PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1971:—

January 15th	Lecture: "Changes in the bird population of a Surrey oak wood over 20 years", by Dr. G. Beven.
February 18th	Lecture: "Surrey Records at Kingston", by Miss M. Gollancz.
March 24th	Annual General Meeting and Discussion.
April 23rd	Lecture: "Bygone Leatherhead", by P. M. Broderick-Hartley.
April 24th	Visit to Bourne Hall Museum and excavation sites at Ewell. Leader: F. F. Pemberton.
May 22nd	Visit to Selbourne, The Vyne and Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester). Leaders: G. Hayward and D. Bruce.
June 26th	Natural History Walk on Bookham Common. Leader: Dr. A. S. Thorley and members of the London Natural History Society.
July 24th	Leatherhead Walk. Leaders: Members of the Society.
August 21st	Visit to Loseley House. Leader: G. Hayward.
September 18th	Visit to St. Albans. Leaders: G. Hayward and J. G. W. Lewarne.
October 19th	Lecture: "The Sutton Hoo Excavations", by C. W. Phillips, O.B.E., F.S.A.
November 19th	Lecture: "Butterflies and Moths", by R. M. Long.
December 16th	Leatherhead Historical Miscellany. Contributions by members.

Number 4 of Volume 3 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Council Offices on Wednesday, 24th March, 1971

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1970 were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected. The Accounts for the year 1970 are printed on page iii of the cover.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1971

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

Chairman: D. F. RENN, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary: D. BRUCE
(7 Fox Lane, Little Bookham. Tel: Bookham 5722)

Hon. Treasurer: F. A. STOKES
(Lloyds Bank, Leatherhead)

Hon. Editor: F. B. BENGER
(Duntisbourne, Reigate Road, Leatherhead. Tel: Leatherhead 72711)

Hon. Programme Secretary: G. HAYWARD
(Ypriana, Cobham Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead. Tel: Leatherhead 72674)

Hon. Records Secretary: D. BRUCE

Committee Members: W. MILLAR, S. E. D. FORTESCUE, J. R. BULL
Co-opted: MRS. M. FULLER, J. G. W. LEWARNE

PROCEEDINGS

of the

Leatherhead and District Local History Society
Vol. 3, No. 5
1971

CONTENTS

Illustrations:

OCCASIONAL NOTES

CELTIC AND ROMAN COINS FOUND IN THIS DISTRICT

1. British Gold Coin found *circa* 1960 at Rowhurst, Oxshott Road, Leatherhead (TQ 157586) by Mr. R. J. Quinnell in the garden of Mrs. Richard Quinnell; now in her possession.

This pre-Roman coin (weight 5·850 grammes) is of a well-known type which was figured (Plate B, No. 10) in 1864 by John Evans in his book *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* which is still a standard work though much has been written on the subject since that date. It is described thus by Evans:—

Obverse: Plain and convex.

Reverse: Horse to the right, with wheel below the same as on B, No. 9. The exergual line usually formed with a zig-zag. Gold. 90 grains (the weight of these coins on average).

As described by Evans (p. 24) the design derives from that of the *stater* of Philip of Macedon of which a vast treasure of these gold coins was captured when Brennus plundered Greece in B.C. 279. They became current in Gaul and Pannonia and were copied extensively. Others of these uninscribed gold coins of the so-called Gaulish type had an elaborate head covering the obverse, and one of these (Plate A, No. 4 and on front cover of his book) is mentioned by Evans as having been found "near Leatherhead" and another "at Oxted, Surrey".

Another of these uninscribed gold coins was found at Epsom in 1936 (*v Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XLIV, p. 139 and Plate VIII). Of the variety Evans Plate B, No. 4, it has the disintegrated head on the obverse as well as the horse, now become a confused mass of pellets, on the reverse. It was owned formerly by the late Mr. Arthur Cotton, F.S.A., but is now lost, as well as the tin coin mentioned in this same note as having been found in his garden at Ashtead.   A. W. G. L.

2. Roman Coin Hoard found 1971 at Mickleham (TQ 175534). A hoard of 24 coins of Crispus and Constantine I was found recently by Mr. A. White of Leatherhead very close to the line of Stane Street on Mickleham Downs. Mr. White found one coin on the surface, and located the rest by means of a metal detector. They were grouped close together and were probably dropped or buried in a leather or fabric purse. All are

well preserved and one at least retains a coating of silver. The date of the coins is given by Mr. R. A. G. Carson of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, as from 317 to 322 A.D. and a note including his identification of the individual coins will be published in the *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.

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3. Roman Coin found 1970 at Effingham (TQ 121535). An As of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), with reverse showing the seated figure of his mother Livia, was found in the autumn of 1970 by Dr. C. T. Sutton on ground being prepared for a football pitch at Effingham, in circumstances which suggested that it was probably disturbed from its original position, but had not been brought to the site with soil from elsewhere. The coin is in good condition.

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Notes 2 and 3 were written by Mr. Felix Holling of Guildford Museum.

THE ASHTEAD YOUTHFUL DAYS OF SIR ALAN HERBERT, C.H.

Sir Alan, in his autobiography *A.P.H., His Life and Times*, published by Heinemann in 1970, writes of his birth and childhood years in Ashtead. "My two brothers and I were born at Ashstead [*sic*] Lodge on the corner of Ashstead [*sic*] Common, between Epsom and Leatherhead . . . I am sure I had a happy childhood at Ashtead [*sic*] We had a nice garden, a lawn, and a splendid shrubbery for bandits, ambushes and so on. But I can recall few positive pleasures. My mother died of consumption when I was seven and we did not see much of her; but we had a devoted nanny. . . . When I was six they sent me to an Infant School in Epsom."

A RARE BIRD AT FETCHAM

The September bulletin of the ornithological section of the London Natural History Society reports as an outstanding event of the year the appearance at Fetcham on 10th July, 1971, of the rare woodchat shrike—a record of which has been accepted by the Rarities Committee.

FOX HUNTING, *circa* 1846

Mr. S. E. D. Fortescue has submitted the following note:—

A Fox-hunting Map of Surrey came to my knowledge published by J. & C. Walker of 9 Castle Street, Holborn. The Map is undated but its date may be determined by the indication of the line of the Atmospheric Railway from London Bridge to Epsom. This Railway was only constructed as far as Croydon and although it was planned to extend to Epsom and works were commenced on the section from Croydon to Epsom, it was never completed. The Atmospheric Railway only operated from the 19th January, 1846, to the 4th May, 1847* and therefore it may be assumed that the Map was prepared about 1846.

Surrey then had a population of 1,090,270 and was served by three hunts—the Surrey, covering the Eastern part of the County; the Surrey Union, extending over the centre of the County from Kingston to Reigate along the Sussex border to Haslemere, Guildford, and then along the Berkshire and Middlesex boundaries; the South-Western part of the County was served by the Hambledon Hunt.

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*Howard Clayton: "The Atmospheric Railways"

The nearest place to London of the meeting of the Fox Hunt was Chessington. Meets around Leatherhead were:

    (a) The windmill on Epsom common, near Horton House
    (b) Ockshot [*sic*] Flat
    (c) Fetcham Common on the opposite side of the Common road to Sheepbell Farm
    (d) At the junction of Lower Road and The Ridgeway, Fetcham
    (e) Row Barns, Effingham
    (f) At the entrance to Polesden
    (g) Ranmer [*sic*] Common on the road leading from Chapel Lane to Ranmore
    (h) Burford Bridge
    (i) On Boxhill

The Map also refers to the area between Leatherhead and Mickleham as Gibbons Grove.

FERDINAND GILBERT CARRUTHERS

The death on 3rd February, 1972, of our Honorary Member Mr. Gilbert Carruthers at the age of 94 saw the passing of one who had done a great deal for this Society especially regarding the excavations at the site of the mediaeval manor house of Pachenesham. He was, until 1967, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society for many years. One of his important self-imposed tasks was the recording in detail of all the surviving church and churchyard inscriptions at Kew, Richmond and Kingston, and his MSS. of this work are preserved at Castle Arch, Guildford, by the Surrey Archaeological Society to whom he presented them.

THE FINDS AT BELL LANE, FETCHAM, IN 1952

By D. F. RENN, F.S.A.

IN 1952 Mr. S. G. Nash noticed pottery and a ghost wall in builders' trenches being dug for the foundations of a bungalow, 'Fairholme', in Bell Lane, Fetcham. The National Grid Reference of the site is TQ 147558. An emergency excavation was carried out under the leadership of the late Mr. A. T. Ruby, M.B.E., and a brief report appeared in these *Proceedings* (Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 12–13). Owing to Mr. Ruby's death a full report is now impossible, but an examination of the finds suggested that they were worth publishing alone. The material was divided among several volunteers, who have reported independently below; apart from the signed contributions, special mention must be made of the help received from Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne, who took part in the excavation, and from Mrs. S. Calnan with the mediaeval pottery.

The excavations showed that the projecting north bay of the bungalow overlay a flint and brick building about 20 feet by 10, which had been abandoned by the early part of the eighteenth century. A similar building, 10 feet square, stood about 30 feet to the south-west, and had continued in use until about 1760. Between the buildings ran a ditch $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, together with a cobbled floor about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the modern surface. A depression was interpreted as a pond, but Mr. Lewarne tells me that four elm tree-trunks were found beside a filled-in pond when a house ('Alfrinn') was erected to the north-east of 'Fairholme', possibly those indicated on the 1791 Tithe Map (*Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 9, pp. 257–9).

The quantity of pottery sherds that were found indicates a fairly uniform mediaeval occupation from about 1250 onward. The material may of course have come from elsewhere, having been dumped to level the site, but it is situated on the slope of Marden Hill, a corruption of the Matterdons, the name of the large field west of Bell Lane on the Tithe Map. Basilio de Maderton was assessed in Fetcham for the 'Fifteenth' of 1332 (*Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Subsidies, 184/4*, printed in No. XVIII of the Surrey Record Society (1922), p. 74).

However, the bulk of the finds relate to the early eighteenth century, the time of the rebuilding of Fetcham Park House by William Talman for Arthur Moore (1705–10) and before the alterations of Thomas Hankey (1788–90) (*Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pages 19–29). The Richardson survey of 1777 (*Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pages 133–5) shows Bell Lane running straight on up the hill to Fetcham Common, whereas by 1791 it turned south to link up with the Ridgeway, with the 'Bell' near its present site. The pond (or ponds) would have been a convenient watering-place for horses and cattle pastured in the common fields, and probably by at least the beginning of the eighteenth century a small building had been erected to provide human refreshment too.

THE MEDIAEVAL POTTERY

The material consisted almost entirely of small sherds, mainly derived from coarse-ware cooking pots. One-half of a tiny vessel, with external patches of brown glaze and a wash inside the rim and base is illustrated (Fig. I, centre of bottom row), but otherwise it was impossible to build up a complete profile. Since there is no meaningful stratification (e.g. Trench VII, level 2, contained material from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries), the finds are classified by ware.

A. Shell-tempered. Twelve sherds including one cooking-pot rim with internal bead (illustrated). Similar ware found at Pachesham (Leatherhead) and Lee Wood (Effingham) is dated up to 1280 (these *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 9, pp. 14–6, especially No. 17).

B. Fine thin yellow-toned white wares, sometimes corrugated or with spots of yellow glaze. Of the 50 sherds, some were clearly distinguishable from the usual Surrey

off-white wares and closely resembled pottery from Normandy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (*Antiquaries Journal*, XXXI, p. 185; XXXVIII, p. 211).

C. Buff or grey flint-tempered ware with brown surface. 16 sherds: two of the five rims are illustrated, more facetted and of smaller diameter than the solitary A example.

D. Buff-pink ware with hard sandy surface. 72 sherds including (i) Five rims (four drawn); (ii) a cauldron leg; (iii) an applied spout; (iv) the base of a jug thumbed down round the base angle, with splashes of green glaze beneath; and (v) a flat strap-like yellow-glazed handle, its margins incised with a continuous wavy line and knife-cuts.

  Forms (i), (ii), and (iv) are closely paralleled at the Ashtead kiln, *c.* 1300, (*Surrey Archaeological Collections* XLVII, pp. 58–66, Nos. 1, 4, 7, 17, 18).

E. Pink ware covered with cream or white slip. 94 sherds, eleven with green glaze of varying shades, one being part of a handle of round cross-section pierced with a pin-hole. The slip on two sherds is scored with a 3-toothed comb and covered with green-spotted yellow glaze (Compare B. Rackham, *Mediaeval English Pottery* (1948), plate 25).

F. Orange-surfaced grey ware with brownish-green glaze. Three rims (one illustrated) and a body sherd with white stripes of paint under the glaze, attributed to the fifteenth century at Merton Priory (*Surrey Archaeological Collections* LXIV, p. 60, No. 147).

G. Grey-surfaced orange ware. 36 sherds, including a neck, glazed treacly-brown above an internal finger-tipped cordon.

H. 'Tudor Green' wares of the sixteenth century (*Winchester Excavations* 1949–60, I, ed. B. W. Cunliffe, pp. 140–2). 28 sherds, including four fitting together from an everted rim, distorted and with a patch bare of glaze (?stacking-ring). Several 'neckless' rims—the one illustrated has a speckled manganese slip under the glaze.

