# LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



PROCEEDINGS VOL 7 N° 3 2009

#### SECRETARIAL NOTES

The following Lectures, Visits and Walks were arranged during 2009:

Social Event

| January 16th   | Lecture: 'Early Water, Gas and Electricity Supplies in Surrey' by Peter Tarplee                            |
|----------------|--|
| February 20th  | Lecture: 'Leatherhead Hospital, Past, Present and Future' by Dr Fred Meynen                                |
| March 20th     | Lecture: 'Godalming, Past and Present' by John Young   |
| March 25th     | Joint visit with the Friends of Leatherhead Museum to the Spike and Guildford                              |
|                | Museum arranged by Fred Meynen   |
| April 17th     | The Society's 62nd Annual General Meeting, followed by a lecture 'Air Travel in the 1930s' by John Wettern |
| May 15th       | Lecture: 'A Butcher's Tale of Woe' by Keith Weston   |
| June 27th      | Visit to Slyfield House arranged by John Wettern   |
| September 18th | Lecture: 'The Story of Betchworth Castle' by Martin Higgins  |
| October 17th   | Lecture: 'Iron Age and Roman Settlements around Leatherhead' by Frank Pemberton                            |
| November 20th  | Lecture: 'Sir George Edwards: From Bouncing Bombs to Concorde' by Robert Gardner MBE                       |
| December 18th  | 'Christmas Memories' by Members of the Society followed by the Christmas                                   |

Members of the Society also led walks around the District and gave talks to organisations during the year.

A guided walk around the village of Ashtead and a visit to Brooklands Museum were cancelled through lack of support

Number 2 of Volume 7 of the Proceedings was issued in February 2009.

#### 62nd ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Letherhead Institute, 17th April 2009

The Report of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 2008 were adopted. The Officers and Committee members elected to serve until the next AGM are shown below.

#### OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 2009-2010

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# Leatherhead and District Local History Society PROCEEDINGS

# Vol. 7, No. 3

## 2009

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#### LITTLE BOOKHAM - THE HEART OF SURREY?

By DEREK RENN

'Near this place is Little Bookham where nothing occurs worth notice.'—John Aubrey, 17181

#### Introduction

John Blair's maps of the hundreds, early territorial units and central places of Surrey (see Fig. 1) bring out the curious position and small size of the medieval hundred of Effingham, containing just three parishes: the two Bookhams and Effingham, whose collective shape and position resemble a realistic drawing of the human heart<sup>2</sup>. The anomaly has been explained as a 'pairing' with the adjoining Copthorne hundred (some three times the Domesday total value of Effingham hundred, and the only other Surrey hundred not extending to the county boundary). The two hundreds shared a bailiff in 1235, but the 'half-hundred of Effingham' was not so called until 1263x1282<sup>3</sup>. The late John Harvey argued for an original joint meeting-place for the hundreds of Effingham and Copthorne at Horse-Head Cross in Fetcham [today where Young Street joins the Guildford Road] near an extensive late sixth-early seventh century cemetery. By the late thirteenth century, the hundred court met at Leith Cross, later Poors' Pit [now Kennel Close, with a 'The Bookhams' boundary sign at its entrance from the Lower Road]<sup>4</sup>. Dorothy Nail argued for a separate Copthorne hundred meeting-place at Nutshambles Bank, Epsom<sup>5</sup>.

A charter of about AD 727 stated that Frithuwold, subregulus of Surrey and Eorconwald, bishop of London, gave Chertsey Abbey several estates including 20 mansae in Bocham cum Effingeham<sup>6</sup>. The extant document and later confirmations are considered to be spurious<sup>7</sup>, but

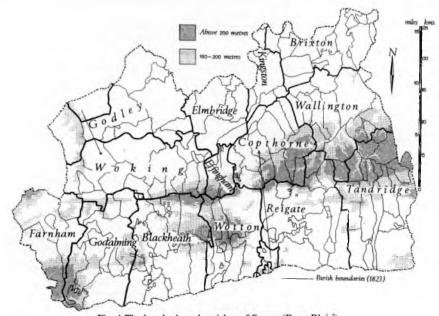


Fig. 1 The hundreds and parishes of Surrey (From Blair<sup>2</sup>)

probably replace a genuine document destroyed either when the Abbey was sacked and burnt by the Vikings about AD 871 or after its reform in AD 964. The two place-names and two donors (one lay, one religious) suggest either that the grant came from a multiple estate, or that more than one grant was combined into one record. Harvey admitted that he was unable to explain why the hundred of Effingham achieved a separate existence. I suggest that 'Effingham' was a significant estate *before* the hundredal system came into being in the early tenth century<sup>8</sup>, and into which it had to be awkwardly fitted. The place-name means 'the settlement of Effa's folk' and is probably related to the second (colonization) phase of Saxon settlement<sup>9</sup>.

In what follows. 'Effingham' (in inverted commas) mean the Saxon estate[s], including 'Bookham' unless specified otherwise. The medieval and later places are defined: Effingham hundred (including Great and Little Bookham manors), Effingham parish (two manors and once containing parts of three others), Great and Little Bookham manors (each covering the whole parish). Before King Edward's death in January 1066, Chertsey Abbey held two-thirds of 'Effingham' and the king or earl Harold the rest, namely Little Bookham manor, *Pechingeorde* and part of *Driteha*'. This study concentrates on Little Bookham manor, the middle 10% by Domesday value of 'Effingham'.

#### Effingham parish

Five Effingham holdings are mentioned in Domesday Book, their overlords in 1086 being Chertsey Abbey, Richard of Tonbridge (two, plus one disputed with Chertsey) and the king<sup>10</sup>. The manor of Effingham East Court was held by Richard's descendants, later earls of Gloucester and Hertford, throughout the middle ages. Chertsey's main holding in the parish became known as the manor of Effingham-la-Legh which was leased out to tenants, not held in demesne like Great Bookham, and was granted after the Dissolution to Lord William Howard in 1550<sup>11</sup>.

#### 'The Bookhams'12

BOCHEHA' is the name given to three separate holdings in the Surrey folios of Domesday Book, each with a different lord. It is possible to identify each of the three: one was in Woking hundred in 1086 [GDB f.35d], and a process of elimination makes it almost certain to be what is now called Ockham, held by Richard of Tonbridge in 1086 and by King Edward before 1066. Ockham is not contiguous with any of the parishes of Effingham, Great or Little Bookham. The other two Bocheha' holdings are described as being in Effingham hundred. Both their relative values and their later recorded history show that it was Great Bookham that had belonged to Chertsey Abbey before 1066 [GDB f.32d] and that the third Bocheha' of Domesday Surrey was Little Bookham, owned by Earl Harold and tenanted by Godtovi in 1066, but in 1086 owned by William de Braose and tenanted by Halsard [GDB f.35d]. However, Chertsey Abbey did once have an interest in Little Bookham and the manor of Little Bookham extended westward as far as Effingham Common Road, and abutted the Abbey's manor there<sup>13</sup>.

