of the parish are there stated to have been the Rev. Mr. Durnford, Curate, and the Rev. Samuel Markham, Vicar. Allowing for the fact that Wesley's diary note was almost unreadable even to his editor Curnock, and that Wesley's hearing was possibly much affected by old age, it seems probable that it was Mr. Durnford whose hospitality they enjoyed. According to the late G. H. Smith, in a chapter on the incumbents of Leatherhead which will appear later as part of his history of the church and advowson, Samuel Markham was appointed vicar in 1767, but also held another appointment as Evening Preacher at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London, and was too a minor canon of Rochester. He appears to have been non-resident in Leatherhead for the greater part of his incumbency. From October 1771 to 1797 there were seventeen successive curates of the parish. A vestry minute of 25th August, 1771, decided "that the churchwardens should wait on Mr. Markham and desire to know whether he will be resident in this parish, as duty has been greatly neglected, and whether he will do his duty on Wednesdays and Fridays according to Dr. Shortrudge's Charity, and that the Churchwardens do make a report of Mr. Markham's answer at the next Vestry to be held for that purpose." Other vestry minutes in succeeding years depict the friction arising from an absentee vicar and a succession of curates. This indeed was the Church Dormant of the 18th century, the very gap which it was the object of John Wesley and his followers to fill.

The 1791 *Directory* describes some of the gentlemen's houses of the parish, amongst them "a very neat white house" which would appear to have been Elm Bank House at the foot of Gimcrack Hill,\* and which was then the property of John Durnford, Esq., who

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\*This house was ruined by a bomb in the late war and subsequently demolished.

is also mentioned in the list of local gentry. It seems possible that he was the father of the curate and that it was here that Wesley and Rogers were entertained and lodged for the night.

In the *Directory* Leatherhead is stated to have been on the road from London to BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Guildford, etc., a reminder that until the building of the Brighton road through Reigate the stage coaches from London to Brighton ran this way. The post office was kept by Robert Hunt, and the post went out to London, by way of Epsom and Croydon, every night (except Saturday) at ten o'clock, and returned at two in the morning (except Monday). The letters were delivered by seven o'clock in the morning. The Leatherhead coach went every day from Leatherhead at seven o'clock in the morning to the Golden Cross, Charing Cross. The Dorking coach at eight every morning to Gracechurch Street. The Horsham coach on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to the Borough at eleven o'clock, returning Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The Guildford coach went and returned the same days to the Golden Cross. The BRIGHTHELMSTONE coach passed through Leatherhead every day except Sunday at two o'clock in the afternoon, and returned every morning at nine, except Sunday, to Gracechurch Street and the White Horse cellar. There were waggons, run by Thomas Withall, three times a week to London; and these went to the Queen's Head inn in the Borough every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at eight in the morning and returned the following day.

The principal inns were the Swan, kept by Elizabeth Jones, and the Duke's Head, kept by T. Kershaw. The Swan is spoken of as "a very genteel house with good accommodations, most excellent stabling, and good post-chaises with able horses". The Dorking, Guildford, Horsham, and BRIGHTHELMSTONE stage coaches stopped there.

The gentry of the neighbourhood are listed as follows: G. Adams, Esq., Sir William Altum, Richard Baker gent., —Badcock Esq., Miss Berdew, Henry Boulton Esq. (F.) *Lord of the Manor*, John Butcher gent. (F.), Richard Belson gent (F.), John Benn Esq., John Durnford Esq., J. D. Fleetwood Esq. (F.), Joseph Grimstead Esq., Mrs. Ann Jones, Richard Norman Esq. (F.), Joseph Price Esq., Mrs. Rowley, John Woodward Esq. The 'F' presumably indicates a freeholder. It is rather surprising that the name of William Wade of The Mansion does not appear in this list, more especially as he is mentioned later in the *Directory* article as the owner of the Church House.

Two medical men are listed, both surgeons. These were Christopher Vine and Daniel Wilson.