I. Four fragments of white-glazed stone ware, with sharp girth-grooves and a frilled base angle. So-called 'Siegburg Ware'—more usually Flemish, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century (*Winchester Excavations* I, pp. 142–3).

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Gilt-bronze disc, domed in centre, with holes for four rivets, two of which remain. The disc is ornamented with concentric grooves and has traces of curvilinear patterning. It is probably the cheek-piece of a horse harness, covering the end of the bit. A more highly decorated example in the London Museum is dated *c.* 1600 (*London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940, p. 85).

Iron prick-spur, the point broken off, with strap attachment of Type BB (ii) (*Medieval Catalogue*, p. 99), so perhaps of the thirteenth century.

Iron Jew's Harp (?) *or part of door-hinge*, of diamond-shaped cross-section.

Angular iron ring of round section. The wear at the inside of the angles suggests it formed part of a mesh, perhaps from a harrow.

Nails with square-sectioned shanks. Two of the largest, five of the longest sort illustrated. Of the smaller sorts, 16 could be graded as long, 24 as short, with some 20 intermediate but fatter and with a larger head. Another 10 were shorter than those illustrated.

Indeterminate iron finds included a light horseshoe, two ox-shoes, two wood-screws, three knife-tangs, two keys with eroded wards, and a 1·2 inch cube.

NOT ILLUSTRATED

Lead strip and H-section window-cames.

Animal bones, small unidentified chips, together with shells of mussel, oyster and snail.

Brown *sandstone*, 1 inch square cross-section with rounded edges, probably a broken whetstone.

Slate, mainly grey, but one purplish fragment.
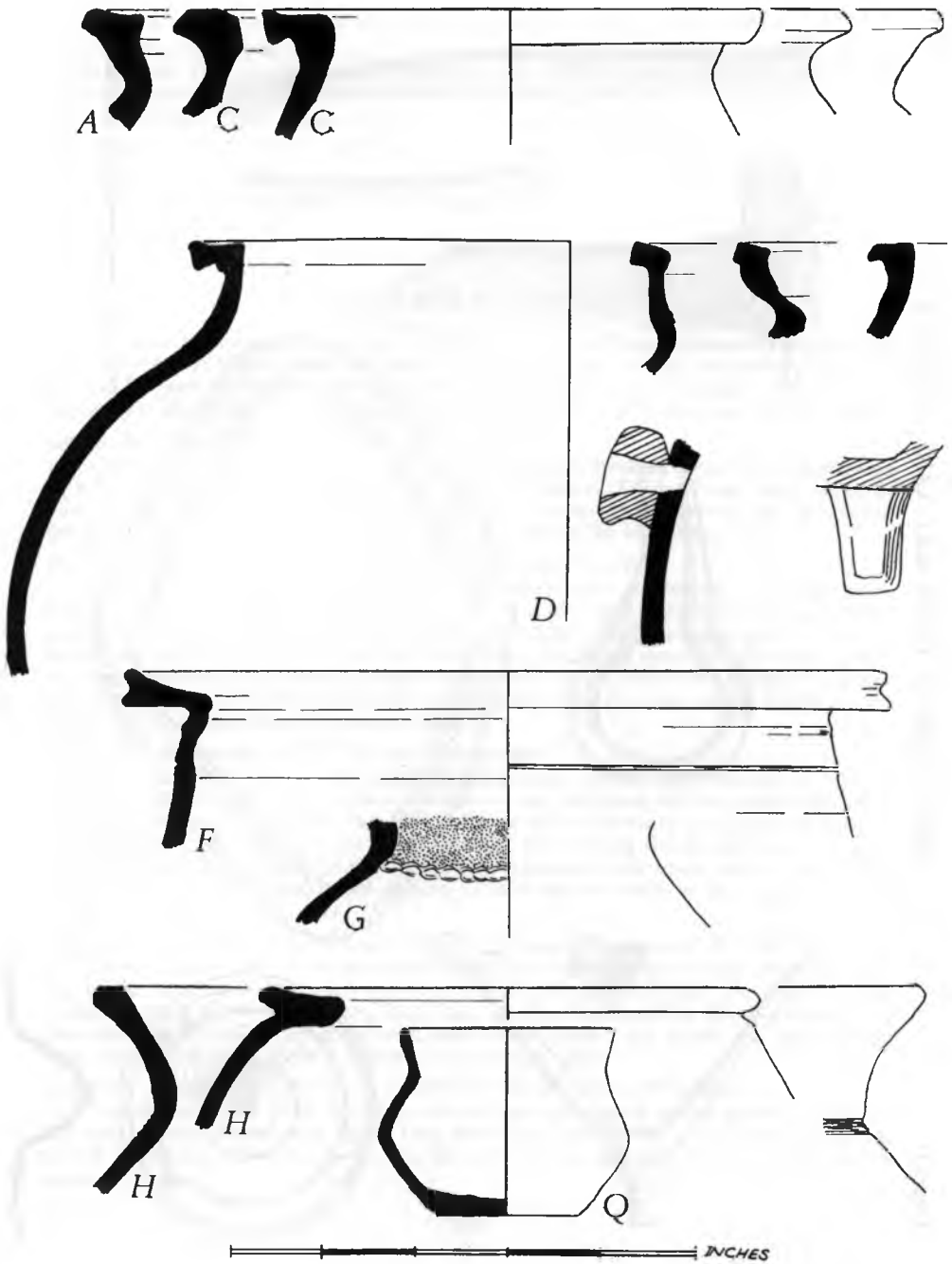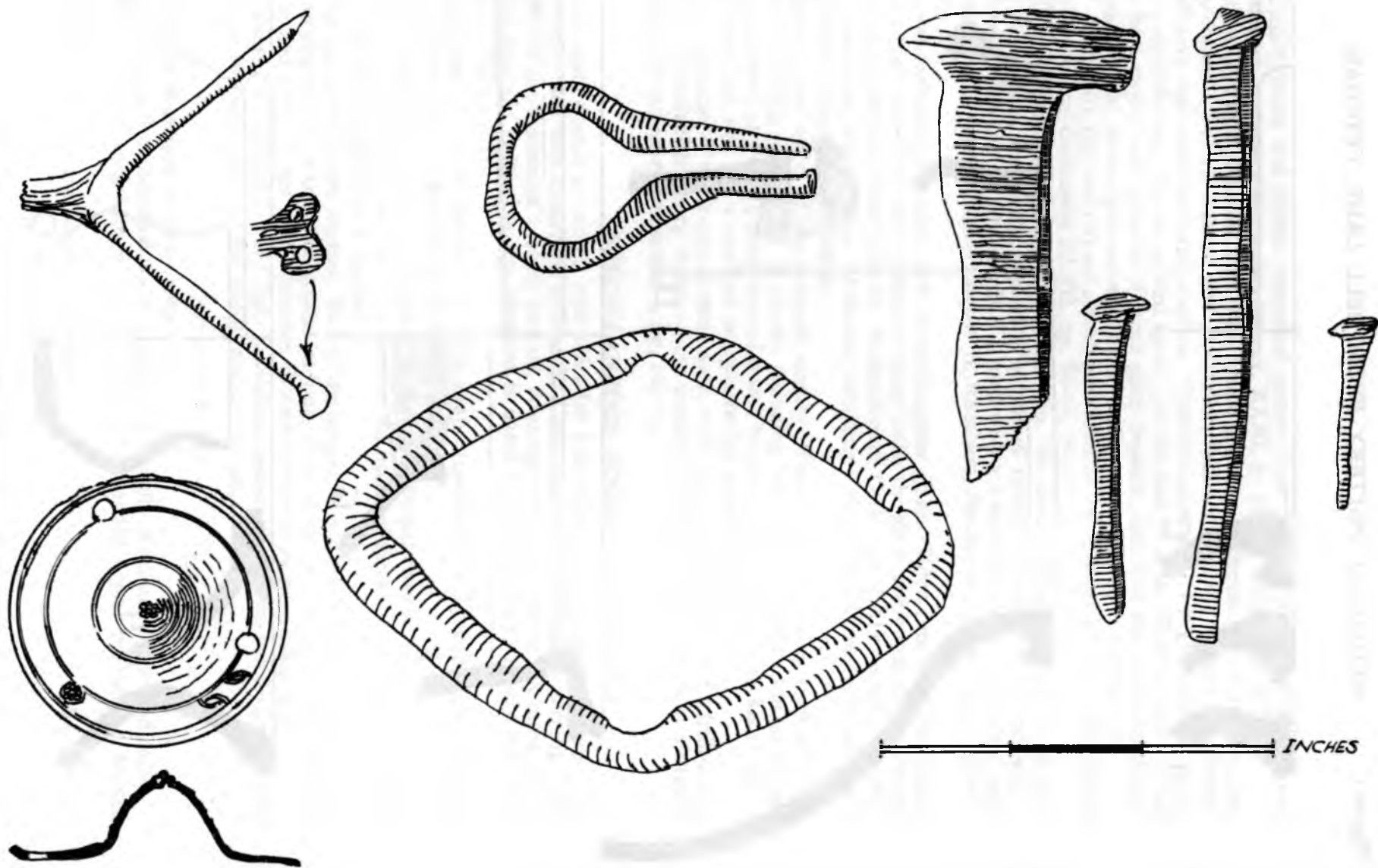
Figure 1   MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM BELL LANE, FETCHAM

A   C   C

D

F

G

H   H   H   Q

INCHES

Figure II   METAL OBJECTS FROM BELL LANE, FETCHAM

INCHES

Bricks, none preserved, but said to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches thick, laid in English Bond.

Roofing tiles, two-thirds of an inch thick, usually red but sometimes overfired purplish fused surface. One was backed with thick plaster, another was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide with two peg-holes near one end $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart and cambered diagonally.

Floor or wall-tile, glazed white with a blue design including a 'Japanese' figure.

Plaster up to one inch thick, with impressions of wattles and of brick.

Burnt flints and charcoal.

Coin, Charles I silver farthing.

POST-MEDIAEVAL POTTERY

By STEPHEN MOORHOUSE

Amongst the mediaeval material from Bell Lane there is a quantity of later material ranging from the 17th century through to the present day, a large proportion dating to the middle years of the 18th century. The unstratified state of the material has made it necessary to divide it up into fabric and type groups and it will be discussed as such below.[1]

GROUP A   *Raeren Stoneware* 16th century Fig. III, 1

One sherd, from the rim of a typical Raeren stoneware drinking mug in a grey stoneware with light brown surfaces slightly more bronzy externally. The type was being imported into this country from the late 15th century and is known in contexts of the first half of the 17th century, but its *floruit* belongs to the first half of the 16th century.[2]

GROUP B   *Post-Mediaeval Surrey White Wares* 17th century

Four sherds in the deposit are from the many kilns producing fine white wares throughout the 17th and 18th century in the area of north-western Surrey and north-eastern Hampshire. Three of the sherds are too small to positively identify the form of vessel from which they came but one can be identified as coming from a small single-handled cup with a globular body and a straight sloping neck with a small loop handle;[3] this type is generally dated to the first half of the 17th century while the other sherds would suggest a general 17th rather than 18th century date.

GROUP C   *Manganese Delft* 17th and 18th century

Five small delft sherds have speckled manganese on their external surface. Three come from small cordel cups similar in form to that described for the identifiable sherd from group B above; the present three sherds have a dull whitish internal glaze and probably date generally to the 17th century while the other two, joining rim sherds from a shallow bowl or platter, have a dull lightish speckled manganese on the upper surface and a dull thick light bluish plain delft under surface, a characteristic which would suggest an 18th century date.

GROUP D   *Staffordshire Earthenwares* Late 17th–early 18th century Fig. III, 2

Three sherds from a posset-pot with bright yellow-ochre glaze and dark brown circular slip blobs, two sherds with finely combed external yellow with brown slip possibly from posset pots and two sherds, and one large base which is illustrated fig. III, 2, with grooved base and internal and external mottled dark brown glaze.[4] All sherds are in hard buff fabric and can be given a late 17th-early 18th century date.

GROUP E   *Early Staffordshire Salt Glazed Stonewares* Early 18th century

Two sherds, one a small rim and a lateral upward sloping handle slightly curved at the end, of early 18th century date. They both have circular blobs of greeny brown, on top of the handle and externally on the rim with a purplish band running round the rim internally.

Figure III   POST-MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM FETCHAM, SURREY

1 group A; 2 group D; 3–7 group F; 8–9 group G; 10–11 group J; 12 group D.