Unlike Effingham parish, the Bookham parishes each remained a single manor throughout the middle ages. The latter are both long, thin parishes, typical of many created before 1066 along the dip-slope of the North Downs, each with a track running north from open chalk pastures on the ridge across sandy or gravelly arable soils on the spring-line to heavy woodland on the clays<sup>14</sup>.

#### Great Bookham manor

The 'true platt and descripcion of the Mannor of Great Bookeham' drawn by Thomas Clay in

1614–1617 (at a scale of over ten inches to the mile) marks nearly fifty houses close to the parish church, most of them in the High Street<sup>15</sup>. Four smaller clusters, each of a dozen or so houses, are shown near the edges of the manor. Two are dispersed groups of farmsteads connected by winding lanes in woodland, one near *Slyfield House* to the north of Bookham Common and the other to the south of the Upper Common and what later became Polesden Lacey House. The other two clusters are close-set groups along built-up frontages on lanes running off today's Lower Road, one at the junction beside '*The Anchor*' public house at Eastwick and the other at what is now Preston Cross. Sir Edward Howard purchased Eastwick (*est-wic*, the eastern farm) in 1627 and built a great house and park there. Clay's survey shows what then survived of an earlier hamlet, with an sub-manorial moated house site. Preston was regarded by Chertsey Abbey as a separate place within their Great Bookham manor<sup>16</sup>.

Polesden and Slyfield are first recorded as place-names in 1198 and 1201 respectively, whilst Magna and Parva Bokham, Estwyk and Preston appear in 1225<sup>17</sup>. These places may have existed long before, like 'Bookham' and 'Effingham'. The place-names, coupled with Clay's map, suggest that the manor was originally one of dispersed settlement. The royal grant to Chertsey Abbey of a market charter for Bookham in 1243 may indicate a flourishing (re-ordered or nucleated) Magna Bokham village. At the very least, such a focus was intended by then. But what of Preston, and where did the eponymous priest(s) officiate? There are three early medieval churches within a thousand yards of today's Preston Cross, any or all of which could have been served easily by people living there.

#### Little Bookham parish

This is the middle 'slice' of the Domesday hundred of Effingham, and might therefore contain the original 'central place' of 'Effingham' despite its different name in Domesday Book. William

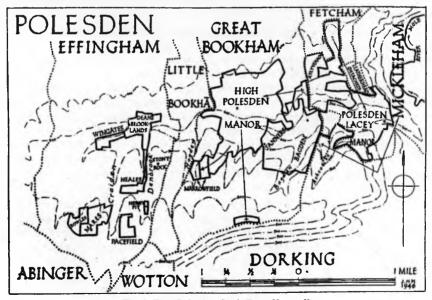


Fig. 2 The 'Polesden Gap' (From Harvey<sup>20</sup>)

de Braose's only other Domesday holding in Surrey was in Tadworth, which had the same 1066 owner (Earl Harold) and tenant (Godtovi) and 1086 tenant (Halsard) and is given a rather similar description to that of Little Bookham. A further resemblance is that Tadworth covers a long narrow piece of land, the part of Banstead lying between the parishes of Kingswood and Walton-on-the Hill. It was centred on the manor of *Preston Hawe* (another Preston), where an enclosure has been excavated which contained a succession of twelfth-and thirteenth century halls next to a small two-cell chapel<sup>18</sup>. Tadworth also contained a second similar estate, held by two brothers from King Edward. Godtovi and the brothers 'could go where they would' that is, they were freemen. Banstead itself had been a valuable royal manor<sup>19</sup>.

The relation of the old parish boundaries of Little Bookham to those of its neighbours (particularly at the north end) show that it was shaved off from an older 'Bookham' estate. Both long (north-south) boundaries of Little Bookham continue southward as those of Wotton parish, the only example of such double continuity in Surrey running right over the crest of the North Downs. The boundaries of Effingham parish suggest more affinity with the (paired) Horsleys and Clandons than with those of Little Bookham. Confirmed by later manorial history, the gift to Chertsey Abbey was only of part of what became the hundred of Effingham. John Harvey's map (Fig. 2) shows a gap, exactly corresponding to Little Bookham parish, between the associated 'Polesden' place-names in the lateral dry valley running up from Mickleham to Effingham parish<sup>20</sup>. Had Little Bookham been intruded into Polesden? What was the reason for the long life of this thin 'middle slice' and its different ownership from those on every side? Perhaps Godtovi's predecessors had a very strong claim, or this part of 'Bookham' was deliberately kept back either because of something remarkable within it, or to create a buffer zone.

Although the parish boundary with Great Bookham now runs down the middle of Little Bookham Street, the land to the east, between the road and the stream (partly supplied from a periodic spring; both parish churches adjoin other spring sites) was 'parte of the lordship of Little Bookham' on Clay's map, which marks three houses on the west side of Little Bookham Street, compared with thirteen on the east side. The surveyor may not have included every house at the margin, though. According to the Department of the Environment's list<sup>21</sup>, the oldest surviving houses are on the east [=Great Bookham] side of the road: part of *Old Pound Cottage* ['probably late medieval'] and *Half Moon Cottage* ['probably a late C15-early C16 hall-house']<sup>22</sup> at the crossroads [today's Preston Cross; compare Preston Hawe at Tadworth]. On the west [=Little Bookham] side, *Dawes Cottage* ['probably early C16'] is close to the crossroads, with some slightly younger houses further on [*Post, Rose, Grapevine Cottages*, and the '*Old Windsor Castle*' public house].

Rectory Lane, the southward continuation of Little Bookham Street, passes approximately a quarter of a mile east of Little Bookham church. The church, manor house (and its farmhouse with a very big 10-bay aisled barn) lie in a dip. Although footpaths run between the the church, Rectory Lane and Little Bookham Street, there is distinct air of separation rather than connection.