The tradespeople (listed alphabetically) may be summarized as follows

*Auctioneer*, James Ragge. *Bakers*, Elizabeth Ede, Joseph Sheppard. *Blacksmiths*, Thomas Harrison (F.), John Rowe. *Breeches-maker*, Richard Clements (F.). *Brewer and Maltster*, Thomas Cooper (F.). *Bricklayer*, Robert Roberts. *Butchers*, Mrs. May, John Marlow, William Nettlefold. *Carpenters*, Thomas Bartlett, Thomas Billing, George Booth, William Lock, William Lipscombe, Joseph Young. *Carpenter and Builder*, Abraham Elliott (F.). *Carpenter and Timber-dealer*, Benjamin Simmons. *Collar-maker*, Robert Ragge. *Cooper*, William Palmer. *Draper*, Alexander Jardine (also grocer). *Farmers*, William Chilman, James Clare, John Cook (F.), William Ratchell, Edward Swan. *Gardeners*, Samuel Gardener, Henry Plummer, John Plummer. *Grocers*, Medgley and Newland. *Hairdressers*, William Baker (F.), Ann Billinghamurst. *Innkeepers*, Elizabeth Jones (The Swan), T. Kershaw (Duke's Head). *Maltster*, Hannah Stone (F.). *Miller and Waggon-master*, Thomas Withall. *Plumber and Glazier*, Henry Roberts. *Sawyer*, William Maybank. *Schoolmaster*, Thomas Hopkins (Academy for Young Gentlemen). *Shoemakers*, Robert Brown, James Brown (also Parish Clerk), John Clark, Joseph Hamsher (also grocer). *Shopkeeper (undefined)*, Daniel Nettlefold (F.). *Tailors*, Thomas Halfacre, Thomas Hubbard (F.) (also draper). *Tanner*, Thomas Smith (F.). *Victualler and Horsebreaker*, John

Johnson. *Victuallers*, Thomas Williamson (Bull), Mary Wickham. *Wheelers*, John Lucas (F.), Joseph Woodroffe (F.). *Whitesmith*, John Brown.

From this we may glean the conception of a thriving little community, and it is especially interesting to note the number of freeholders among these tradespeople. The "plain country people" who gathered in Mr. Belson's dining room to hear Wesley were more likely to have been culled from these tradespeople than from the gentry. Wesley found his greatest hearing among the lower orders of society, and especially among those deprived by the Inclosure Acts of the 18th century. But one may wonder whether any very lasting impression was made at Leatherhead, where no enclosures took place until the middle of the next century and where the more humble folk were often either freeholders or copyholders.

The description of the residences of the gentry gives us information on the inhabitants of these houses. Randalls was the seat of David Weatherston, Esq., late of Lewis Montolieu, Esq.; Church House, the property of William Wade, Esq., but occupied by Joseph Price, Esq.; Thorncroft the seat of Henry Boulton, Esq., having pleasing views (*inter alia*) of Fetcham windmill; Elm Bank House the property of John Durnford, Esq.; Leatherhead Parsonage (Vale Lodge) "lately enlarged and fitted up" by Richard Norman, Esq.; Gibbins Grove [*sic*] the property of Henry Boulton, but occupied by Sir William Altum, Bart.

The 1791 *Directory* then moves further afield to mention Thomas Hankey's seat at Fetcham [Park], "on which no cost has been spared"; Juniper Hill at Mickleham, late Sir Cecil Bishop's but then the property of Mr. Jenkinson of Charing Cross; at Bookham the seats of Sir Francis Geary [Polesden], Mr. Laurel [Eastwick Park], and, rather surprisingly, Norbury Park, the seat of William Lock; concluding with short passages on Effingham and Box Hill.

John Wesley returned to London on Thursday, 24th February, paying a visit on the way to an old friend, Mr. Wolff at Balham (which Elizabeth Ritchie, perhaps in a lapse due to scriptural zeal, spells *Balaam*).<sup>8</sup> Thus ended his last journey, during which he had preached his last sermon at Leatherhead. In the course of his labours he had travelled 250,000 miles and preached on 42,400 occasions.