INCHES
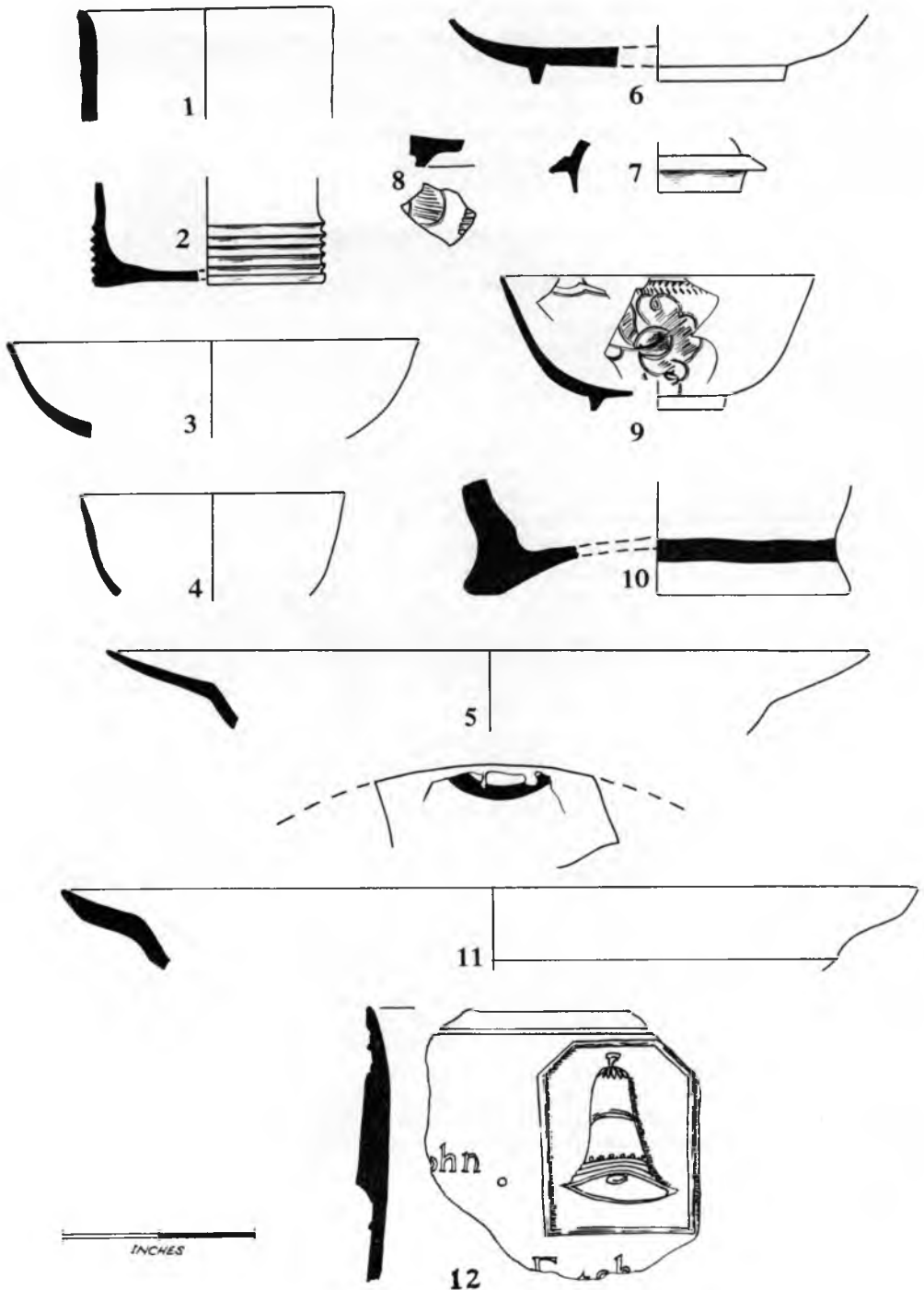
Group F   *Salt Glazed Stoneware*   Around the middle of the 18th century   Fig. III, Nos. 3 to 7

Twenty-three sherds of plain salt glazed stoneware, possibly Staffordshire, dating to the period *c.* 1740–1760. The forms represented in the group are illustrated in Fig. III, 3 to 7, only one sherd coming from a lid the rest from shallow bowls of varying sizes.

Group G   '*Scratch Blue*'   Second and third quarter 18th century   Fig. III, 8 and 9

Four sherds of similar material and forms to group F above but with designs scratched into the surface and 'inlaid' with cobalt blue; hence the term 'scratch blue'. Dated examples of the type range from the 1740s to the 1760s thus providing a date in the second and third quarter of the 18th century for the present group.

Group H   *Whieldon Type, Staffordshire*   Third quarter of 18th century

One sherd with moulded floral design. The form from which it came is difficult to determine but can possibly be dated to mid and through the third quarter of the 18th century.

Group I   *Hard Paste Porcelain*   Late 18th–early 19th century

Four sherds, two joining from the rim of a small plate with hand-painted internal design, one large rim from a sugar basin and two miscellaneous sherds, all probably of late 18th or early 19th century date.

Group J   *Miscellaneous Delft*   First half of 18th century   Fig. III, 10 and 11

Nearly 40 sherds of dull buff powdery fabric covered with varying shades of light to dull sky-blue glaze with deep blue decoration. These features are consistent with 18th century English delft products, of which all the sherds appear to be, as opposed to 17th century delft. Two of the larger pieces are illustrated, an albarello base and a plate rim.

Group K   *Miscellaneous Later Wares*   19th–early 20th century

Over fifty sherds of the 19th and early 20th century comprising transfer printed plates, plain wares and late stonewares.

A large quantity of coarse wares are present in the group but, because of the non-stratigraphy of the material and their continuation in date in both form and fabric from the late 17th century onwards it has not been thought profitable to expand them here other than to record their existence in the deposit.

Addendum (by D. F. R.)   Fig. III, 12

After Mr. Moorhouse's report was completed, the 'Bell' sherd, first published in these *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 6, page 24, was rediscovered. It belongs to a 'Queen Anne' beer-mug of Mr. Moorhouse's group D, with a brown glaze which is much darker over the lip of the vessel.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Miss D. Griffiths of the Victoria & Albert Museum for comments on groups E to K.
2. Originally discussed in J. G. Hurst "Stoneware Jugs", in Barry Cunliffe *Winchester Excavations 1949–1960*, Vol. 1 (Winchester, 1964), 142–3, and extended in J. G. Hurst "The Pottery", in L. Keene "Excavations at Old Wardour Castle Wiltshire", *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* LXII (1967), 74.
3. The type is illustrated with a brief discussion and distribution in Stephen Moorhouse "Late and Post-Medieval finds from Basing House, Hampshire: pt. 1", *Post Med. Arch.* IV (1970), 51–3, and p. 52, fig. 12, Nos. 73–82.
4. For this type of mug bearing hall stamps of William and Anne see Miss M. Bimson in *Post Med. Arch.* IV (1970), 165–6.

GLASS
By S. R. C. POULTER

General

There are 293 pieces of glass ranging in size from that of a small finger-nail to that of a saucer. Over two-thirds of the pieces are marked with trench and level numbers, the remainder, unfortunately, being either unmarked or indecipherable as a result of flooding in 1968 and the fragile state of some of the surfaces.

Eight pieces are marked VII 1 and all appear to be comparatively recent in origin. They include fragments of bright blue ribbed glass of the type used for 'poison' bottles and a small piece of thick colourless glass marked in faint red capitals 'HAM', suggesting a bottle from a local dairy. This level thus appears to have contained recently deposited rubbish.

Amongst the VII 2 fragments are sixty or so that appear to have been window-glass—flat and colourless—some less than a millimetre thick. In addition, there are some thirty fragments of bottle-glass and about the same quantity unmarked. Most of these show signs of decomposition resulting from prolonged exposure to damp conditions;[1] these signs ranged from a thin iridescent surface film to an opaque, friable, bronze-coloured coating.

Only two pieces of glass are marked X 1, one of them showing marked corrosion, and ten X 2 fragments include window and bottle glass.

The largest and most recognisable bottle fragments from the site appear to be parts either of wine bottles or of apothecaries' bottles.

Wine bottles

Early (1650 onwards) glass wine bottles were used in taverns and private houses to convey wine from cask to wine glass. They were flask-shaped, with a base some six inches in diameter, some having handles, and were often marked with seals identifying taverns or householders and in some cases bearing dates; unfortunately, no such seals are included among the Bell Lane fragments.

In a detailed study of early glass wine bottles, Leeds[2] reported a large number of dated bottles from Oxford taverns and demonstrated the development, between about 1650 and 1720, of the flask-shaped bottle and gave sketches of half-sections of bottles at different dates so that other bottles could be dated fairly closely over this period from their shapes.

Subsequent to 1720, bottles became less flask-shaped and more cylindrical. By the 1740s they were squat bottles, and over the next forty years or so narrower and taller bottles developed. Trends through the eighteenth century have been illustrated by photographs of series of bottles by Warner Allen,[3] Hughes,[4] and Wills,[5] and specimens can be seen in, for example, the Guildhall, London and Victoria and Albert Museums. The change in shape is considered [3, 5] to have been associated with the growth in consumption of Port and the use of bottles for storage over longer periods. The cylindrical shape facilitated 'binning', the bottle lying so that the wine prevented the cork from drying out and an airtight seal was maintained. Hitherto corks, held on by string, had been used only for transporting and temporary storage of wine.

A comprehensive survey, by Noël Hume,[6] provides drawings of profiles and sections of 26 bottles spanning the period 1650–1850, approximately. The bottles were mostly of English origin although found during excavations in Jamestown and Williamsburg, Virginia. Although several authors stress the variability of bottle shapes and sizes in minor features, the correspondence among the various published series of illustrations is remarkable and indicates a surprising generality in the trend in the shape of bottles from different sources. (Wills[5] quotes a report that by 1796 there were 42 glass-houses making bottles in England and Wales.) Difficulty in dating the Bell Lane specimens arises from their smallness; only a few features of any one bottle can be identified.

Bottle necks. A feature of the earlier wine bottles is that the necks of the flask-type bottles generally had a thin ring, almost triangular in section, just below the top of the neck—the 'string-rim'. According to Hume, the string rim was as much as 13 mm below the mouth in 1650 but was generally not more than 7 mm below by the end of the century.

As the flask-shape gave way to the bottle-shape, the string rim was less V-shaped, becoming down-tooled (*c.* 1740), and later merging with a thickened lip that developed around the mouth (*c.* 1790). The trend, which may be attributable to the change in the function of the cork already noted, or perhaps to changes in the methods of producing bottles, is confirmed by most illustrations and by exhibits in the Guildhall and London Museums. This would seem to place three pieces of bottle neck from Bell Lane as probably pre-1740 and not later than 1760. The taper of the most complete specimen (j) from trench VII 2 appears to match 1720–40 in the Warner Allen plate and 1720–30 in the Noël Hume series.
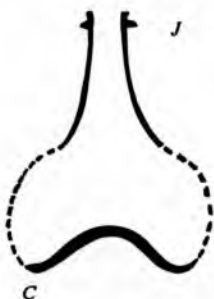
Bottle bases. The largest wine-bottle base (c), having a maximum dimension of 145 mm, appears to have had an external diameter of 160 mm. It is greenish-brown in colour and the height of the kick is about 42 mm. A flask (with handle) in the Guildhall Museum is about this size and is dated 1713. Two others, without handles, of the same size are in the London Museum listed as *c.* 1710 and *c.* 1715 and a third, with a somewhat deeper kick, as 1731. The shape of the kick of specimen (c) resembles several in the Noël Hume sketches of the 1700–30 period.

Another base, with an almost hemispherical kick 52 mm high and a suggestion of cylindrical walls 108 mm in diameter would appear, from the Warner Allen and the Noël Hume plates, to be not earlier than about 1760; the Guildhall Museum has a specimen dated 1757 with only slightly tapering walls and dimensions which appear to correspond quite closely. There is another fragment of a wine bottle base suggesting a somewhat similar bottle.

A fourth piece suggests a base about 150 mm in diameter, perhaps elliptical. This shape, and the profile discernible, both point to a date very early in the eighteenth century.

Apothecaries' bottles

Three pale green bottle mouths are marked VII 2, together with a base that matches one of the mouths closely for colour, and they resemble closely parts of the bottles to be seen in the Guildhall Museum (listed as 18th century) and the London Museum (listed as early 18th century). None shows any sign of having been blown in a mould.

Another base of a similar colour with a diameter of about 60 mm and a kick about 28 mm high represents a slightly larger bottle than most of those shown as apothecaries' bottles but probably very similar to an unidentified and undated exhibit (No. 1381) in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Window glass

The window glass from trench VII 2 ranged in thickness from just under 1 mm to $3\frac{1}{2}$ mm, but since window glass was produced by spinning after blowing,[7] it is not thought that these specimens are inconsistent with the datings proposed for the bottles.

Heated glass

Finally, three of the fragments, one marked VII 2, appeared to have been exposed to heat after being broken. This could conceivably have been the result of the brawl visualised by Ruby[8] but perhaps more probably was the result of burning rubbish on a dump!

Conclusions

Trench VII 2 contained a number of bottle fragments including one wine bottle neck and three apothecary bottle necks. The former probably dates from the first half of the 18th century and the latter could be from the same period. Parts of two other wine bottle necks and two bases, all unmarked, are probably of a similar age, and another base mid-18th century.

Although complete bottles can be dated fairly closely, there is considerable room for error when dealing with small parts. Further, there is no evidence as to how long the glass fragments had been in the positions where they were found in 1952. They could have been lying in a store-room or cellar for many years and then turned out or could have accumulated on a dump as breakages occurred. Certainly it is unlikely that the last of the fragments in Trench VII 2 was deposited before about 1760.