#### An earlier settlement?

A grid of public footpaths closely surround Little Bookham church. Most of the older local north-south roads and tracks continue to Cobham and Dorking, and curve only slightly, but that just east of the church (Manor House Lane and Water Lane) does neither. It is markedly sinusoidal, and much of Manor House Lane and the southern part of Water Lane are noticeably lower than the fields on either side. At *Dunglass Farm*<sup>23</sup>, a short green lane branches west-south-west from

Water Lane. Further north, another green lane branches off east, forking towards *Preston Farm* and *The Old Windsor Castle* public house. Beyond, V-stiles mark access points to the pasture fields (which contain various 'humps and bumps'). Water Lane ends at the site of a keeper's cottage marked on nineteenth century maps, with footpaths continuing through Oaken Wood and beyond in several directions. It still adjoins a shooting estate with large artificial waterfowl ponds.

Do these myriad lanes and paths signify an earlier pattern of movement and settlement? In particular, why does Manor House Lane have five bends? Three are probably due to the rerouting, of the lane which separated the manor house from its farm. Removing these, we are left with a smooth curve between Dunglass Farm and the modern A246. Is this the eastern side of a large oval enclosure exactly at the geometrical centre of the hundred of Effingham? Commercial excavations in 2006-7 revealed what looked like the cross-section of a large northsouth ditch just east of a broad hump in the footpath on the south side of Lower Road just west of Manor House Lane. I have not found any conclusive documentary evidence for



Fig. 3 Lanes and paths in Little Bookham about 1870

early occupation of the Water Lane area, and the lane is not marked on Rocque's map of 1762. Dunglass farmhouse does not look very old externally, although it could have an early core; there is a very large rectangular pond nearby. Fieldwalking or excavations around the farm may reveal dateable evidence of occupation and a possible date of desertion. The western part of the suggested enclosure was not built upon or landscaped until *The Howard of Effingham School* was erected. Dennis Turner in his invaluable study of village origins in Surrey<sup>24</sup> draws attention to some early non-minster enclosure settlements. Might Little Bookham have been one such?

#### The churchyard yew

The hollow yew tree immediately west of Little Bookham church is of considerable age. A painting of c.1800 shows it as healthy and perhaps six feet in diameter (by comparison with

the adjacent porch, although we must allow for artistic licence)<sup>25</sup>. Yew trees are extremely slow-growing and tough, with an evergreen canopy and very few parasites<sup>26</sup>. A count of the annual growth rings of the yews at Cherkley Court blown down in the 1987 storms indicated that some were about 600 years old and had been pollarded. Had they been grown to provide medieval bowstaves? Four centuries later, the walnut trees at Norbury Park, just across the valley from Cherkley Court, were finally sold to make gunstocks for the British army during the American War of Independence<sup>27</sup>. King Edward I is said have decreed the planting of groups of yews to protect churches from strong winds in 1307 and in 1415 Henry V sent his principal bowyer round England to gather 'wood suitable for bowstaves' but forbade him to take it from ecclesiastical land<sup>28</sup>. This suggests that the churchyard yew was still reverently treated, even at a time of national need.

The girth of living yews can be used to make an estimate of their *probable* age. Two of the only three (or four) yew woods with trees more than 16 feet in girth in Britain are in this part of Surrey: 'Druid's Grove' in Norbury Park and at Newlands Corner (Merrow Down), where a couple of trees might be 1200 to 1300 years old but most are probably 800 to 900 years old.

In December 2008 I calculated<sup>29</sup> the girth of the Little Bookham churchyard yew to be between 21 and 22 feet [6.4 to 6.7m] at three feet [0.9m] above the ground. Two independent formulae given in Bevan-Jones' book suggest ages of 1450 or 1340 years, close to that published recently<sup>30</sup>. It is tempting to link the yew's planting with the grant to Chertsey Abbey, but Bevan-Jones warns that decay and partial collapse of old trees can upset a formula based upon steady growth. Indeed, dendrochronological studies of other Surrey yews have given much younger ages, eg Capel (5.2m girth) was about 400 years old, Peper Harow (7.5m) 700 years, Dunsfold (7.6m), 800 years, Hambledon (9.7m), 1,200 years<sup>31</sup>. This data suggests that the Little Bookham yew is only about 600 years old, like those at Cherkley Court. It may, of course, have had a progenitor<sup>32</sup>.

#### The church and the manor

No church here is mentioned in Domesday Book, nor has the present church any pre-Conquest architectural features, but this is not conclusive. Its font is of an early tub shape but its plaster coat and wrought iron binding prevent proper examination<sup>33</sup>. It could well predate the font in Great Bookham church and indicate that baptismal rights were to be preserved at (or awarded to?) an ungifted part of 'Bookham'.

The single-cell church once had a south aisle, whose wall foundations have been excavated<sup>34</sup>. The widths of both the nave and south aisle are close to those at Great Bookham, and both have four plain semi-circular arches on round columns with scalloped capitals between nave and aisle, which might have been part of the original plan, allowing a greater roofspan than single beams could reach. At Little Bookham the aisle was abandoned and the arches blocked up, the fillings containing (from west to east) a modern two-light window in 'Norman' style, a fifteenth-century doorway, a thirteenth-century lancet and a fifteenth-century two-light window. Another similar two-light window is in the solid (chancel) wall to the east, with a blocked single-light window (with a restored cusped head) between them. The date and function of this window is unclear. Its modern cusped head has led it to be dated to the fourteenth century and described as a 'low-side window' despite being no lower than any of the others<sup>35</sup>, badly sited to view the chancel altar and covered by the east wall of the aisle. If it was once a Norman opening, this would be evidence for the aisle being an addition.

Such reduction of a church may have been an economy measure, a response to depopulation caused by disease (human or animal), famine, flood, recession or taxation. In 1292 Chertsey Abbey appropriated the advowson of Great Bookham 'because the funds of the monastery have decreased....by exactions, pestilences and inundation of waters' <sup>36</sup>. The widespread estates of that Abbey, of the Clare earls of Gloucester and of Merton priory (which held Effingham church since 1159) <sup>37</sup> may have been better able to cope with the major disasters that struck England from the late thirteenth century onward than the small and lonely Braose estate at Little Bookham.

The author of the DoE list suggested a rebuilding of the aisle (presumably after c.1200, inserting the lancet window) and a second abandonment (presumably before c.1450, when the two-light windows were put in, the lancet re-used and the 'low-side' window blocked)<sup>38</sup>. If the latter have both been moved, only one abandonment or demolition need have occurred.