#### NOTES

I am indebted for some of the information concerning Wesley's visit to Leatherhead to a paper compiled by Mr. Frank Bastian in 1954 and deposited in the Society's Archives (X 92); though, as Mr. Bastian was not apparently aware of the Belson tomb in Leatherhead churchyard he has there misconstrued the composition of the Belson family.

1. *The Journal of John Wesley*. Ed., Nehemiah Curnock. Standard Edition. 1909-1916. Vol. VIII, where a facsimile of the final page of Wesley's diary notes is to be found.
2. [Ritchie (Elizabeth)]. *An Authentic Narrative of the circumstances relative to the Departure of the late Rev. John Wesley*. Bristol, 1791, p. 6.
3. *Journal of Wesley*. Ed. Curnock. (Item 1 above), Vol. VIII, quoting Rogers' *Experience and Labours*, which I have not traced in a separate printed form.
4. *Proceedings of this Society*, Vol. 2, No. 7, p. 206.
5. Title Deeds. Leatherhead Urban District Council Offices.
  - (a) Old Abstract of Title to Richardson deeds.
  - (b) Release 14 Oct. 1818. Margaret Blackburn and Richard Hall to William Richardson and trustee.
  - (c) Pamphlet, *The Scene of Wesley's Last Sermon* [1904], kept with deeds.
6. Society's Archive W 36A.
7. *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 19.
8. *Ritchie*. (Item 2 above), p. 6.

# A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND ADVOWSON OF ST. MARY AND ST. NICHOLAS, LEATHERHEAD

By the late G. H. SMITH

## CHAPTER IV

### ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS OF THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

AT THE BEGINNING of the 14th century the Church consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, choir with north and south chapels, and a short chancel. By the end of the 15th century the church, as far as the plan is concerned, was very nearly as we know it to-day. The work done in the 14th century was confined to the east end, and that in the 15th century mainly to the west end of the building.

About the year 1320 the south manorial chapel was pulled down, except the short length of wall before mentioned, and the present transept erected, higher than the old chapel, and extending on the south to the line of the south aisle, and opening into the aisle with the very pleasing arch carried on moulded corbels, or brackets, in order to give the maximum width to the opening. At this time the south wall of the [central] tower was removed. The transept was then enclosed with oak parclose screens with entrances from aisle and choir.

Upon the completion of the transept the chancel was taken in hand. A part of the south wall was taken down, together with the east and north walls, except a short length where the squint is, which was left standing, a further suggestion that the wooden bell chamber existed over the choir which this piece of wall was left to support. The chancel was extended about 14 feet eastward in order to provide more space for the ceremonial of the altar services.

When the chancel was rebuilt the present beautiful piscina and sedilia were made in the south wall. The piscina is the canopied niche with a basin and drain formerly used for the cleansing of the altar vessels, and ceremonial hand-working before the portable basin was introduced. The sedilia are the three canopied recessed seats with Purbeck marble columns, for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacons or clerk, which were occupied during the reading of the epistle, and the singing which took place before the gospel, and also when a sermon was preached.

There is on the outside of the south wall of the chancel near the east end, a very rough niche, or recess, which has been rendered over in mortar in modern times. The purpose of this niche has been a very great puzzle to archaeologists, but a drawing has now been found amongst the large collection of Surrey prints and drawings at the Minet Library, Camberwell, which explains the matter. This drawing, made between 1820 and 1830, shows the sedilia, and at the back of the priest's seat, which was the eastern compartment of the three, there was a small "window" filling the upper part, fitted with four vertical iron bars and glazing. This is a very rare feature in a church, and probably the only similar "window" known in Surrey was in St. Giles Church, Camberwell, which was burned down in 1841.

In the north wall of the chancel is a small arched recess, which was probably used as an Easter Sepulchre; a cloth, or curtain, for which, is recorded in the Edwardian Inventory of Church Goods.

The chancel being now extended, a new high altar was made, longer than the old, and the stone *mensa* of this altar is preserved behind the present altar. This stone appears

to be of Sussex marble, 6 feet 9 inches long, 3 feet wide, and 4 inches thick, and is marked with the usual five consecration crosses.