NOTES

1. Angus-Butterworth, L. M., *The manufacture of glass*, p. 44 (Pitman, London, 1948).
2. Leeds, E. T., *Oxoniensia*, 1941 *VI*, pp. 44–55.
3. Warner Allen, H., *A history of wine*, plate 20 (Faber & Faber, London, 1961).
4. Hughes, G. Bernard, *Country Life*, 16th June, 1955, pp. 1575–6; 17th April, 1969, pp. 979–80.
5. Wills, Geoffrey, *Bottles: to 1720*, Guinness Signature, No. 9; *Bottles: from 1720*, Guinness Signature, No. 10.
6. Hume, Ivor Noël, *J. of Glass Studies*, 1961, *3*, pp. 90–117.
7. Angus-Butterworth, L. M., *The manufacture of glass*, p. 153.
8. Ruby, A. T., Society *Proceedings*, 1952, *1*, (6) p. 13.

A MEDIAEVAL GRAVE-SLAB
IN GREAT BOOKHAM CHURCHYARD

By W. J. BLAIR

EMBEDDED in the more northerly of the two fifteenth-century buttresses supporting the west wall of the tower of St. Nicolas's parish church, Great Bookham, is part of a mediaeval grave-slab. This monument, which is laid horizontally on the base plinth and forms the foundation of the upper part of the buttress, is briefly described in an article on the church by P. M. Johnston,[1] although no features of any particular interest were visible upon it at the time of his writing. However, when I visited the church with my friend Mr. Paul Shelton in November 1970, I discovered that the cement covering the accessible south side and west end of the surface of the slab hid part of an incised marginal inscription. With the permission of the Rector, the Rev. J. G. Edwards, I subsequently removed most of this cement and uncovered the lettering. Although the slab is deeply embedded in the buttress, rendering inaccessible everything but the mouldings and the edges of the surface along the south side and west end, it is now possible to provide a much better account of it than that given in Johnston's article.

The slab, which appears to be made of Sussex marble, is rectangular (not tapered, as is more usual with monuments of this type), and is decorated at the edges with a simple double-hollow moulding of characteristic form. A fairly large section is completely missing from the east (originally the west) end, probably deliberately broken off to fit the buttress when the latter was built (*c.* 1440, according to Johnston's dating). At this end the slab is tailed about nine inches into the tower wall, but then ends in a rough diagonal break, which was discovered when a small hole was made in the masonry of the wall in order to reveal the beginning of the inscription. Apart from this, and a certain amount of decay along the exposed edges, caused by weathering, the only visible damage is a fracture running across the slab about two feet from the west end, at which point the monument appears to be broken in two. The slab is 23 inches wide and 6 inches thick; the total surviving length is 65½ inches, though measurements of the reconstructed inscription show that the original length was probably as much as 85 inches.

As slabs of this type often bear decorations of various kinds (sometimes even incised figures) an attempt was made to find out whether or not this was the case with the Great Bookham monument by probing across its surface through the buttress at a point about half-way along the exposed side of the slab. To a depth of about nine inches from the edge (beyond which examination was impossible), the surface was found to be blank; this seems to indicate that it is either completely undecorated, or decorated with a long, narrow motif, perhaps a long-stemmed floriated cross, either incised, or, more probably, in low relief similar to those that once existed on the slabs at Stoke D'Abernon and Mickleham (see below).

The inscription, in incised Lombardic letters 1½ inches tall and cut with a V-shaped incision, runs around the perimeter of the slab's surface. Only about a third of the original inscription is now visible: the letters along the east end and beginning of the south side of the slab were inscribed on the portion that is now missing, while those along the north side are completely buried in the buttress and therefore inaccessible. Thus the lettering running along the surviving part of the south side and continuing on to the west end is the only section of the inscription still extant. This reads: "·DE·P--LESDENE·/GIST/". There is unfortunately no evidence to indicate the Christian name, but the rest of the inscription can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty, due to the fact that epitaphs of this date and type usually follow a conventional formula, or near variants of it. Assuming that the Great Bookham inscription began, as is usually the case with such monuments, about

half-way along the west end (the east end in the slab's present position, as it was placed in the buttress with its original orientation reversed), the following conjectural reconstruction accords with all available evidence: "[+·/------]·DE·P[OL]LESDENE·/GIST/[·ICI·DEV·DE· SA·ALME·EIT· ME/RCI]" (i.e.: "------ *de Pollesdene lies here. God have mercy on his soul*").

Several references exist in contemporary documents to the de Pollesdene family, who held the manor of High Polesden (now called Polesden Lacey) in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but since the Christian name is missing from the slab, it is impossible to say with any certainty which member of the family it commemorates. I have collected together all the information concerning the de Pollesdenes that I have been able to gather from printed sources and given it in an appendix at the end of this article, but before any tentative attribution of the slab to any particular member of the family can be suggested, it is first necessary to consider its date on stylistic grounds.

A large number of monuments of a similar general type survive throughout the country, and in the immediate vicinity of Great Bookham three close parallels are known to exist: one at Stoke D'Abernon and two at Mickleham. The Stoke D'Abernon slab, now situated in the church under the wrought-iron screen separating the chancel from the north chapel, is very worn, and much of the inscription is illegible. However, an article on the church by P. M. Johnston[2] includes a drawing of this monument made in 1907, when it lay in the churchyard but had not yet been subjected to the several years of weathering which it suffered before eventually being placed in its present position in 1947.

Johnston's drawing shows the slab with a central long-stemmed cross in low relief (which has now almost disappeared) and an edge moulding very similar to that on the Great Bookham monument, the main difference between the two being that the slab at Stoke D'Abernon is tapered, not rectangular. It is 85 inches long, 25 inches wide at the head, 16½ inches wide at the foot, and 5 inches thick, and the inscription, which, as at Great Bookham, was in incised Lombardics and ran around the perimeter of the surface, read as follows: "+SIRE/ RICHARD LE PETIT IADIS PER·SONE DE CEST/ EIG/LISE ICI GIST· RECEYVE LA ALME IESU CHRIS/T" (i.e.: "*Sir[3] Richard the Little, formerly parson of this church, lies here. Receive his soul Jesu Christ*"). In common with the other three slabs under discussion, the Stoke D'Abernon specimen is made of Sussex marble. But the most noteworthy aspect of this monument for the present purpose is the style of the lettering, which when compared with the Great Bookham inscription is bolder and simpler in design, less skilfully cut, and much more irregularly spaced. The inscription at Stoke D'Abernon is altogether less advanced stylistically, and thus, very likely, earlier in date. No reference to Richard the Little other than his gravestone inscription appears to exist, but using the shape of the cross as a guide, Johnston assigns the slab on stylistic grounds to *c.* 1230–50; this dating is probably still acceptable, though it must be admitted that the chronology of early cross-slabs is difficult to support with strong evidence, mainly due to the paucity of dated and independently datable specimens.

The other two slabs, in Mickleham parish church, are both situated in the west porch. They were found buried under the church floor opposite the north door during alterations carried out by P. F. Robinson in 1823, and detailed drawings of them appear in his book on the church published the following year.[4] This is very fortunate, for both slabs are now in extremely poor condition, and only a few letters of the inscriptions can be made out with certainty. Even in Robinson's time the inscriptions were badly damaged, and the fact that he was unable to read the mutilated parts is indicated by some accidental distortions in his drawings, where the forms of the half-effaced letters have been misunderstood and misrepresented.

The two slabs are very close to each other in size and almost exactly similar in form, so much so that it seems probable that they were carved by the same hand. In each case the surface bore a central long-stemmed cross on three steps in low relief (only the bases

of these crosses are shown in Robinson's drawings, and even these have now completely disappeared), and the edges of the slabs are decorated with mouldings similar to that on the Great Bookham specimen; but again, these examples are tapered, not rectangular. An additional difference is that on each of the Mickleham slabs the inscription runs around the edge in the upper hollow of the moulding, instead of running around the perimeter of the flat surface. Both slabs appear to be made of Sussex marble.

The inscriptions, which are in incised Lombardics, are difficult to decipher from the drawings, particularly the surname on No. I, where it seems likely that one or two totally effaced letters have been omitted without appropriate spaces being left; Robinson himself makes no comment on how this name should be read. However, after careful comparison of the drawings with the existing remains, I have managed to reconstruct most of one inscription, and the whole of the other, with reasonable certainty.

I. On south side of porch; 80 inches long, 31 inches wide at head, $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at foot, and 6 inches thick. "·IHAN D(E?) -/- (EN?)-AM : GIST I : CY : DEU/DAL/ME : EIT : MERCI AMEN" (i.e. "*John de (Newenham?) lies here. God have mercy on his soul, amen*").

II. On north side of porch; 77 inches long, 27 inches wide at head, 17 inches wide at foot, and 6 inches thick. "+ALIS DE : NE/WENHAMGIST : ICI : DEU : DE : LE : ALME : EIT : MER/CI ·" (i.e. "*Alice de Newenham lies here. God have mercy on her soul*").

The style of the lettering on these monuments is again a very important consideration. In both cases the forms of the letters are more elaborate and elegant than on the Great Bookham slab, while the execution is superior: in spite of their battered state, the Mickleham inscriptions display considerable skill on the part of their carver. Though there is a certain similarity in the form of the letter E between the Mickleham and Stoke D'Abernon monuments, it is clear that in other respects the lettering on the Mickleham specimens is more advanced stylistically than that on either of the other two slabs under discussion, and this may well suggest a later date.

The stylistic dating of the Mickleham slabs, unlike the other two examples under discussion, can fortunately be supported to some extent by documentary evidence. A John de Newenham is recorded as early as 1272, buying land in Effingham,[5] but the earliest connection that I can find between the family and Mickleham is in 1332, when Alice de Nywenham of Mickleham was taxed 8^d.[6] This Alice, very likely the same person as the Alice de Nywenham (sister of Robert de Nywenham the vicar of Chobham) who is mentioned in a document of 1343 connected with lands in Chobham,[7] should not be confused with "Alice de Bocham (Bookham) called de Nywenham" who was granted land in Bookham in 1279.[8] This earlier Alice may have been the mother of Alice the sister of Robert de Nywenham, for a document of 1324/5 refers to land in Bookham being sold by Robert "son and heir of Alice de Newenham of Coveham" (Cobham).[9] If this land is the same as that referred to in the charter of 1279, it was presumably inherited by Robert from his mother, in which case the earlier Alice must have died before 1325. Although I have unfortunately been unable to discover when the later Alice de Nywenham of Mickleham died, we at least know that she was certainly alive in 1332, and probably in 1343.

A John de Newenham living in Mickleham at about the same time is also recorded: in 1340 an inquisition was held at Leatherhead at the suit of Rose daughter of John de Newenham, concerning land in Mickleham which her father had allegedly acquired illegally, but which was subsequently ordered to be returned to her.[10] I can find no other record of this John de Newenham; there seems to be no evidence to connect him with the John Nywenham who was rector of Little Bookham in 1370–72,[11] and it is most unlikely that they are the same person. But at least we know that he was dead by 1340, and though no exact years are available, both the Mickleham slabs can now be dated on reasonably strong evidence to somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century; this is, of course, assuming that the John and Alice de Newenham whom they commemorate are the same

The Parish Church of St. Nicolas, Great Bookham.
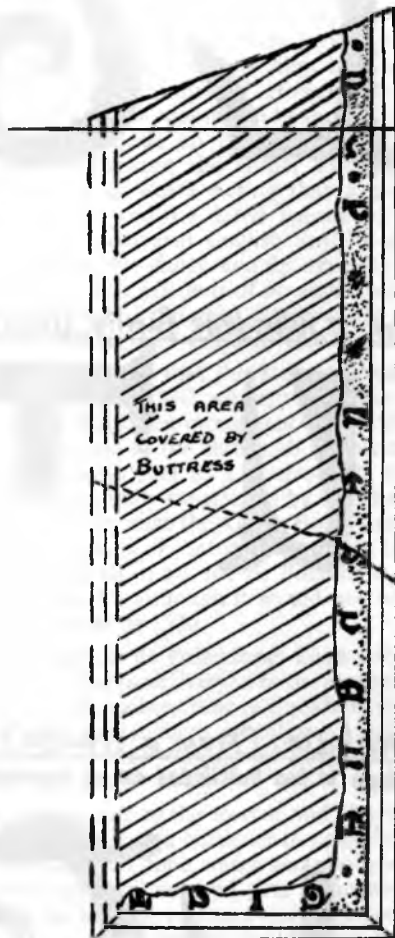
At this point the buttress joins the west wall of the tower.

GRAVE-SLAB TO A MEMBER OF THE DE POLLESDENE FAMILY (BUILT INTO THE BUTTRESS ON THE WEST WALL OF THE TOWER)

N.B. DOTTED AREAS AROUND EDGE OF SLAB REPRESENT PARTS DAMAGED AND MISSING.