#### Why and when did the removal take place?

The Braose family held Little Bookham, with short breaks, for over 400 years after the Norman Conquest and the Halsard tenancy can be followed for about 200 years<sup>39</sup>. Is there any evidence for re-organization, either voluntarily (to alter the landscape more to the lord's taste or economic benefit) or compulsorily (in response to political events or a lack of men and means)? A change from arable to pasture farming might be due to either. Nationally, there was a period of economic crisis in the first half of the fourteenth century, low points being the Great Famine and crop failures of 1315–22 and the Black Death of 1348–50. At Great Bookham there were three vicars in quick succession in each of these short periods. For Little Bookham, possible other causes of the removal of the settlement are, in date order:

- 1. The grant of a royal charter to Chertsey Abbey for its the market at Great Bookham in 1243 refocussing the local economy<sup>40</sup>.
- 2. The reduction (at least in name) to a half-hundred of Effingham between 1263 and 1282 mentioned above was accompanied by evidence of both a consolidation of the estate and a change in occupation and in usage, thus:
  - (i). In 1273–4, James Halsard exchanged his lands at North Tadworth and Little Bookham for others at East Greenwich and Kidbrook on a life lease, plus a dole of bread and ale for himself and his wife, with the prior of Southwark<sup>41</sup>.
  - (ii) An *inquisition post mortem* of 1275 stated that Sir John Haunsard held Little Bookham from the earl of Gloucester by one-quarter of a knight's fee, of the honor of Bramber [ie William de Braose] by a knight's fee and the rest of the abbot of Chertsey<sup>42</sup>. This suggests that the manor had been expanded to include lands in the parishes of Great Bookham and Effingham<sup>43</sup>.
  - (iii). An exchange of landholdings between Braose and the earl of Gloucester in 1278 involved *Okham* 'formerly belonging to James Haunsard' and *Bocham* 'lands of John Haunsard' potential claims to be insured, plus 100 marks<sup>44</sup>.
  - (iv) William de Braose obtained a grant of free warren for his demesne lands (including *Bocham*) in 1281<sup>45</sup>. Owning a rabbit warren was a status symbol, although such a grant might be used to enclose a park. In 1285 Sir William Hansard held a knight's fee in Bookham.
- 3. In 1290 William de Braose died, and in 1303 his widow granted Little Bookham to her daughter and son-in-law, who, two years later, regranted it to her for life when the capital

messuage and part of the manor of Little Bookham was held from the king for one-quarter of a knight's fee, another quarter of a knight's fee was due to John Picard and the remainder from Chertsey Abbey. In 1307 James Hansard entered a plea of *novel disseisin* to recover it<sup>46</sup>. So (if only temporarily) the king had replaced Braose, and Picard the earl of Gloucester, as overlords, and the value of the estate was reduced.

- 4. Little Bookham was forfeited to the Crown by the Despencers (who had married into the Braoses) on their disgrace in 1324, as was the Clare holding, but it was back in Braose hands by 1338.
- 5. The manor of Bookham Halsard was sold in 1399 but it was bought back soon after, and reverted to the Howard descendants of the senior Braose line in 1498, who sold it in 1624, just before acquiring Eastwick. Eastwick Park was created when the Howards succeeded to the barony of Effingham in 1681<sup>47</sup>. In 1497 oaks in Little Bookham were being marked as a gift for the rebuilding of Thomcroft manorhouse at Leatherhead<sup>48</sup>. Since all the extant houses (with one possible exception) in Little Bookham Street have been dated to after 1498, the gap between church and village today might have resulted from a removal of the village to Preston on the edge of the manor, perhaps to create a park like those subsequently created by the Howards at Eastwick and Ashtead. Unlike those estates, however, Little Bookham does not show clear evidence of any parkland separating manorhouse and church from the rest of the present street village.

#### Conclusion

I suggest that *Bocham cum Effingham* was an early multiple estate, held jointly by an ecclesiastic (bishop) and a layman (subking), perhaps with a 'holy tree' at its centre. Only part of that estate was gifted to Chertsey Abbey: Godtovi's ancestors may have had absolute title to what became known as Little Bookham, possibly being the priests of 'Effingham', hence *Preston*. Alternatively, they may have been settled on a buffer strip including the old holy place, between the new monastic estate of Great Bookham and the remaining lay estate holdings of Effingham. Subsequently the old settlement near the church at Little Bookham declined (or was removed deliberately) and coalesced with the border hamlet of Preston. Several dates and reasons are offered for this move, and I trust that John Aubrey would now modify his dismissive statement.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I am grateful to Professor John Blair FBA for permission to reproduce Fig.1 (see note 2), the Surrey Archaeological Society for permission to reproduce Fig.2 (see note 20) and Rod Wild for Surrey yew tree data (see note 31).

#### NOTES

- 1. Natural History and Antiquities of the county of Surrey (London: Curll) II, 281.
- Blair, J. 1991, Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300 (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing and Guildford: Surrey Archaeological Society), 13, Fig. 4 and 32, Fig. 11E. The parish of Ranmore was created in 1860: Fortescue, S.E.D. 1993, The House on the Hill: the Story of Ranmore and Denbies, Dorking, Surrey (Dorking: Denbies Wine Estate), 87.
- 3. Hershey, A.H. (ed) (2006), Surrey Eyre of 1263: Surrey Record Society XL; Hundred Roll 10