The altar now being further to the east, of course, the squint in the north chapel no longer provided a view of the celebrant, so another opening was made in the chancel wall, to the east of the old, and joined up to the old opening in the chapel. The old opening was left open, and so it is possible to measure the distance the chancel was extended.

When the chancel was finished the north transept was taken in hand. As before mentioned, a portion of the east wall of the chapel was retained and the remainder was cleared away and the present transept built, extending northwards to the line of the north aisle. The addition containing the clergy vestry was built in 1873. The walls of the transept are built in flint and stone chequer work, i.e., like a draughts board with white squares of Reigate stone and the black squares with knapped, or broken flints. This is one of the very few examples of this kind of work in Surrey, and is not comparable in craftsmanship with the similar work in East Anglia.

The opening from the north aisle to the transept differs slightly from that of the south transept in that the arch moulding, instead of being supported on corbels, dies into the wall.

In the east wall of the transept are two brackets for images, on either side of the position of the altar. There is also an aumbrey, or small cupboard, formerly used for keeping the altar vessels, but now fitted with a glass door to hold the Leatherhead Book of Remembrance of the 1914-18 War. It is known that there was here, as in the south transept, a piscina, but this has been destroyed. The transept was, of course, enclosed with oak screens.

The late Mr. H. E. Malden, following Manning & Bray, was very strongly of the opinion that all the work on the chancel and transepts was done by Leeds Priory, after they had appropriated the Rectory in 1346, and set out his view, at some length, in a paper on "The Rectory and Advowson of Leatherhead Church and the Advowson of Asstead", in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 203. The architectural evidence is that the work was carried out not later than 1330. Mr. Malden claims that architectural dating must give way to documentary evidence, a claim the present writer would not wish to dispute, providing the documentary evidence was clearly to the point, which he feels cannot be said in the present case. Moreover, there appears to be no instance on record of a religious community ever undertaking any such work to a church of which they were the rectors, unless they held the manor, which Leeds did not. Of course, they, as rectors, were liable for the repairs of the chancel, which liability did not include extending the building, and in similar cases the bishops had very great difficulty in getting monastic bodies to do the necessary repairs. The point is a very important one, for many reasons, and will be referred to again, and the appropriate documents quoted in detail in the chapter on the History of the Advowson.

On the outside of the north wall of the chancel, near the east end, can be seen the stonework of a doorway, and, at a higher level, of a square opening, both now blocked up. These are the remains of the doorway and shuttered opening from the chancel to a building which formerly existed here. Excavations made in 1906, and recorded in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XX, p. 223, show that the room was 8 feet square. Early 19th century drawings show the doorway and opening much more clearly than at present, as the recesses were built up flush with the face of the chancel wall in 1874.

The late Mr. P. M. Johnston, who superintended the excavations, identified the remains as those of an anchorite's cell and suggests that the shuttered opening was to enable the occupant to watch the light burning perpetually before the Blessed Sacrament,

from his raised sleeping place, and he adds, "and doubtless he could, if the door of communication with the church were not blocked, enter the building by this means, and so make his Communion, and take part in the daily offices." Mr. Johnston then says, "In the case of many anchorites' cells the recluse would seem to have been more strictly 'mured up' than in others. He never passed beyond the walls of his narrow cell; and at last the walled up door was broken through and he was buried beneath its floor. But in other cases he appears to have had liberty to roam the church at will, and even, as in the case of the well-known Richard Rolle of Hampole, to have wandered abroad for long periods."

On the other hand, since Mr. Johnston wrote, the publication of "The Hermits and Anchorites of England" by Rotha Mary Clay, in 1914, has thrown fresh light upon the subject. We now know that the anchorite was strictly enclosed and that the ceremony was performed by the bishop or his deputy. Richard Rolle was a hermit and not an anchorite. The existence of dressed stonework to the door opening is a clear indication that the door was in frequent use, whereas, in the service used for enclosing anchorites the doorway was built up or firmly closed from without. Also there is no trace of any opening in the chancel wall through which the inhabitant of the cell could have received communion; food, of course, was delivered to the anchorite through a shuttered window. It would therefore appear that the chamber was the mediaeval sacristy or vestry, and the opening in the upper part of the room indicates that the sacristan or clerk slept in the vestry, as was a not unusual practice.