THIS AREA COVERED BY BUTTRESS

N E W

0   1ft.   2ft.
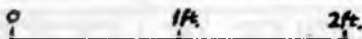
P. J. Shelton

<u>Stoke D'Abernon: Richard the Little.</u> (Based on R.M. Johnston's drawing and tracings of the letters)

<u>Great Bookham:</u> A member of the de Polesdene family. (From a tracing)

<u>Mickleham:</u> Probably John de Newenham. (From a tracing.)
(The lettering on the slab to Alice de Newenham is too mutilated to be reproduced.)

W.J.B.
1971.

SCALE IN INCHES.

It should be noted that both the straight and curled forms of the letter T were in use throughout the 13th and early 14th centuries, though the curled form is more common on slabs.

EXAMPLES OF LETTERING FROM THREE GRAVE~SLABS.

people as those mentioned in the documents, but as no record of anyone else of either of their names living at Mickleham can be traced, the probability of this being so is very high indeed.

It is very doubtful whether the forms of Lombardic letters can normally be used with any confidence for dating monuments: stylistic development must have varied greatly from workshop to workshop and from region to region, and incised slabs dating from as early as the 1260's exist on the Continent bearing inscriptions rather similar in form to those on the Mickleham examples.[12] However, in parishes so near each other as the three under discussion,[13] it seems reasonable to suppose that such development was probably constant, and thus to conclude on stylistic grounds that the Great Bookham slab dates from somewhere in between the earlier example at Stoke D'Abernon and the later pair at Mickleham. It is worth noting that a comparison between the letters on the Stoke D'Abernon slab and the dated specimens illustrated in H. S. Kingsford's article "The Epigraphy of Mediaeval English Seals"[14] gives the dates 1257, 1257 and 1263 for H, L and P respectively—fairly closely agreeing with Johnston's suggestion of c. 1230–50. Unfortunately, this article is of no assistance where the other slabs are concerned, and it is clear that owing to the very slight nature of the changes that occurred in the forms of Lombardic letters, any evidence that it seems to provide must be treated with caution.

Assuming, then, that the Stoke D'Abernon slab dates from c. 1255 and the pair at Mickleham from c. 1340, we arrive, on the evidence of its inscription, at a tentative date for the Great Bookham monument of c. 1290–1310. However, another factor which affects dating—the shape of the slab itself—has not yet been considered. The evidence of dated inscriptions shows that as a general rule the tapered form predominated until c. 1350, when it was gradually superseded by the rectangular. Earlier examples of rectangular slabs exist, but the fact that the Great Bookham specimen, alone among the four monuments under discussion, is of that shape suggests that it may be a little later than the dates given above. Taking all in all, the de Pollesdene slab is probably most likely to date from the period c. 1300–30, although it would not be impossible for it to have been made as early as 1280 or as late as 1350.

Out of all the de Pollesdenes known to have lived in the area during this period (see appendix) the one most likely to be the person commemorated seems to be John de Pollesdene, who held land for a long time in Bookham and died in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. But this is mere speculation, and except for the unlikely event of the missing fragment of the slab turning up during future alterations in the church, we shall never know for certain.

At the request of the Rector and churchwardens, the slab was treated with an epoxy resin formulated with a hardener to consolidate the surface and prevent further crumbling. After this had been done, and when photographs and drawings of the inscription had been made, the latter was covered over again with lime-mortar, the loose flints replaced in the wall, and the buttress restored to its former appearance. However, this was done in such a way that it would not be very difficult for the inscription to be uncovered again if the need ever arises.

APPENDIX: THE DE POLLESDENE FAMILY

HERBERT DE POLLESDENE. Selling land "in Pollesdene" in 1198.[15]

WALTER DE POLESDON. Buying land "in Fecham and Pollesdene" in 1202.[16]

GUNNILDA DE POLLESDENE. Selling land "in Pollesden" in 1229.[17]

THOMAS DE POLLESDEN. Married Sarah de Woodham, widow of Reginald le Taylur, soon after the latter's death in 1239.[18] Thomas and Sarra de Pollesden selling land "in Gundeslee" in 1241.[19] Thomas died shortly before January 1244.[20] Two undated documents[21] show that he had lands in Chertsey.

RICHARD DE POLLESDENE. Granted a ditch in Bookham by the Abbot of Chertsey in 1243/4.[22] Some undated documents in the Chertsey Cartulary refer to Richard; these are mostly connected with Bookham, but one of them[23] shows that he also held land in Chertsey. Richard occurs as witness to a charter in Bookham in 1269/71,[24] and the latest firmly dated reference to him that I have found is the record of his presence at an inquisition held at Dorking in 1276.[25] However, he is a witness to a charter in Bookham[26] which, though undated, is considered by the editors of the Chertsey Cartulary to be late in the reign of Edward I. This suggests that Richard may have lived on into the 1290s.

WILLIAM DE POLLESDENE. His name occurs in conjunction with Richard's in an undated document[27] concerning land in Chertsey (a meadow called Pollemed, referred to elsewhere as Pollesdenesmed). The Close Rolls for 1291[28] refer to William and Godwin de Pollesdon among a group of people with lands in Sussex and Surrey, and since a Godwyn is known to have held land in Bookham in 1296 (see below), a link exists between this William de Pollesdene and the Bookham family. Various documents of the early fourteenth century mention a William de Pollesden in Berkshire, and two men of the same name (father and son) in Wiltshire, but I have found no evidence to connect these with the de Pollesdenes in Surrey.

JOHN DE POLLESDENE. Occurs as witness to charters in Bookham in 1273[29] and 1279.[30] He was a juror at an inquisition concerning Effingham church conducted by the Sheriff of Surrey in 1295 and 1299,[31] and had presumably died or left the area by 1335, when William de Crofte and Nicholas de Bergh held the "tenement of Polesdene, which used to be held by John de Polesden".[32] The 1332 Tax Assessment[33] mentions John and Gilbert de Pollesdene under Betchworth and Brockham, but there is no evidence to connect this John with the one living in Bookham in the late thirteenth century, and it seems unlikely, in view of the difference in dates, that they are the same person.

GODWIN DE POLLESDON. Mentioned in the Close Rolls for 1291 among a group of people with lands in Sussex and Surrey (see above). Godwyn de Polesden was buying land "in Boukham" in 1296.[34]

GILBERT DE POLESDEN. Occurs, along with John de Polesden, in the 1332 Tax Assessment under Betchworth and Brockham (see above).

NOTES

1. P. M. Johnston, "Great Bookham Church", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XXVII, London (1914), p. 109.
2. P. M. Johnston, "Stoke D'Abernon Church", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XX, London (1907), p. 45. L. Weaver, *Memorials and Monuments*, London (1915), p. 329, reproduces the lettering from a tracing, but rather inaccurately.
3. It should be noted that in this context, "Sir" does not imply knighthood: it is a courtesy title for a clergyman, more or less equivalent to our "Reverend", though it was sometimes used to indicate a priest who had not graduated at a university. It is not clear whether "le Petit" is a hereditary surname, or whether it indicates that he was himself physically short.
4. P. F. Robinson, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Age of the Church of Mickleham in Surrey*, London (1824), p. 18.
5. "Surrey Feet of Fines", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, extra Vol. I, Guildford (1894), p. 48, No. 279.
6. *The 1332 Tax Assessment*, Surrey Record Society, Vol. XI, part A, London (1922), p. 74.

7. The Exchequer Cartulary of Chertsey Abbey: P.R.O. E.164/25. Printed as *The Chertsey Cartulary*, Surrey Record Society, Vol. XII, London (1958), part 2, No. 790.
8. *Ibid.*, part 2, No. 996.
9. *Ibid.*, part 2, No. 966.
10. *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III* (covering the years 1339–41); London (1901), p. 389. Also *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*; Vol. II, London (1916), No. 1690.
11. *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 2, Nos. 799–801.
12. For example, the fine slab to Pierres du Mesnil, dated 1266, in Rouen Archaeological Museum, illustrated as plate 15 of W. F. Creeny, *Illustrations of Incised Slabs on the Continent of Europe*, London (1891).
13. It does not of course follow from the fact that the four slabs under discussion are geographically near each other that their inscriptions were cut in the same area. But there is evidence to suggest that one of them at least—the slab at Stoke D'Abernon—was made at some central workshop and had its inscription added locally: Johnston notes the fact that part of the cross has been cut away to make room for the lettering, which would scarcely be the case if both had been carved by the same craftsman. The practice of workshops mass-producing standard cross-slabs, for the inscriptions to be added by local masons when required, may well have been commonplace. A slab rather similar to the Stoke D'Abernon example (though without an inscription), and perhaps from the same workshop, exists in Albury old church (see drawing in P. M. Johnston, "Albury Old Church", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XXXIV, London (1921), p. 58). The only other Surrey examples known to me of mediaeval grave-slabs with incised marginal inscriptions are the monument to Alein Ferthing, 1349, in the retro-choir of Southwark Cathedral, and a fragment in Guildford Museum, though slabs bearing the matrices of individual brass letters exist at Albury (old church), Effingham, Nutfield, and Stoke D'Abernon (see Mill Stephenson, *A list of Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, reprint, Bath, 1970).
14. *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXXIX, Oxford (1929), pp. 149–78.
15. "Surrey Feet of Fines", p. 2, No. 19.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 5, No. 31.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 16, No. 140.
18. Surrey Eyre Common Pleas, P.R.O. J.I.1/867, m. 2d, and J.I.1/869, ms. 2, 2d. Information quoted in *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 2, p. lxviii.
19. "Surrey Feet of Fines", p. 23, No. 239.
20. Remission, January 1244, P.R.O. K.B. 26/131, m. 10d. Information quoted in *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 2, p. lxviii. Also see Writ, November 1243, P.R.O. E.163/1/27, m. 1d.
21. *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 1, Nos. 322 and 323.
22. *Ibid.*, part 2, No. 1000.
23. *Ibid.*, part 1, No. 225.
24. *Ibid.*, part 2, No. 961; undated, but the approximate date has been calculated by the editors.
25. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, Vol. I, London (1916), No. 1029.
26. *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 2, No. 995.
27. *Ibid.*, part 1, No. 157.
28. *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward I*, Vol. III, London (1904), p. 190.
29. B.M. Add. Roll 5569. I am indebted for this information to Mr. F. B. Benger's article on Polesden in these *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 9, Leatherhead (1955), p. 25.
30. *Chertsey Cartulary*, part 2, No. 997.
31. Major A. Heales, "Effingham Church", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. IX, London (1888), pp. 369–70, 390–1.
32. Chertsey Abbey Court Rolls: Lansdowne MS. 434, f. 82r. Printed as *Chertsey Abbey Court Rolls Abstract*, Surrey Record Society, Vol. XXI, London (1954), p. 73.
33. *The 1332 Tax Assessment*, p. 38.
34. "Surrey Feet of Fines", p. 65, No. 58.

SWEECH HOUSE (Nos. 2, 4 and 6 Gravel Hill), LEATHERHEAD

By JOHN H. HARVEY, F.S.A.

THIS, the finest early secular building to survive in Leatherhead, well exemplifies the difficulties of research, both structural and documentary. Theories formed at an early stage of investigation (1943–46) and based on general typology, proved to be mistaken, and it was not until after restoration of the fabric had been completed in 1951 that the essential factors were available for discussion. Even so, the history of the property remains problematical, and the building itself has many puzzling features.

At a stranger's first glimpse Sweech House, in the centre of a modern town, seems an anomaly. Why, it may well be asked, should a building of considerable age, set in almost rural surroundings, occupy space cheek-by-jowl with the developed premises of twentieth-century business. We know the reason so far as it belongs to our own times: a quarter-century ago the property was acquired by the late Mr. Herbert K. Reeves and given to the Leatherhead and District Countryside Protection Society. It is owing to this act of generosity and foresight that Leatherhead keeps, besides its parish church, a speaking relic of its ancient social past.