- Edward I, cited by Manning, O. and Bray, W. 1809. The History and Antiquities of the county of Surrey (London: John White) II, 687. Otherwise unattributed statements of Little Bookham manorial history come either from this volume (pp 703–5) or from Malden, H.E (ed)1911, The Victoria County History of Surrey (London: Constable) III, 335–8.
- Harvey, J.H. 1946-7, 'The hundred of Copthorne and Effingham', Surrey Archaeological Collections 50, 157-161 and Blair (note 2), 45 note 26.
- 5. Nail, D 1965 'The meeting-place of Copthorne Hundred' Surrey Archaeological Collections 62, 44-53.. Blair (note 2, 21 and 182 note 51) points out that the topography of Nutshambles Bank and its name, probably from mot scaemaol 'the seat of the moot', are suggestive, but no other evidence has yet been found that it was ever the meeting-place of the hundred.
- BL Cotton MS Vitell.A XIII printed in Kemble, J.M.1839–48 Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici (English Historical Society) AD 727: no 988, V p20. The 'confirmations' speak variously of the whole villa of Bocham, Effingham, (AD 933 ibid. II p193), 12 mansiones in Bocham (AD 967 ibid III p 8), and 20 mansas aet Bocham cum Effingham et cum Oritham et cum Piecingawrde (AD 1062 ibid IV p152).
- 7. Sawyer P.H.1968, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An annotated list and bibliography, (Royal Historical Society), nos. 420, 752, 1035, 1181; Gelling M. 1979, The Early Charters of the Thames Valley, (Leicester University Press), nos. 314, 325, 331, 343; Fleming R. 1985 'Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking Age', English Historical Review, C, 247–265. Mansae, often translated as 'houses', might mean 'hides' [eg Stenton, D.M.(ed) 1970, Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the collected papers of Frank Merry Stenton (Oxford: University Press), 392] a measure of land or tax assessment, which make equal sense. According to Great Domesday Book, (hereafter GDB, cited by folios), in 1066 Great Bookham was rated at 26 hides, Effingham at between 81/2 and 16 [depending on whether similar entries overlap] and Little Bookham at five. So twenty hides was about half the later assessment of Effingham hundred. Great Bookham manor had the second largest 1066 hidation in Effingham or Copthorne, after Epsom.
- 8. Loyn, HR, 1974 'The hundred in England' in British Government and Administration, studies presented to SB Chrimes ed Hearder H, and Loyn HR, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press) 1-15. Loyn explains the tiny 'hundreds' in Kent and Sussex as being secondary divisions of the primary lathes and rapes. See also Cam H, 1957, 'The 'private hundred' in England before the Norman Conquest', in Davies, JC, Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson (Oxford: University Press), 50-60.
- 9. Dodgson, J.N., 1966 'The significance of the distribution of the English place-names in -ingas, -inga- in south-east England', *Medieval Archaeology* X, 1-29, particularly pp11, 12, 25, 28.
- GDB (note 7), ff. 32d, 35 b.c.d (twice). Others are quoted in the text. The Domesday Book scribe wrote the hundred as FINGEHA' and the manors as EPINGEHA'.
- For the complex manorial history of Effingham, see O'Connor, M.M 1973, The History of Effingham in Surrey, (Effingham: Effingham Women's Institute). The site of the medieval manor house in Lee Wood was investigated by A.T. Ruby and A.W.G. Lowther in 1952-3: Proc. L.& D.L.H.S, 1.9 (1955), 4-17 3b.
- 12. To be discussed in more detail in my *The Bookhams; two Surrey villages in maps* (in preparation).
- 13. O'Connor (note 11), 118 (map) and index; and Fortescue S.E.D 2006, Great & Little Bookham; the North End (Honiton: C.R.Wright), 11.

- 14. Blair (note 2), 32-34.
- Harvey J.H. 1966, 'Thomas Clay's plan of the manor of Great Bookham, 1614–1617', Proc.L.& D.L.H.S. 2.10, 281–3 and map 11.
- Chertsey Abbey Cartulary (Surrey Record Society, XII (two volumes in parts) II (1963), 962-4, 981-2.
- Gover J.E.B., Mawer A and Stenton FM. 1934, The Place-Names of Surrey, English Place-Name Society XI, (Cambridge: University Press), 99-101. The earliest date for Magna Bokham is given there as 1255, probably a misprint since Parva and Magna Bokham are both named in 1235: Meekings C.A.F. & Crook D. (eds) 1983, The 1235 Surrey Eyre volume 2:text, Surrey Record Society XXXII, 215.
- 18. Blair (note 2), 156 and 211, n131.
- 19. GDB (note 7) 31c.
- Harvey J.H. 1946-7 'Polesden: the name and the place', Surrey Archaeological Collections 50 161-4 at p.162.
- 21. 1990; List of buildings of special architectural or historic interest. District of Mole Valley Surrey (Parishes of Ashtead, Fetcham, Great Bookham, Leatherhead, Little Bookham).
- 22. John Harvey, who lived in Half Moon Cottage, stated that the main beams had been made from timber cut down c.1490-1500, so dated by dendrochronology: 'A Short History of Bookham, Surrey— Pt IV' Proc L.& D.L.H.S. 2.1 (1957) at p17. This was in the very early days of treering dating, practised by a few including the Society's then Chairman, A.W.G. Lowther. Harvey dated Foxglove Cottage, further north on the same(east) side of the road, c.1555 (ibid.) on other grounds.
- 23. Mr Stephen Fortescue tells me that this was once occupied by a Mr Marlow, who had farmed on the east coast of Scotland (where there are at least two places called Dunglass). Several farms nearby in Surrey were developed by Scotsmen.
- 24. Turner D, 2001 'The Origins and Development of Surrey Villages', Bulletin of the Surrey Archaeological Society 347 (whole issue) at p15.
- 25. Minet Library (Edgar Sharpe Collection) reproduced in Fortescue, S.E.D. 1978, *People & Places—Great & Little Bookham* (Bookham: author) 2. Manning & Bray (note 3), 705 mentioned 'a very large yew tree' there in 1809.
- Morris, R, Churches in the Landscape (London, 1989), 78–79. For the source of what follows in this section, see Bevan-Jones, R. 2004, The Ancient Yew; A History of Taxus baccata (Macclesfield: Windgather Press), unless separately cited in notes 27 to 32.
- 27. Dallaway, Harriet 1821 Etchings of Views in the vicarage of Letherhead [sic], with text by the Rev.James Dallaway (privately printed), 38.
- 28 Bevan-Evans (note 26) 44, citing Gregory D, 1991, Country churchyards in Wales (Gwasg Carreg Gwalch,: Rymer T, Foedera, Conventiones, Literae ...Acta publica inter reges Angliae... (1729) IX, 224, from Patent Roll 3 Henry V, 1, m.123. Nicholas Frost had been appointed in 1403: Calendar of Patent Rolls 1401-5, 330; 1413--6, 329.
- 29. Surrounding railings prevented direct measurement.
- 30. 'in excess of 1300 years old': Fortescue S.E.D, c. 2007 All Saints Church Little Bookham: A history, first text page. Previously] it had been estimated to be about 700 years old: Fortescue

- S.E.D. 1975, The story of two villages—Great & Little Bookham, (Bookham: author), 71.
- 31. Information from Rod Wild, Surrey Dendrochronology Project, 6 August 2009 of work by Andy Moir of Tree-Ring Services.
- 32. For holy trees, see Bevan-Jones and also Blair J, 2005, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: University Press), index under 'trees, sacred' especially pp.381-2.
- 33. Blair (note 2)124-5, 155; (note 32) 459-63 more generally on early fonts.
- 34. Blair, Joan M.G. 1963, 'Excavations at Little Bookham Church 1952-3' Surrey Archaeological Collections LX, 84-6.
- 35. Photographic evidence contradicts nineteenth-century drawings.
- 36. Calendar of Patent Rolls 1281-92, 493.
- 37 O'Connor (note 11), 52.
- 38. Note 21, p.124.
- 39. For the Braose family, see Manning & Bray (note 3) II, 77–81. For the Hansards, see the indexes to the Chertsey Abbey Cartulary (note 16) I, (1928) II, (1963) esp lxvii; Hall H (ed) Red Book of the Exchequer, Chronicles & Memorials 99 (1896) II, 561 (1210–12); The 1235 Surrey Eyre (note 17), 204; Stewart, S(ed) 2004, Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent 1258 Surrey Record Society XXXVIII, xlix; The 1263 Surrey Eyre (note 3), cxli. A William Haunsard was sheriff of London in 1333: Chertsey Abbey Cartulary (note 16) II 1188.