There is no evidence but it is probable that the building was erected when the chancel was rebuilt and was pulled down at the Reformation.

There had always been a rood, with, perhaps, the usual attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John, over the chancel arch, and a screen below, with door in the centre, to enclose the chancel, but, probably in the first half of the 15th century, a new screen with a loft and rood over was erected.

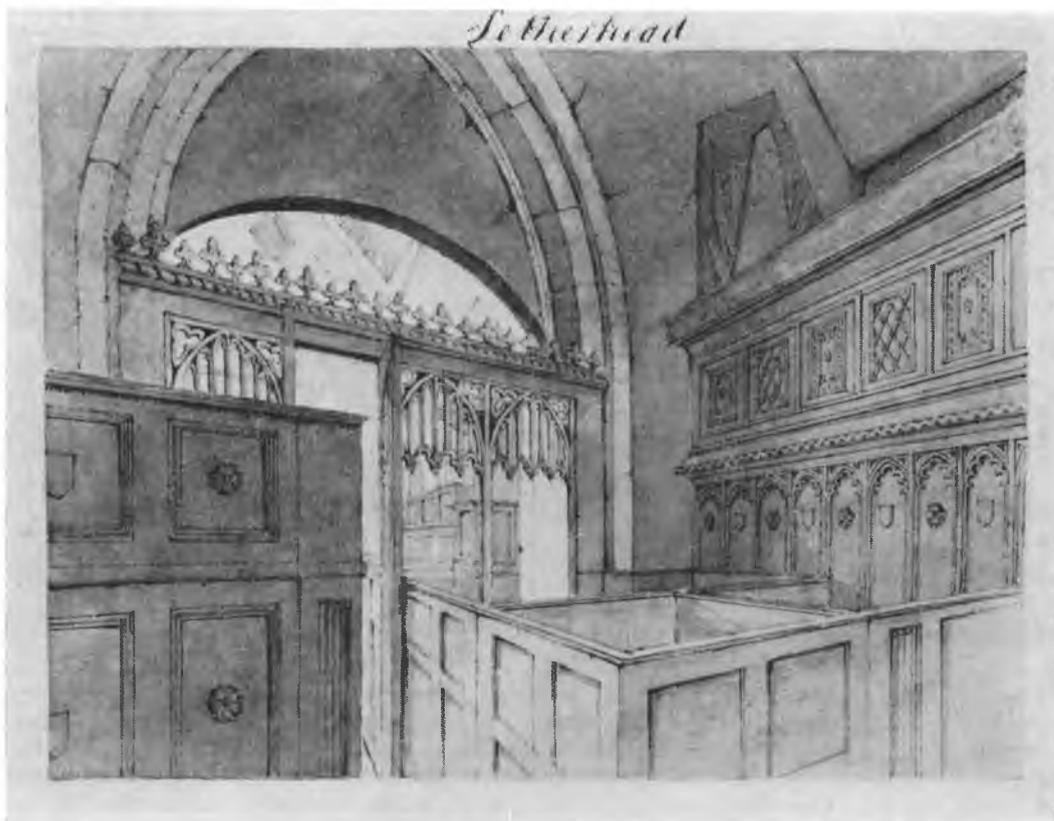
The rood and loft were destroyed at the Reformation, but possibly the rood screen was retained, for in a description of the church in Vol. 5 of Hughson's *London*, 1808, it is said, "a very handsome Gothic screen separates the body [nave] from the chancel." A visitor to the church about 1865 reports that this screen had lately been sold!