To understand how it was possible for such evidence of rural life to remain at the middle of an urban area we have to consider the kind of settlement that Leatherhead

represents. It is, like so many other early towns, the development at a river-crossing and its name probably means "the public ford" through the Mole.[1] Because of its central position in Surrey, Leatherhead was for a time the county town and probably received this dignity at the institution of County Courts by King Alfred himself. Alfred possessed an estate in Leatherhead which he left by will to his son Edward, and it is likely that this personal link with the great king of the house of Wessex was responsible for promoting Leatherhead to high rank which it later lost. By a century or so after the Norman Conquest (probably by 1195) the courts had gone to Guildford.[2]

All the same, there is the evidence of the place-name "Borough Hill" (now Gravel Hill) that Leatherhead may for a time have been a borough—at any rate in the sense of a fortified place. It was certainly not one of the burhs of Wessex which formed defended centres at the compilation of the Burghal Hidage around 915.[3] But then neither was Guildford; Eashing and Southwark (still known as *The* Borough) were the only Surrey burhs early in the tenth century. Yet the origin and long survival of the name of Borough Hill needs explanation.[4] As we have just seen, it cannot mean that Leatherhead was an original burh of Wessex; but on the other hand, such a name is not likely to have arisen after the Conquest. First, to set out the forms of the name in order of date: in the early fourteenth century there lived in Leatherhead a certain William *de Burgh* or *ate Burgh* or *atte Berghe*, who may well have taken his name from living at that part of the town known as the "burgh";[5] and by 1585 a certain place in the town of Leatherhead was known as *Burghyll*.[6] During the seventeenth century this area became *Borowehill, Borahill* and *Burrow Hill*,[7] and in the eighteenth *Burrows, Burrough* and *Borough Hill*.[8] Finally the equivalence with the modern name of the lane on which Sweech House stands is stated explicitly in a deed of 1808.[9]

Six different freehold properties and one copyhold house were described in the manorial rentals as being "at Burrow Hill". The copyhold formed the first part of the island site to be enclosed out of the common waste or green and was where the War Memorial now stands. Owing to the fact that manorial presentments of freeholds (recorded in the court rolls) were less scrupulously recorded than the transfers of copyholds (in which the Lord of the Manor had a greater interest), the detailed history of Sweech House is lost. From the modern title deeds, supplemented by other sources, it is possible to draw up a list of some of the owners (see Appendix) and to obtain descriptions of the property as it was at earlier dates. The earliest secure fact is derived from the plan of Leatherhead in 1782–3 which shows the premises as parcel No. 132, a freehold of 1 rood 21 perches belonging to the estate of William Wade, Esq. By 1841, when the Tithe survey was made, the plot was shown as subdivided and the total area calculated at only 1 rood 16 perches.[10]

The property had been settled, after William Wade's death in 1810, on his daughter Catherine wife of James Shearman, and there is evidence that it had formerly belonged to Henry Gore (died 1777), Wade's father-in-law. James Shearman, described in his will as "Gent.", left in trust "all those my Freehold Barns Tenements and Premises called the Switch premises in Leatherhead and my Freehold Field called the Fair Field" with benefit to his wife Catherine for life.[11] He predeceased her on 28th November, 1831, aged 41; she died on 14th December, 1841,[12] and after her death the property was sold.[13] The importance of this sale of 1843 lies in the fact that the particulars mention the root of title as the will of Henry Gore, Esq., dated 10th February, 1777, and describe the premises in detail. At that time the house (Lot One) was

"A piece or parcel of valuable Freehold Land, Forming the South side of Gravel Hill, an exceedingly improvable locality, and which is now used as Gardens, with
FOUR COTTAGES or TENEMENTS thereon,
Enclosed on three sides by a substantial Flint Wall, occupying a frontage of 93 feet, measuring 97 feet in the rear, 121 feet 8 inches on the North side, and 108 feet on the South side, be these admeasurements a little more or less.

APPORTIONED LAND TAX 14s. 0¾d., per Annum.
The Purchaser will be required to make and maintain a sufficient Fence on the South
side of the Property adjoining lot 2."

Lot Two had a frontage of 56 feet 4 inches next the street and had on it "Two well-
built timbered Barns, Covered with Tiles;" one of them 40 feet by 20 feet, the other 33 feet
by 17 feet, "a portion of which is occupied as a Stable. There is also a Straw House and
2 Cattle Sheds, the residue . . . are used as a Yard and Farm Yard . . ." The Land Tax
was 10s. 11¼d. a year. Lot Three consisted of 1 Acre 3 Roods 3 Perches of sound pasture
land, freehold, known as "The Fair Field, From the circumstance of the ancient Annual
Fair having been long held here, and from which a considerable income has and may
continue to be obtained." The Land Tax on this was 9s. 4½d. a year.

The facts that the house was divided into four cottages, but was set in a Farm Yard
and was held along with a neighbouring (though not immediately adjacent) part of the
Fair Field, seem significant. The occupiers in 1843 were "the Widow Bromwell and others",
corresponding with those shown by the Tithe Award of 1841 as William Brummel, Thomas
Chapman, Susan Taylor and Charles Lee. The Census of 1841, though it placed Susan
Taylor elsewhere, enables us to people the various parts of the building with a total of
six adults and thirteen persons under 21. Since the Brummel or Brumwell family occupied
the yard and barns at the south end, their tenement was probably the part of the house
known as No. 2. The family consisted of William Brumwell, general dealer, 50, with his
wife Mary, 45, and their children William, Maria and Mary. In the next house (No. 4)
were Thomas Chapman, 35, his wife Elizabeth, 40, and five children. In No. 6 (probably)
were Charles Lee, agricultural labourer, 40, his wife Sarah, 45, and a family of five.[14] Ten
years later the next Census provides discrepancies and puzzles, but Mary Brumwell, widow,
62, appears as a Cow Keeper, living with her daughter Mary, 28, and granddaughter Mary,
a scholar of 7; and sharing the tenement with Margaret Robertson, a widow of 74, and
with another family: William Oakshott, sadler, 28, with his wife and two children. No. 4
now had the widowed Sarah Lee, described as a "Fundholder", with four of her children
and Henry Rumsey, a "Nurse Child" of 5 months. It is a curious commentary upon the
mixture of urban and rural life that Charles Lee, "agricultural labourer", should have
married Sarah, sister of James Shearman, "Gent."; her change of fortune to "Fundholder"
was due to her brother's bequest of an interest in the premises.[15] No. 6 had only a single
couple in 1851, George Childs, agricultural labourer of 64, and his wife Barbery, aged 60.[16]

The first fully detailed rate assessments are of the same period and throw light on the
property from a different angle. Taken in conjunction with the Tithe Award and the
Sale Particulars they make it possible to work out the arrangements. In February 1843
Mrs. Brumwell was occupying No. 2 and the yard and barns: the house's rental was £5
and of this £4 was rateable, and the same figures appear for the farm yard. At a rate of
3d. in the £, Mrs. Brumwell paid 2s. in all. Each of the three other tenements in the building
was likewise rented at £5; that of Thomas Chapman (whose name is struck out and "Ives"
substituted) and that of Widow Taylor were rated at £4 each; that of Charles Lee was
rated at the full £5. In 1845 Mrs. Brumwell was rated for "Switch Farm" and for two
cottages, while William Ives and Mrs. Lee had the other two cottages, rated at £3 and £4
respectively.[17] Meanwhile, in 1844–5 a pair of brick cottages (now Nos. 8 and 10 Gravel
Hill) had been built on the north end of the garden, abutting on the north wall of No. 6.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, then, the building was a farmhouse together
with cottages, some occupied by agricultural labourers. It was called Switch or Sweech
Farm and took this name from the open land in front, the green called "The Sweech" on
Gwilt's plan of 1782–3. What was this Switch or Sweech? It is possible that it merely
means the junction of North Street and Gravel Hill, the division being a "switch" in a
sense analogous to that of rail or tramway points, derived from branching off, as a switch

does from a tree. On the other hand, the word has been connected with Old English *swice*, a trap or snare, as implying places where snares were set to catch wild animals. Place-names involving this word are Sweech Farms in Kent at Elmstone and at Sturry,[18] and Swedge Farm near Angmering in Sussex. The rural note again intrudes into the centre of the town.

It is possible to carry back the story a little way beyond 1841, for the title deeds of Lot 3 in the 1843 sale recite certain earlier documents.[19] Catherine Shearman's will of 27th January, 1832, had a codicil of 25th February, 1833, which described "all those four Cottages or Tenements near Gravel Hill in Leatherhead and the Barn Stables Sheds and Outbuildings thereto belonging called the Sweech in the tenure of Thomas Sparkes and others", while the premises included were said to have been "formerly Three Cottages or Tenements with a Barn and Stable and were part of Clare's Farm and were situate near Fair Field and contained One rood and 23 perches and were afterwards called the Sweech and were in the occupation of Thomas Sparkes and others . . . now or lately . . . in the occupation of Widow Bromwell and others." The fact that the property had been part of Clare's Farm enables it to be identified in the Land Tax returns of 1780–1832.[20] In 1780 William Wade, beside land in his own occupation, was owner of eight other parcels on which his tenants paid the tax. By far the largest of these blocks of land, rented at £100 a year, was in the occupation of James Claer, Clear or Clare until 1808; by 1810 it was described as "Late Jas. Claer." Since Clare was a subtenant of Wade for this extensive group of properties indiscriminately, the only further information comes from the parish rates, which in 1768 show James Clare as assessed on his own farm at £37 6s. 8d., with "more for Mr. Ede's", rated at £2 6s. 8d., and "more for Bocket Farm", with an assessment of £26 13s. 4d.[21] This was before the Sweech premises came into Wade's hands, but Clare may have been subtenant under Gore at an earlier date.

The problem of the history of the house before it came to Henry Gore (1719–77) remains to be faced. We have seen the premises described as four cottages, formerly three cottages, with the implication that in Clare's time they were inhabited by his farm labourers. The period of subdivision into four is structurally confirmed by the existence of four separate staircases, two of which were in the central part of the house, "No. 4". But it is far from clear what the original arrangements had been. The cottage at the north end, No. 6, was always entirely separate, but the structural history of Nos. 2 and 4 was extremely complex. The uncertainty regarding the number of cottages comprised at given dates has unfortunate repercussions on the interpretation of the documents.

From the Sale Particulars of 1843 it is established that the Sweech premises had belonged to Henry Gore; they therefore formed part of the "all and singular my Freehold Estates" which Gore left by will to his son-in-law William Wade and daughter Catherine and their heirs.[22] The Wades were duly admitted to all such estates in Leatherhead at the court held for the Manor of Pachenesham on 14th October, 1778.[23] Gore also held Copy-holds, which he surrendered to the use of his will on 11th May, 1762, as Henry Gore, of Fetcham, Esq.[24] Gore had acquired property from several sources, and therein lies the difficulty. We may in the first place dismiss the bequest from his uncle, Lieutenant-General the Hon. Humphry Gore, of "all my Real Estate whatsoever and wheresoever", for this was left only with a contingent remainder to heirs male of Henry Gore and in default— as happened—to Humphry Gore's niece Elizabeth Thompson.[25]

From entries in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Pachenesham and from other sources we learn a good deal about the acquisition of various other properties in Leatherhead by Henry Gore in the period 1739–1761, and these can largely be identified with houses and parcels of land owned by William Wade at the time of Gwilt's survey in 1782–3 and also returned in a Quit Rental of Freehold and Copyhold tenants, dated 30th April, 1783.[26] Although no absolute proof is forthcoming, it is extremely probable that the Sweech

premises were those acquired by Henry Gore in a series of complex transactions completed on 22nd June, 1761. These consisted of "four small messuages or tenements situate in Leatherhead . . . with a Yard Barn Stable and a small Garden thereunto or to some or one of them belonging." They had belonged to Alexander Akehurst of Leatherhead who, on 9th November, 1737, had mortgaged them with his other property in Leatherhead, "Patsham otherwise Packenham" and Fetcham, for 500 years as security for a loan of £400. They had, before that date, been in the several occupations of William Roffey, John Mansell, Ann Lucas spinster and John Lucas.[27]

It has been shown with a high degree of probability that Akehurst's estate in Leatherhead consisted mainly of the reputed Manor of Minchin.[28] This was a scattered property of some 40 acres granted in 1366 by Roger de Apperdele to the Prioress and Convent of Kilburn in Middlesex. After the dissolution in 1536 this Leatherhead property was granted, in 1541, to Thomas Stydolf of Mickleham, and it remained in his family until after 1604. Afterwards it passed to Edmund Tylney (died 1610) and soon after his death to Charles Howard, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (died 1642). The manor, probably still intact, passed from Nottingham's widow Mary (died 1651) to Charles Cokaine and to the latter's son Bryen, Viscount Cullen, who on 4th June, 1662, sold the lands to Anthony Taylor.[29] By 1674 "Doc^r Akers" was occupying The Mansion (which was the manorhouse of Minchin) and this was the elder Alexander Akehurst, father of the mortgagor of 1737.[30]

Of the earliest named tenants of Sweech House nothing is certainly known. In the parish rate of 1722 there appear "John Lucas or Coe" assessed at £2, and "John Lucas sen^r" who paid rates on £7. From the registers it appears that there were several Leatherhead men of the name in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. John Lucas, son of John, was baptised on 21st May, 1690, and his sister Ann Lucas on 4th June, 1707; these may have been the occupiers of two of the cottages. One William Roffey or Roffee was buried in 1742, and his son of the same name, baptised 21st February, 1709/10, married Elizabeth Howard on 6th June, 1737, and was buried on 15th October, 1761.[31]

Having related the incompletely recorded story of the property we can now appreciate better the reasons for its rural intrusion into the town. Minchin was merely a scattered estate belonging to a distant religious house and as such could only be profitably administered by subletting to tenants. This policy long survived the dissolution of Kilburn Priory, and there was never sufficient incentive to break the leases or to buy out the tenants, even though by 1843 the yards were described as "very desirable either for the purposes of Trade or Speculative Improvements."[32] Similarly the subdivision of Leatherhead between the interests of a number of manorial lords inhibited enclosure and redevelopment of the Common Fields, including the Fair Field close by the town centre. The Fair itself continued,[33] and the Common Fields were not enclosed until 1862,[34] very nearly the last in the county. Leatherhead thus retained until recent times the interweaving of urban and rural life typical of the Middle Ages.