The name persisted locally: the manor of Bookham Hansard was sold in 1399, and that of Effingham Hansarde is mentioned in 1523: O'Connor (note 11) 14. Centuries later, Henry Hansard (printer of parliamentary reports) bought Millfield (now the Yehudi Menuhin School) in Great Bookham parish. His daughter-in-law sold the property and rented Preston House [now the Preston Cross Hotel] from 1919: Fortescue 2006 (note 13), 21–23.

- 40. Maxwell-Lyte, HC (ed) 1923 Book of Fees Liber Feodorum, commonly called Testa de Nevill 1920, 1923 II (1242-93), 690 (1242-3).
- 41 The 1235 Surrey Eyre (note 17), 204, 548, Lewis FB(ed) Surrey Feet of fines of Surrey, (Surrey Archaeological Society extra volume 1, 1894) p. 215 no.11 joins brother John in a fine with prior. See Manning & Bray (note 3), III, 564 for Southwark holding Little Bookham lands.
- 42. IPM cited by Manning and Bray (note 3), III, 703: Victoria County History (note 3) III, 335
- 43. Clay's map shows four groups of Little Bookham holdings in Great Bookham manor: at the far north-west and south-west margins [around Hill House and Yewtrees Farm, still so-called today]; near Potters Hill [roughly today's Oakdene Road]; and at today's Preston Cross. For Effingham see note 11.
- 44. Calendar of Close Rolls 1272–79, 501.
- 45. Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300 2, 255.
- 46. Victoria County History (note 3) III, 336, citing BL Add Ch 20076.
- 47. Harvey, JH 'A Short history of Bookham, part VII' Proc L.& D.L.H.S. 2.4 (1960) at p115.
- 48. Merton College Estate Muniments 5777: Harvey JH 1955 'Great Milton, Oxfordshire: and Thorncroft, Surrey—the building accounts for two manorhouses of the late fifteenth century' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series 18, 42–56 at pp 44 and 53.

#### ASHTEAD'S EARLY TRACKWAYS

By BRIAN BOUCHARD

A map drawn by Reginald White<sup>1</sup> to illustrate his book, *Ancient Epsom, the common fields and ancient roads*, published in 1928, is reproduced below (Fig. 1) "for the purposes of criticism and review". A number of his conclusions have been disputed but his map provides a convenient reference to routes that crossed the parish of Ashtead. A copy of A.W.G. Lowther's re-drawing of Lawrence's map as "Ashtead in 1638" is also presented for consideration of additional local detail.

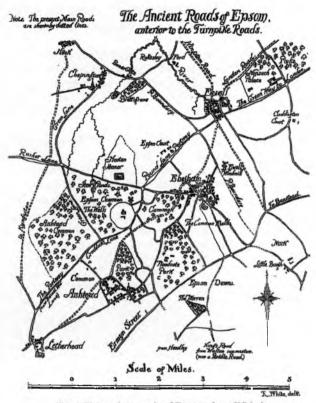
Starting in the south with *Ermyn Street*, a name used locally (as shown on some Ordnance Survey maps), in addition to Pebble Lane, for the Roman road called *Stane Street*, later archaeological investigations have demonstrated that its line extended through Woodcote Park and then passed behind St Martin's Church, Epsom, on the way to Ewell.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to its development as a spa in the seventeenth century, Epsom had been relatively unimportant compared with Ewell, once a sizeable Roman settlement which became a royal manor and eventually a small market town: as may be seen, west-east trackways converged on the latter village. Leatherhead [Celtic Letorito meaning "grey ford" or Old English Leodridan, a public ford]3 on a crossing over the River Mole, was the entry point for the ancient, possibly Iron Age, Harroway<sup>4</sup> wending up Green Lane [from close to the present Knoll roundabout] before veering off towards Headley and Pebblecombe aiming for the North Downs/Pilgrim's Way<sup>5</sup> route into Kent. Green Lane itself, called "London Road over the Downs" on milestones of 1745, continues to meet Pebble Lane (Stane Street) close to Thirty Acres Barn. Within a statement of the bounds of the manor set out at the top right-hand corner of Lawrence's map is a reference, "And to the highe way from alonge the highe way to River Crosse hill +", which appears to relate to a fork in the road coming up from Leatherhead where one track crosses the border to pass through the Common Fields to the Marling Pit. In the Ashtead Parish Magazine for April 19026 it was defined as "The incline on the Leatherhead Road near the disused toll-house" (The "T.P." is shown on O.S. maps "440 yards west of Grange Road/Ermyn Way cross-roads", sold off around 1880 but not demolished until the Leatherhead By-Pass Road was constructed.)7

Clearly, the Marling Pit<sup>8</sup> had become a hub from which tracks radiated in four directions, indicating its importance to the farming community. "Marling" (the addition of calcareous marl to clay soil so that the lime content could improve structure, enhance drainage and aid workability) was a process discovered by the Gauls and Britons. In Brittania, according to Pliny the elder writing *Naturalis Historia* circa A.D. 77, pits were sunk which might be 100 feet deep in order to gain access to "a kind of chalk"—R. A. Lever observed that "in this part of Surrey, 'marl pits' are simply chalk pits whose produce was usually burnt before application". Workings in Ashtead have been dated to the Romano-British period. By 1802 the excavation had been extended over one and a half acres: Ashtead Hospital now stands in the long-disused pit on the site of Anthony Lowther's former home, *The Old Quarry*, The Warren, where he found late Bronze Age and early Iron Age pottery etc when creating a garden<sup>10</sup>.