The loft was a gallery above the screen, from 4 to 5 feet wide, which was carried across the nave at the level of the springing, or commencement of the chancel arch, as can be seen by the door openings on each side of the chancel arch, now blocked up, and fitted with the pictures of St. Gabriel and St. Mary. Staircases in the thickness of the wall led up to these doors, but the lower door openings have also been built up. The loft had a panelled framing, about 3 feet high on both sides, the top rail of which, on the nave side, was known as the candle beam and carried the candles lighted before the rood. The purposes of the loft were various. It provided a position for the organ, a very small instrument in those days; it was also used for a small choir which sang "pricksong" or harmonized music, while the choir below sang plainsong. It was a convenient arrangement for attending to the lights on the candle beam, and it was also used for raising, lowering, and storing the large and heavy curtain which hung before the rood during Lent. But, contrary to the common idea, it was never used, in a non-collegiate parish church, for reading the epistle and gospel.

The rood itself, and its attendant figures, were carried on a beam next to the chancel wall, as such height as to enable it to be seen by the congregation in the nave.

Often over the rood, as over the high altar, there was a canopy of honour of carved and painted woodwork, or the nave roof above the rood was specially decorated. At Leatherhead there appears to have been a rood canopy, for the Vestry Minutes of July 1st,

1839, order "that the elliptic arch at the entrance to the chancel be removed, the expense thereof not to exceed £5."\*



#### LEATHERHEAD CHURCH

View from the chancel to the nave, showing the elliptical arch inserted within the chancel arch in 1702, which was removed in 1839. Water-colour by Edward Hassell, dated 1829, in the Stonehill collection, Leatherhead Branch, Surrey County Library.

It would appear that new oak screens were provided in the second half of the 15th century for the north transept, because at the Minet Library, with the drawing of the sedilia, previously mentioned, are beautiful small-scale drawings of these screens, with larger scale details of their tracery.

Two of these screens fit the openings from the north transept to the aisle, and to the chancel. These two screens were of the same period, but differ in the design of the tracery. The lower portion of the screens was solid panelling, and the upper part open framing with tracery heads and some carved leaves, surmounted with a moulded and embattled cornice. The screen to the aisle had a pair of folding doors to match the sides, but the

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\*Mr. G. H. Smith was mistaken in assuming that the elliptic arch removed in 1839 was the rood canopy. This elliptic arch is shown in the water-colour by Edward Hassell reproduced above. It was inserted *within* the chancel arch (possibly as a strengthener) in 1702. See note 21 by William Cotton on page 30 of Miss Mary Drinkwater-Bethune's poem *The River Mole or Emlyn Stream*, 1839. F. B. BENDER.

lower part of the screen had been altered at a later date. The screen between the transept and the chancel had also been altered and its doors removed, the opening having been widened and an ordinary architrave fixed round the opening. These alterations are probably the result of the Vestry Minute of July 16th, 1758, which "ordered that the partition between Mr. Gore's and the middle chancel be boarded, and a door put up for the more convenience of the Parishioners". The door mentioned was an entrance door cut in the north wall of the transept, which is shown in a picture in the Sharp Collection of Photographs of Water Colour Drawings in the Guildford Museum.

Brayley and Britton, when writing their *Topographical History of Surrey* (1841), evidently saw these screens for they say: "The front of the north transept, in which was the chantry of the Aperdeles, and wherein is still the gallery appropriated to the Mansion in Leatherhead, is, in part, panelled with carved wainscoting; and on the entrance-door, in golden letters, is this sentence—'Hanc cantariam fundav' Rogeri' de Aperdele, A.D. 1340'; which was inscribed during the repairs made under the direction of Mr. Dallaway."

The present writer has been unable to ascertain who was responsible for the wanton destruction of these beautiful specimens of medieval art and craftsmanship, but they were destroyed between 1834, when the Rev. James Dallaway, the Vicar, died, and 1866, when the writer of an article on "The Church of Leatherhead in 1866" (*S.A.C.*, Vol. XIX, p. 204) says, "The screens remained in their proper place till lately, when the central one was sold, and the other portion carried to the west, and glazed, to keep off the draughts." It is clear that this writer had no knowledge of the former existence of these transept screens, for of the two screens he mentions one was the rood screen, and the other the screen to be described directly.

No information, whatever, has been obtained about the screens to the south transept.