Finally something must be said of Sweech House itself and the extent to which recorded history can be supplemented by archaeological evidence. Inasmuch as the building presents a spuriously homogeneous picture, resembling a hall-house with cross-wings at both ends, it must be clearly stated that this impression is false. Both of the end "wings" existed as separate houses before the centre was filled in with one (or two) additional dwellings. The southern range, No. 2, is certainly the oldest section, and smoke blackening on the western face of a plastered partition in the roof may indicate that it formerly had an open hall in the (western) front part of the range, projecting further onto Gravel Hill (the brick gable wall is a relatively modern re-fronting). This was certainly the original farmhouse, next to the yards and barns, and may have been built at the end of the fifteenth century on the site of an earlier house.

The structure has been altered by the insertion of a great fireplace and brick chimney-

stack against the cross-wall on the front (hall) side, but with the fireplace towards the room at the rear, the original chamber thus converted into the kitchen. Behind this room an added bay contains a dairy on the ground floor and a staircase lit by a small unglazed window of late mediaeval or Tudor character. This added bay is itself probably of the first half of the sixteenth century, and was structurally linked to the earlier side-framing by underpinning with a continuous timber ground-sill, in which a seating was formed for the base of the old angle-post at the south-east corner of the original house.

At the north end of the site, higher up the hill, a second house was built in a later style of framing, seen both in the front and back gables. This closely resembles in structural character, and particularly in having a jetty along the downhill side (later concealed within No. 4), the fabric of Nos. 24/26 Church Street, Leatherhead, provisionally dateable to about the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[35] Still later, though not after the middle of the seventeenth century, the space between the two earlier houses was filled in and provided with a great fireplace surmounted by a fine brick chimney-stack. Remains of wall-paintings help to date this part of the building, as those above the fireplace are regarded by Mr. E. Clive Rouse, M.B.E., F.S.A., as of two periods, in the late sixteenth century, and possibly *c*. 1700.[36] There is some confirmatory evidence for this dating.[37]

Relating the structural to the documentary evidence, we may say that No. 2 is the original farmhouse and was built (or more probably rebuilt) at the close of the Middle Ages, and enlarged soon afterwards. If the premises did indeed belong to Kilburn Priory, the building was either an investment for purposes of rental or erected under a building lease. The other tenements were built after the period of the dissolution, over the three centuries from *c*. 1545 to 1845, and represent exploitation of the possibilities of the frontage by lay landlords.

NOTES

1. E. Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v.
2. J. H. Harvey in *Proceedings L.H.S.*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1947), pp. 10–11; but Leatherhead may again have been the county town in the sixteenth century—see *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, p. 68.
3. D. Hill in *Medieval Archaeology*, XIII (1969), pp. 84–92.
4. It appears on George Gwilt's plan of 1782–3, reproduced in *Proceedings L.H.S.*, Vol. 2 (1963), at p. 206; cf. pp. 169–70 (1962).
5. Surrey Record Office, S.C.6/2; P.R.O., C.135/70(3).
6. Minet Library, deed D.47.
7. Minet Library, deeds G.47, J.47, K.47, T.47, V.47. Quitt Rentall of Pachensham & Leatherhead, 1693 (transcribed from original in the possession of Gilbert H. Grantham, Esq.; Surrey Record Office, S.C.6/27, 28).
8. Surrey Record Office, S.C.6/17, 18, 19, 20, 21; for Gwilt's plan see note 4 above.
9. Indentures of 8 and 9 December, 1808, conveying a freehold from Charles Killick of Mitcham and Mary his wife to James Sykes of Leatherhead.
10. Map and Award, Tithe Redemption Commission.
11. P.C.C., 51 Tenterden.
12. Memorial Inscriptions, Leatherhead.
13. Auction Sale Particulars, Messrs. White & Sons, Dorking, of sale on 26th April, 1843.
14. P.R.O., H.O.107/1070.
15. Will of James Shearman, P.C.C., 51 Tenterden.
16. P.R.O., H.O.107/1592.
17. Poor Rate Books, Leatherhead Urban District Council.
18. J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (1934), pp. 515, 518; cf. English Place-Name Society, XIX, *Cambridgeshire* (1943), p. 347.

19. Conveyance of 31st August, 1843, to William Streeter, inspected at Lloyds' Bank, Leatherhead, 20th November, 1947.
20. Surrey Record Office, Quarter Sessions 6/7.
21. Parish Books, Leatherhead Church.
22. P.C.C., 310 Collier.
23. Surrey Record Office, S.C.6/21, pp. 61, 63.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 5; the surrender is also mentioned in Henry Gore's will, see note 22 above.
25. Will of the Hon. Humphry Gore, 11th June, 1737, proved 20th August, 1739, P.C.C., 178 Henchman.
26. Surrey Record Office, S.C.6/19, pp. 11, 83; S.C.6/20, part II, pp. 7, 37, 65; P.C.C., Limited Admon. of William Wade, 1820, June; Rental in S.C.6/19, p. 100.
27. P.C.C., Limited Admon., see above; P.R.O., C.12/495/11, 795/23; wills of Sarah Stebbing (P.C.C. 224 Anstis) and John Stebbing (P.C.C., 231 Glazier). Though Gore did not finally secure the mortgaged term of 500 years until 1761, he had by Lease and Release of 13/14 February, 1743/4 bought the freehold from Akehurst.
28. F. B. Benger, "The Mansion, Leatherhead", in *Proceedings L.H.S.*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (1953), pp. 7–12.
29. *History of the Families of Skeet, Somerscales, etc.* (1906), p. 35; a reference which I owe to the late Major B. Campbell Cooke, County Archivist of West Sussex.
30. In January 1662/3 Alexander Akers alias Akehurst, obtained a Faculty Office licence to marry Bennet Thornhaugh. The Leatherhead parish registers record the baptism of three of their daughters in 1666–9, ending with Martha on on 1st February, 1668/9, and the burial of Bennett, wife of Dr. Akehurst on 9th August, 1684. On 23rd June, 1686, "old Mrs. Akehurst, mother of Dr. Akehurst" was buried, and on 22nd May, 1707, "Mr. Alex. Akehurst". In August 1712 administration of the goods of Alexander Akehurst, late of Leatherhead, widower, deceased, was granted to his daughter, Martha Akehurst, spinster (P.C.C., Admon. Acts 1712). That the mortgagor of 1737 was son of an earlier Alexander Akehurst is proved by the recital, in the 1758–9 case of *Boulton* v. *Akehurst* (P.R.O., C.13/495/11) of an indenture of mortgage dated 18th February, 1703/4 entered into by "Alexander Akehurst father of the said Alexander Akehurst". The son, "of Leatherhead, Gent.", was living on 22nd June, 1761, when he was a party to the transaction by which Henry Gore finally acquired the mortgaged term in the properties.
31. Leatherhead Parish Registers, 1656–1840, indexed transcript.
32. Sale Particulars, see note 13 above.
33. It was a Lammas Fair held on 1st August (St. Peter ad Vincula), under charter of 1331 (V.C.H. *Surrey*, III, 1911, p. 295).
34. W. E. Tate, "Enclosure Acts and Awards relating to Lands in the County of Surrey", in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XLVIII (1943), p. 146.
35. *Proceedings L.H.S.*, Vol. 1, No. 10 (1956), pp. 17–19. The joists throughout No. 6 Gravel Hill are numbered in incised Roman numerals, quite compatible with work of the second half of the sixteenth century.
36. Report dated 15th February, 1950, and later personal communication. At the back of the stack painted imitation "brickwork" in Old English Bond was regarded by Mr. Rouse as probably of the late seventeenth century.
37. The beam over the fireplace has been dated dendrochronologically by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A., to a date of felling after *c.* 1480, perhaps up to 50 years later; but the timber may have been re-used. On the beam's chamfer Mr. F. B. Benger discovered the initials 'T.P.' neatly incised in several places; and elsewhere 'E.T.' in letters possibly of Elizabethan date.

APPENDIX: OWNERS OF THE SWEECH PREMISES

(See text for the uncertain early history)

–1777	Henry Gore (died 1777), father of Catherine Gore.
1777–1810	William Wade (died 1810), husband of Catherine Gore.
1810–1816	Confused administration of estate.
1816–1831	James Shearman (died 1831); married Catherine, daughter of William Wade.
1831–1842	Catherine Shearman (died 1842), widow of James Shearman.
1843 April 4	Sold by Auction in 3 lots.
1843–1861	William Streater (died 1861).
1861–1885	Eliza Hands (died 1885), daughter of William Streater and wife of Johnson Hands of Epsom.
1886–1897	⎰ Edward Ryde Butcher of Dorking, surveyor and auctioneer, and his executors (No. 2) ⎱ John Symonds of Leatherhead, butcher (Nos. 4 and 6).

1897–1899	William James Mercer of Leatherhead, butcher.
1899–1910	George Brown, proprietor of the Swan Hotel, Leatherhead.
1910–1919	Eliza Louise Brown, wife of George Brown, settlement.
1919–	The Swan Brewery, Leatherhead, Ltd.
–1947	Messrs. Mellersh & Neale Ltd.
1947–1949	Herbert K. Reeves.
1949–	Leatherhead Countryside Protection Society.

THE DATE OF THE FIRST LEATHERHEAD BRIDGE

By D. F. RENN, F.S.A.

PREVIOUS NOTES in the *Proceedings* have quoted the documentary evidence for a "bridge in the town of Leddrede" about 1286/9, and of a "Simon of the Bridge" before 1250.[1] The latter date may be put back at least fifteen years, since two consecutive enrolments in the Surrey Assize Roll show that Symo de la Hurne and Symo de Ponte were one and the same person holding land in Leatherhead in 1235.[2] Since Simon's sobriquet may derive from some other bridge, we may speculate how much earlier than 1289 the first Leatherhead bridge might be.

The river Mole must have been regularly forded as soon as the east-west trackway—the Harroway—came into use. A ford would be at the shallowest—and therefore the widest—place on a reach of the river, whose currents would often make it best to cross the bed of the river at an oblique angle to its banks. It is surprising how many bridges were built, like Leatherhead, parallel to such fords, and of far greater length than would be necessary elsewhere on the river. It is, of course, easier to build in shallow than in deep water, but the main reason was continuity: even in flood-time, travellers would only use a bridge if it were adjacent to the ford and kept to the time-honoured route.

A bridge before the Norman conquest is very unlikely at Leatherhead. The Romans were great bridge-builders on the routes of their metalled roads, but no evidence for a bridge was found at the Stane Street crossing of the Mole when the Mickleham bypass was constructed;[3] after all, the place-name is Bur*ford*. There would be even less reason to expect a Roman bridge at Leatherhead. In the Norman period much of Surrey lay within the royal forest of Windsor, and the one main road from London to Guildford and beyond crossed the Mole at Cobham by a bridge which is said to have been built at the order of queen Matilda, who died in 1118.[4] Another permanent bridge so near as Leatherhead would have served little purpose in a sparsely-populated area restricted by forest law. Bridges required constant upkeep, and were often more of a liability than an asset to their owners. However, in 1190 the knights of Surrey proffered 200 marks to king Richard I in order "to be quit of all things that belong to the forest, from the water of Wey to Kent, and from the street of Guildford as far south as Surrey stretches" and eventually, after several more proffers, much of the county was disafforested in 1224.[5] King John was often at Guildford, and his houses and castle were repaired annually; Guildford bridge existed by 1201.

Leatherhead seems to have expanded in population and importance about this time. The most obvious evidence is the enlargement of the church with aisles about 1190 (according to the late Mr. G. H. Smith)[6] or 1210 (according to Mr. I. Nairn and Professor N. B. L. Pevsner).[7] In the summer of 1197, William de Es was granted a rent of 10s. a year from the profits of £25 worth of land in Leatherhead, and in 1200/01 Brian *Ostarius* (usher) land to the annual value of 69s. 10d.[8] These royal grants were presumably from the royal manor of Pachesham, Thorncroft being then part of the *honor* of Clare; indeed, excavations

at the site of "The Mounts" at Pachesham revealed a first phase of building and occupation *c.* 1200.[9] The three Leatherhead serjeanties connected with the king's court by 1235[10] were also presumably on the Pachesham side of the Mole. Speedy communication between these estates and the royal court would have been necessary at all times. If the king were at one of his favourite stopping-places of Farnham, Guildford, Waverley or the new castle of Odiham (to go no further afield) and the time were winter and the floods were out then a bridge across to the open ridge would have been infinitely preferable to a long diversion over heavy clay to the Cobham bridge (assuming that it did exist by then) which might be out of repair; at best, there would probably have been queues waiting to cross.

Was the thirteenth-century bridge of timber or stone? The late Mr. A. T. Ruby inclined to wood, *replaced* with stone about 1610,[11] but I believe that the evidence he cited could equally well point to an earlier stone bridge *repaired* then, and again in 1782. There was a remarkable amount of stone bridge-building during king John's reign, from the rapid completion of London Bridge right down to the spanning of quite small streams. Leatherhead bridge might well be a "King John's Bridge".