In Ashtead and its history<sup>11</sup>, A.W.G. Lowther also remarked on the remains of an Iron Age/Romano-British farm unearthed at *Inward Shaw*, on Park Lane, traces of a Roman building on the north side of the parish church, and a tile-works of Roman origin in Ashtead Woods. He assumed that brick making and farming had been the main occupations in the area during this period. John Hampton commented further that good transport links would have been essential to the success

of an enterprise represented by the Roman industrial complex on the Common, comprising an unusual corridor villa with two rows of rooms and bathhouse, to be successful.12 The present writer has long been doubtful about suggestions that products were distributed mainly via a road connection south to Stane Street and along it across the Downs whilst, after detailed research into the distribution of Roman flue-tiles, Lowther himself had concluded that it was more likely that makers travelled about the country from one brickworks to another.13 Although not shown on White's map an ancient track survives running along the northern boundary of the parish from "Maldin Common Corner +" to "Woodcock Parke +" [Woodcock Corner]. This would have provided easier access to the villa, kiln and



Fig, 1 The ancient roads of Epsom, from White

bathhouse site with local connections - to Leatherhead, Bookham and Kingston in one direction and Ewell and Epsom in the other. It has become bridleway 29 across Ashtead Common from "Epsom Gap", a term which both indicates the destination of this route and refers back to a gate in the fence set up around the "Lower Common" in December 1619 "to exclude the neighbouring towns and parishes, and others who had no right of common there".

A spur road leading from the tileworks on Ashtead Common was identified by Lowther, passing alongside Newton Wood through Ashtead Park and on to connect with Stane Street. Further archaeological excavations have taken place recently and scientific analysis is being undertaken in an attempt to establish how far tiles produced at Ashtead were actually distributed. Bulletin 418 of the Surrey Archaeological Society contains an article by David Bird, "Ashtead Roman villa and tileworks", on pp. 2–7, in which he writes 'It may be mentioned here that scientific research on the tiles under the direction of Dr Ian Betts has so far established that Ashtead products were certainly reaching some London sites.' In relation to a pattern of fields conjectured to represent a Roman layout, associated with the villa, David Bird has remarked that it was odd this metalled way ran at an angle to the north/south axis<sup>14</sup>. If, however, this track

was a subsequent development simply to provide a direct link to (and possible carriageway to transport salvaged construction materials for) a later (3rd Century?) building erected where St Giles' parish church now stands, it could well have been overlaid without regard for the original boundaries.

There is a dearth of information about the organisation of labour but generally Roman estates (*Latifundia*), served by *Coloni* (who worked the land but could not leave without the owners consent), are thought to have metamorphosed into manorial villages forming an economic and social system of food production. And so, in the Doomsday book, one finds *Stede* (Ashtead) with an unspecified area of arable land but two carrucates [200 acres] in demesne and 33 villains and 11 bordars [smallholders] with 14 carracutes [1400 acres]. There were also 9 bondmen, seven lean hogs for herbage and 4 acres of meadow. From the 6th century, an administrative system had been developed involving the designation of "hundreds" (in the present case, Copthorne) divided into parishes that, as with Ashtead, could follow boundaries of a manor.

We have evidence that Green Lane, mentioned in the third paragraph above, formed part of The Portweye, which linked Saxon settlements from Guildford to Croydon, in an Ashtead Court Roll of 29 January 1575 that referred to "...the Common fieldes beneath the Portwaye ..." The identification is confirmed, beyond where it reached the Ashtead/Epsom boundary along Sheep Walk, in a manuscript from the fifteenth century [probably reflecting Chertsey Abbey's acquisition of Epsom manor in 727], Ebbesham: The metes and bounds of the manor, next to Motshambles/Nutshambles<sup>15</sup>. It is thought that an original route had tracked the line of Stane Street through what became Woodcote Park but was diverted to the north-east after the Abbot of Chertsey Abbey was given permission by Henry I to enclose the park. Mrs Nail suggests that the Portway subsequently followed Langley Vale Road earlier known as Dorking Way, and then Walnut Tree Road [now called Downs Road and partially diverted] to Epsom parish church<sup>16</sup>. The late R. A. Lever assumed that the "mediaeval scribe" had become confused and transposed Portway and Motshambles but a simple explanation is that the point in Epsom parish was across the border from Shepherd's walk, further east on the trackway in the vicinity of Langley Vale<sup>17</sup> [Appendix]. Incidentally, another length of Stane Street coming over Leatherhead Downs from Mickleham was labelled "The Port Street" during the fourteenth century.

Derek Renn has already written about the "King's Ways" in Bookham mentioning references to the KW towards Leatherhead in 1331 and from Leatherhead to Guildford in 1344/518. An account of the boundaries of part of the manor of Pachevesham<sup>19</sup> suggests that the regia via from Great Bookham to Kingston ran over Hawks Hill (as Bignallane) before turning in the direction of Kingston along the "old highway from Dorking" past Ashtead Common and Asshested/Ghospel Crosse. Looking then for a route eastwards, "the highway which runs from Leatherhead to Ashtead" of the 1307 'Pinchun Deed'<sup>20</sup> seems more likely to have been the direct local connection between the two settlements from "the crossroads", as suggested by a sketch map of Leatherhead c. 1350,21 along what are now B2122 Epsom Road and A24 Leatherhead Road. White depicts a divergence to St Giles' church and site of the thirteenth century "Magna Ashtead" manor house proceeding to exit the parish near Abbots Pit into Wilmerhatch Lane (name suggesting the existence of another gate on the parish boundary). In 1638, however, as shown by the map based on John Lawrence's survey re-drawn by the late Anthony Lowther (Fig. 2), there was no more than a trail through the Common Fields to the Marling Pit and onwards to what is now Crampshaw Lane. Remnants further east survive as footpaths and Chalk Lane leading up to Ashtead Park. It looks as if someone decided to direct the main thoroughfare

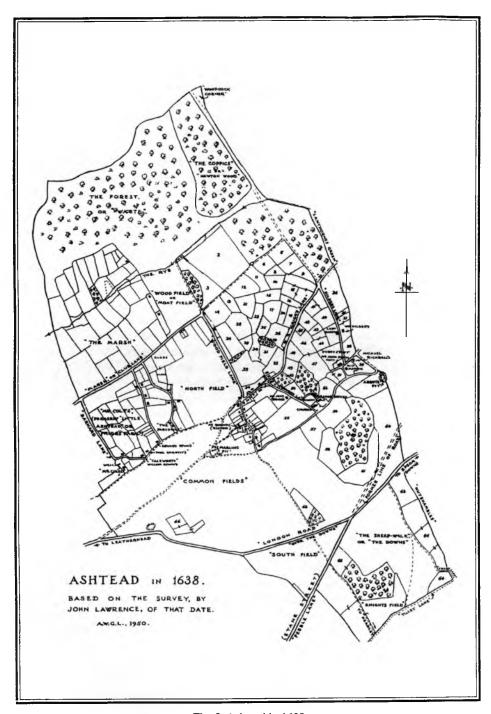


Fig. 2 Ashtead in 1638

around "Prior's Farm", owned until dissolution of the monasteries by Merton Abbey, and along Club Lane before entering the village from the north along Woodfield Lane in order to skirt the Common and North Fields.