The third screen shown on the Minet drawing, which was moved to the west, is of a very different character to the others. It is plain, without carving and with very inferior tracery. It has a cornice about 16 feet long, but the screen itself is only about 12 feet 6 inches long, the remainder being an opening at one end over which the cornice was carried. Where this screen was originally placed is a mystery. It is too long for the opening from the south transept to the chancel, in fact the only possible place in the church that its length fits is the almost incredible position of across the chancel to the east of the transepts. In 1723 the Vestry minute states that "It is agreed by the parishioners that a pew be given by Sir James Wishart to the parish of Leatherhead be sett up against the East Window in the Chancel att ye parish Charge". It is possible, therefore, that this screen formed the front of the Wishart pew, and it must have been in position when the Minet drawing was made. This screen was afterward removed to the west end of the nave and fixed between the piers of the tower arch. It now lies in the loft over the choir Vestry.

During the 15th century the present east window of the north transept was substituted for the original and a similar window inserted in the north wall, which was destroyed when the wall was removed in 1873 for building the Clergy Vestry and organ loft.

About 1480 the west tower was erected. Owing to the existence of a right of way inside the churchyard, and the necessity of preserving sufficient room on consecrated ground for external processions, the axis of the tower is considerably out of alignment with that of the nave which causes the east wall of the tower to encroach on the original nave. The north east buttress of the tower encloses part of the west arch of the south arcade and the settlement of the tower has necessitated rebuilding the arch in a different shape to the others.

There was a tall spire on the top of the tower when first erected, but this was blown down in the great storm of November 27th, 1703, when 27 people were killed, in London alone, by falling chimneys, and many other church spires fell.

The tower has been suffered, on more than one occasion, to fall into a considerable state of dilapidation, so much so that in 1775 the vestry directed it to be repaired with stucco! And in 1795 the west door was widened to admit the parish fire-engine, which was kept in the tower.

The present appearance of the tower is due to the design of Sir A. Blomfield, who carried out the restoration in 1895 as a memorial to Mr. A. Rickards, and differs in some details from that shown on old drawings.

The inside of the tower was evidently used by the parish clerk as a schoolroom in 17th and 18th centuries, as indicated by the initials and other marks cut in the stonework near the very pleasing doorway to the stairs.

In the north wall of the tower, above the door to the stairs, is a gallery, originally formed when the tower was built, for the accommodation of a choir of seven boys, who sang the anthem "All glory, laud, and honour" when the Palm Sunday procession entered the church by the west door. The oak vaulting which carried the projecting panelled front of the gallery has long since disappeared, and the purpose of the recess has been wrongly described as a "ringing gallery", a use for which, however convenient for a chiming apparatus, it would be ill adapted, and quite impossible, for change ringing. Very few of these galleries were ever built in parish churches, and these are chiefly in Somersetshire and the West of England; the general custom, as shown by churchwarden's accounts, was to erect a special scaffold for the choir each year.

About the same time as the tower was built, the north aisle was extended to the west, but without forming an opening to the nave.

The porch was built either when the aisle was extended or early in the 16th century, but its doorway into the church was widened in 1891.

The doorway in the south aisle, now blocked up, may date about the end of the 15th century.

The octagonal font, now at the west end of the north aisle, was made about 1490, and, no doubt, its original position was in the west end of the nave, but it was afterwards removed to near the chancel steps, where it is shown on a photograph taken about 1862. It was removed to its present site in 1891. The original cover to the font has been destroyed, as has also the cover ordered by the Vestry to be made in 1696.

By the end of the 15th century most, if not all, the windows would be filled with stained glass, but of this no trace remains. The destruction of the windows is probably not so much due to the Reformation, as to the Puritans, for a writer towards the end of the 16th century explains that the glass images were suffered to remain "for want of sufficient store of new stuff and by reason of extreme charge that they should grow by the alterations of the same into white panes."