<div align="center">

[To be continued]

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NOTES

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1. *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, pages 162 and 234.
2. J. I. 1/864, m.5d. Dr. Kiralfy's transcript in the Society's records, W.81.
3. *The Times*, 25th March, 1937.
4. Manning and Bray, *A History of Surrey*, II, p. 732.
5. *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, p. 155; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 56.
6. *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, p. 248.
7. *Buildings of England: Surrey* (1962 edition), p. 289.
8. *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, p. 217; *3 John*, p. 226.
9. *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 7.
10. Manning and Bray, *A History of Surrey*, II, p. 665.
11. *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, p. 235.

LADY DIANA HOWARD'S ACCOUNT BOOKS (1691-1722)

AND EXTRACTS FROM THEM CONCERNING THE MANOR OF ASHTEAD

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

PART I

THE nine or ten folio volumes of accounts kept, first by Thomas Howard and then by his widow Lady Diana, are distributed among several different Muniment Rooms (Guildford, Kingston-on-Thames, the Minet Library, etc.), and extracts from them are worthy of publication. They throw considerable light on the running of a manor of the period and I have sorted out such of them as concern Ashtead Manor for publication as a series, as may be possible, in consecutive parts. The story of the Howards themselves I have dealt with, briefly, in an earlier series of articles in these *Proceedings*. It appears that Lady Diana was a poor speller though, since education was not usually extended to women at this period to any great extent (apart from such matters as were essential for a housewife), spelling could be considered to be unimportant in those days. (The spelling has here been altered to that of the present day for most entries.)

The earliest entries, 1691–93, were kept by Thomas Howard for his father, Sir Robert Howard, who was then still living at Ashtead Manor.

1692—Oct. 22.
"Pd. William Gardner for Mr. Buns whit(en)ing ye mundillions [*sic*]—£3-10-0."
(This probably refers to painting the elaborate cornice of the Manor House, unless "medallions" was intended implying that it had some decoration of this nature on the external walls.)
[Setting up an outside clock (?) over the stables.]

1693—Oct. 27.
"Pd. Mr. Herberts man that set up ye Clock—5-0.
[It seems that the work in preparation for the clock being set up was taking place in 1691 and '92 when the stables were being built, or rebuilt, from the following entries.]

1691—July 11.
"Pd. ye Carpenter his worke . . . 4. 4. 6.
"Pd. ye Sawyers for sawing worke for ye Clock . . . 7. 0.

1691—Augt. 22.
"Pd. John Matthews, Carpenter, his Bill. 7. 0. 0.
"Pd. him for planking ye two stables . . . 10. 0. 0.
"Pd. ye Bricklayer his Bill . . . 2. 0. 0.
[In later accounts reference is made to the "Long Stable" and to the "Short Stable" making it possible to identify them on the plan of about 1708.]

1707—Oct. 13.
"Paid the Clockmaker at Leatherhead for cleaning the Great Clock . . . 5-0.
[The chimneys were swept while the family was still in London at their town house in Westminster.]

1694/5—March 20.
"Pd. ye London Chimney Sweeper for sweeping 30 chimneys at Ashted . . .1-15-0.
1695/6—March 10.
"Pd. ye Chimney Sweeper for sweeping chimneys (number not stated) at Ashted . . . 1-0-0.
[The chimney flues were gathered into two large stacks, as shown by the sketch of the house. Some of the 30 chimneys swept would be those at the old, mediaeval, manor house which remained in use until the 19th century, hence the following entry.]

1715/16—Jan. 24.

"Pd. a Chimney Sweeper to go to Ashted [from London] by the Great (Coach) to sweep all the chimneys at both Ould [*sic*] and New Houses . . . 1-1-6.

"Given the 2 men for going down and coming up as they were directed at our house* . . . 2-0.

Given them to drink. 1-0."

[The Pigeon House appears a number of times in the accounts, viz.]

1708—Aug. 30.

"For one day cleaning the Pidgeon House . . . 1-2.

1711—April.

"To Wallis for mending the Pigeon House . . . 10-0.

1713—July 3.

"Pd. to Lee for mending the Pigeons House, and half a Hundred of Laths . . . 2-0.

1713—Nov. 20.

"Pd. him (Mr. Hill the Butcher) for two Quarters of French Wheat for the Pigeons. 1-12-0.

1715—June.

"Bill to Rich. Wallis for works including for new Silling the Slaughterhouse Door . . . 1-0.

"For putting up the Cheese Press . . . 6.

"For mending the Pigeon House . . . 6.

[Receipts for the sale of fruit.]

1705—Sept. 20.

"Rec^d. of Mr. Barnes for Black Cherries . . . 8-0-0.

"Paid him for Black Cherries I had for my own use . . . 6-0.

1706—July 23.

"Rec^d. of Wm Barnes for Cherry's in the Park . . . 8-0-0.

1705—Oct. 5.

"Rec^d. for 8 bushel of Gold^n pipins . . . 1-4-0.

1708—Aug. 5.

"Pd. for gathering the black cherrys over against Mr. Beckford's house . . . 5-0.

"Given the man that looked after them . . . 2-6.

Aug. 6. Rec^d. for the Cherrys in the Parke . . . 8-0-0.

[Fig trees grown at Ashtead Park].

1706—April 6.

"Pd. Wm. Arthur a day nailing the fig trees . . . 1-6.

[Peach trees.]

1710/11.

March 13   "Pd. Mr. Landon for Trees for Ashted, 6 peeches a matt . . . 12-6.

March 15   "Pd. Mr. Tully for going over the Water . . . 1-0.

and for Drink, about ye Peach Trees . . . 2-6.

[Cost of Parcels and Letters to Ashtead.]

1704—Dec. 2.

"Paid for the carriage of three parcels by Epsom Coach . . . 1-0.

(same day) "Paid for a Letter at Ashted . . . 4.

1704/5—Jan. 20.

"Paid with a penny post Letter . . . 1.

[To be continued]

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* Presumably the house in London

GRAFFITI IN MICKLEHAM CHURCH

By S. R. C. POULTER

AMONGST those associated with Norbury Park were William Lock, for whom the present house was built, and other members of his family who are commemorated by a plaque on the wall of the north aisle of Mickleham church. In the chantry adjoining is the tomb of William Widdowson and his wife Joan who died early in the 16th century. The chantry, known as the Norbury chapel, had a long association with the owners of Norbury Park following its acquisition by Sir Francis Stydolph from John Leaver of Fredley through a bargain and sale in 1615. When the estate was advertised for sale in 1819, "the best pew in Mickleham church" was amongst the features mentioned.

The eastern end of the Widdowson tomb has been defaced by a number of names roughly carved on it. These are not in a regular group but are listed here in the order of the dates given with them.

W. Lock 1783	(*or* 1782)
Chs. Lock 1784 (Aet 14)	
G. Lock 1785	
Captn M. Phillips 15th Augst 1789 Aet 36	(*or* 30 *or* 35)
F. Lock 1793	(*or* 1792)
F. Lock 1798	
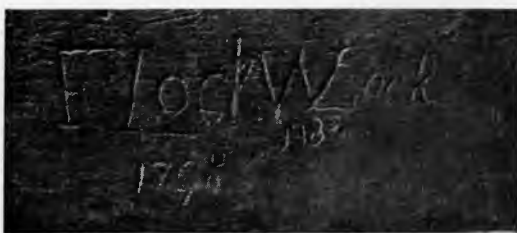
The names could have appeared at any time during the last 180 years but it is interesting to speculate on who was responsible since these are the names of the four sons of the William Lock mentioned above, together with that of a friend of the family who, between 1784 and 1795, lived at Mickleham by the entrance to Norbury Park, Captain Molesworth Phillips.

Phillips (1755–1832), of Irish descent, was commissioned in the Marines in 1776 and accompanied Cook on the latter's last voyage. He was one of the few who made their escape from the beach in Hawaii when Cook was killed in 1797 and, although himself

injured, saved a comrade who was unable to swim. In 1782 Phillips was married to Susan Burney, sister of Fanny and James (another of Cook's officers).

Whether Molesworth Phillips scratched his own name on the tomb is doubtful. Perhaps it was added by one of the Lock boys to mark his birthday (15th August); this might account for what appears to be an error over his age, since, although not clearly decipherable, it does not appear to have been given as 34. The origin of the other names is of course by no means certain, but it is possible that as teenagers the boys followed a tradition set up by the eldest.

William (1767–1847), an artist who did not fulfil his early promise, lived last at Norbury shortly before he sold it in 1819 and subsequently lived much of his time on the Continent.

Charles Lock (1770–1804) grew up to follow a somewhat unsuccessful career in the diplomatic service. As British Consul in Naples, he incurred a number of debts which his father had to settle, antagonised Lady Hamilton and quarrelled with Nelson. Later, whilst on his way to become Consul in Cairo, he was stricken by fever and died in Malta.

George (1771–1864) entered the Church and became Curate at Mickleham some ten years after his name appears to have been added to those on the tomb. Later he moved to Blackheath where he remained for forty years.

The fourth son Frederick (1786–1805) apparently scribed his name twice, at the age of six or seven and again at the age of 12, a fact that possibly gives authenticity to the authorship. He was a delicate child and died of tuberculosis in Madeira at the age of 19.

For an account of Molesworth Phillips's life, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 22.

There are references also in:—
Juniper Hall, Hill (1904);
The History of Fanny Burney, Hemlow (Oxford University Press, 1958);
The Locks of Norbury, Sermoneta (John Murray, London, 1940).

The last mentioned naturally gives details of the lives of the Lock sons, particularly Charles. It also states that George Lock was given the Living of Mickleham in 1795 and I am grateful to Rev. J. L. Cornell, the present Rector, for pointing out that in fact Thomas Filewood was Rector of Mickleham during the period 1771–1800. The parish registers confirm that George Lock signed as Curate. Filewood was also Rector of Dunsfold over the period 1786–1800 but, according to Canon S. L. Ollard (*Surr. Arch. Coll.* **32**, 19), he resided throughout at Mickleham. In his later years he became blind and mentally disturbed and ultimately shot himself.

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
## FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1970

Previous Year 1969 £ s. d.		Year under report 1970 £ s. d.
	INCOME	
125 7 6	Subscriptions	140 17 6
35 10 6	Donations from Members	36 9 6
	GRANTS	
25 0 0	Surrey County Council	25 0 0
15 0 0	Leatherhead U.D.C.	25 0 0
3 12 0	Lecture Fees	10 12 0
27 11 6	Sale of *Proceedings:* Maps and Binder Cases	27 13 11
7 8 11	Profits on visits	21 11 0
3 11 6	Trustee Bank interest	3 14 0
£243 1 11		**£290 17 11**
	EXPENDITURE	
177 6 0	Printing of *Proceedings*	137 10 0
46 18 11	Secretary's, Treasurer's, Post, Stationery and general expenses ..	56 3 3
— — —	Hire of Hall and A.G.M. expenses	6 7 6
	SUBSCRIPTIONS	
— — —	Surrey Record Society	2 0 0
1 10 0	Council for British Archaeology	3 0 0
1 0 0	Field Studies Council	1 0 0
10 0	Leatherhead & District Countryside Protection Society ..	— — —
£227 4 11		**£206 0 9**
15 17 0	EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE	84 17 2
260 5 9	*Add:* Bank Balances at beginning of Year	276 2 9
£276 2 9	Bank Balances at end of Year	**£360 19 11**
	Comprised as follows:—	
172 0 8	Current Account	253 3 10
104 2 1	Trustee Savings Bank	107 16 1
£276 2 9		**£360 19 11**

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

A. H. KIRKBY,
Honorary Auditor.

F. A. STOKES,
Honorary Treasurer.

24th February, 1971.

OSTREA sp.
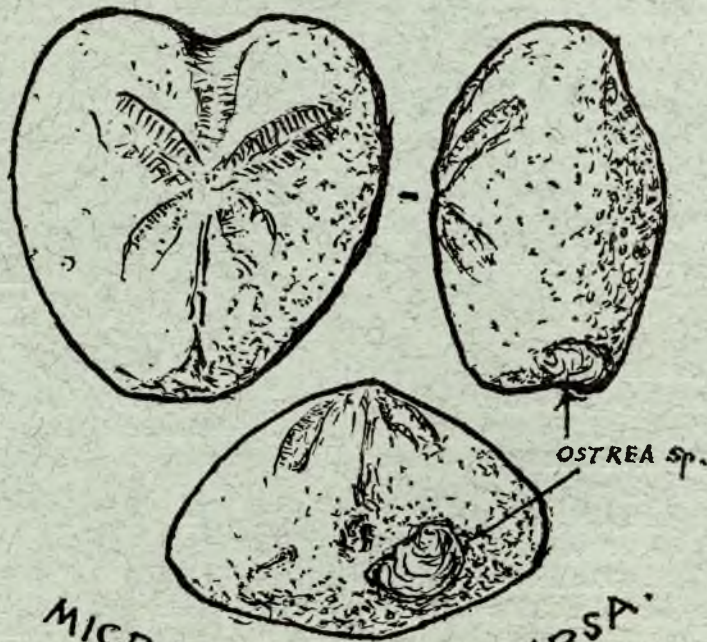
MICRASTER PRECURSA.
From the Upper Chalk near
ASHTEAD.   A.W.G.L.'71