The window near the font contains some scraps of 13th to 16th century glass, collected from various sources by a former Vicar, James Dallaway. These pieces, together with any odd scrap of coloured glass, were leaded up by Dallaway, as acquired, and inserted in the east window of the chancel. This was removed to make way for the present window, a memorial to Archdeacon Utterton. Dallaway also procured some 18th century French glass from Rouen which he fixed in the west window of the south transept. This was removed for the window in memory of Bishop Utterton, and the discarded glass from both windows stored in the loft over the choir vestry and forgotten. The French glass was given to the Victoria & Albert Museum, it being quite unsuitable for a church window, being too macabre.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

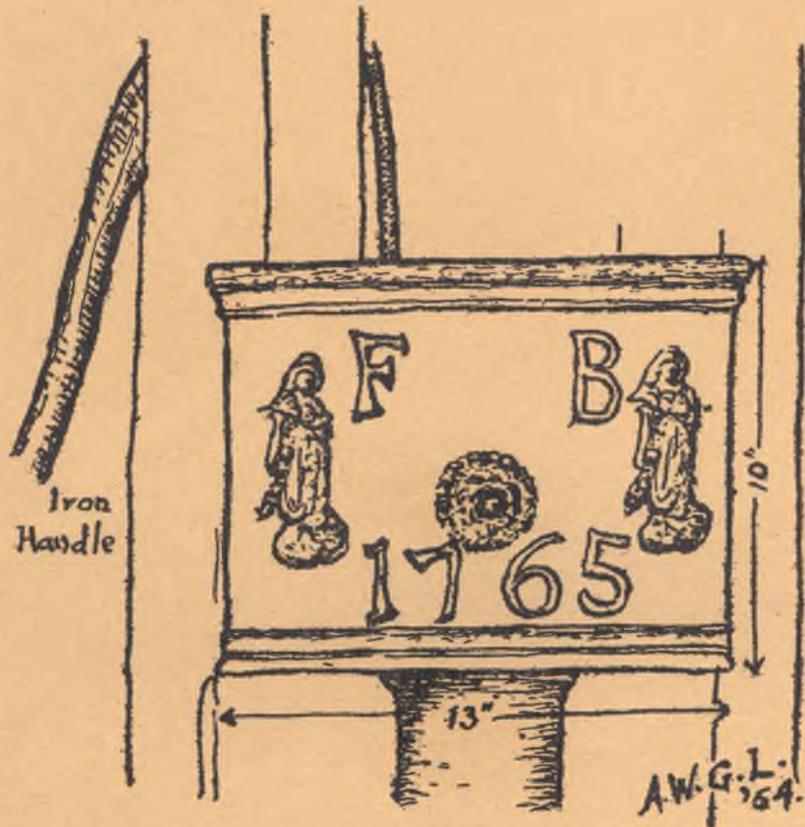
J. G. W. LEWARNE. Retired assurance executive. Resident in Fetcham for 35 years. For some time a member of the Council of the Surrey Archaeological Society. Honorary Secretary of the Leatherhead & District Local History Society.

F. BASTIAN. Schoolmaster, formerly resident in Ashted and now in Trowbridge, Wiltshire. First became interested in research into local history when assisting Mr. A. T. Ruby with indexing of Society's archives. An authority on Daniel Defoe, on whom he has published articles in *Surrey Archaeological Collections, Notes and Queries*, and *The Review of English Studies*.

F. B. BENDER. Retired dealer in old and rare books. Has lived in Leatherhead since 1924. Honorary Secretary of the Leatherhead & District Countryside Protection Society from its formation in 1929. A co-opted member of the Surrey County Council Records, Historic Buildings & Antiquities Committee.

The late G. H. SMITH. Retired quantity surveyor resident in this district until his death. Occupied much of his time latterly in carrying out a minute examination of the fabric of the parish church of Leatherhead, and in research into its history.

Owing to the fact that the Accounts  
have not yet been audited they  
have been omitted on this occasion



**ASHTEAD LODGE, PARKER'S HILL, ASHTEAD**

**Lead Pump-Head in Kitchen, discovered and partly disclosed in 1954 by the late  
C. D. Hawley, F.R.I.B.A., and A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.**