Not represented by White was a track now known as Ottways Lane (formerly White House Farm Lane) that connected the "Prior's Farm" (on site of *The Grange*), once owned freehold by Merton Abbey, to the village. Also, access from the original, Saxon, "Hall", *Little Ashtead Manor*, [later *Old Court* on Skinners Lane] to and from the village would have been gained along a footpath presently called Northfields Passage.

The Epsom Road from The Street may have been "...the King's street which is between Ebbesham and estede [Ashtead]..." from a quitclaim of 1261/1269<sup>22</sup>: the route was, however, reported to have been passable only with difficulty until an enactment (28 Geo. II, cap.45) brought in a turnpike after 1755. Part of the problem was attributable to rainwater pooling in dips, for example between Rectory Lane and Church (Park) Lane, about Outwell pond and "the village drain", as well as where Rye Brook ran out of Ashtead Park. In 1656 a length from Church Lane (renamed Park Lane) was called Griggs Lane and ran to what was once the boundary with Epsom. In 1690 a map had been produced of "Surrey, actually surveyed and delineated by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King" which included surprising details for Ashtead, notably "Prian Farm", "Asted Gate" at the entry to the village, and "Asted Pound" in its original position on the southern side of The Street, also "Grigs Hatch" at a point presently indicated by 19th century buildings, Hatchgate Cottages, 1 and 2 Farm Lane.

On available evidence, what has become Barnett Wood Lane was never *The Portway*, as suggested by a caption in White's map, but the Lawrence survey indicates that it was a significant route in the early seventeenth century (notwithstanding the possible implication of one of its descriptions at that time, "Marsh Lane") with an extension east of Woodfield Lane, later called Craddocks Lane, across the fields. It went on to join the Kings Highway from Kingston to Walton on the Hill, mentioned in the Chertsey cartulary, where the track and green way from Chessington passed between Ashtead and Epsom Commons (as also depicted by John Blair in his map of a possible Roman field layout<sup>23</sup>). The latter continued via Hilders Lane (Farm Lane) to "The Meeting Place of Copthorne Hundred" at Nutshambles. Derek Renn has pointed out an alignment of Barnett Wood Lane with Lower Road, Fetcham, but the writer has yet to find any direct evidence to show that the forenamed thoroughfare was another KW.

The N-S routes, prominent on early OS maps, extending from Rushett Lane, Kingston, to pass one each side of Newton Wood were discussed by the late C. K. Currie in an evaluation of the historical landscape of Ashtead and Epsom Commons<sup>24</sup>.He mentioned possible lengths of "holloway", including one that had been ploughed out, and wrote that the eastern track appeared to be a boundary lane: one could not say which would have come first, the boundary or the lane. It was, however, observed that, in his experience, some linear field boundaries could be demonstrated to have a Late Iron Age/Romano-British date. The bounds of Ashtead Common seemed to have been established very early and subsequent encroachment was slight but the case for supposed "centuriation" remained unproven.

As recently as 1921, a ditched mound could be traced, having a diameter of some 50 feet and rising about one foot above normal ground level, indicated on the 1870 O.S. map as lying where a path across the southern end of Newton Wood entered Epsom Common and then a little to the north [NGR TQ 1872 6088]<sup>25</sup>. The feature disappeared before 1966 but could have

been the site of a boundary marker, perhaps one of the crosses used when "beating the bounds" of a parish at Rogationtide. It would have been opposite the point at which The Rye crossed the N-S track at Lanthorn (lantern or beacon?) Green.

White also suggests a continuation of "Craddocks Lane", south of the *The Wells*, on Epsom Common to link *Epsom Court* via Pound Lane that would have been a feasible route under dry conditions. (Significantly, it would have passed over what is now called Wheeler's Lane formerly *Summergate*.) A letter in *The Times* of 31 August 1925 reported that "at the back of *West Hill House*, Epsom, there was a piece of Roman road showing ... [which] might only have gone to Ebba's Hame, the Court Farm, Epsom." Seller's map of 1690

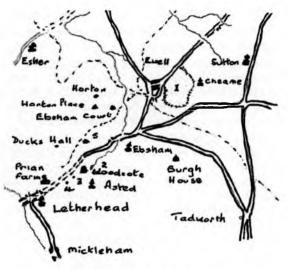


Fig. 3 Routes that crossed Ashtead
1. Nonsuch Palace and Park, 2. Willmore Pond
3. Asted Pound, 4. Asted Gate, 5. Ebsham Wells

has already been mentioned; as indicated on the following re-drawn section, a secondary route to Ewell passed Woodfield before, in this case, proceeding north of "Ebsham Wells" and then on by "Ebsham Court" generally on the line suggested by Reginald White.

If, as reported by John Toland<sup>26</sup>, *Epsom Court* had been a Roman site one can imagine that there would have been a direct link from Ashtead's villa estate. A straight connection across the Epsom parish boundary to Ewell is, however, open to question. That would have involved entry to the latter village by way of a road to the end of Gallows Lane (*Gallowsstrete*)/West Street, Ewell, which does not appear to have existed circa 1400. Nothing of the sort appears on maps from the 18th century or in the O.S. published in 1819 where an explanation may be found in the existence of three watercourses feeding the Hogsmill River that would have needed to be crossed. Rather, the way seems to have turned south at its junction with Hook Road before making a dog-leg, around what have been developed as Longmead and Kiln Lane Industrial estates, along the general line now taken by the A24 to follow Epsom Road into Ewell High Street, sometime known as Greenman Street. It touches on the ancient remnant of Mongers Lane that has been associated with both Stane Street and The Portway, before the latter diverges towards Cuddington.

Lawrence depicted two tracks entering Ashtead from the south, one from Headley where, as observed by Mrs Nail<sup>27</sup>, there is a "considerable hollow way...of some antiquity", and the other, alongside a linear earthwork stretching for one and a quarter mile from Walton Hurst Farm, which has been identified as part of the King's Highway from Walton on the Hill to Kingston. Roman villa sites have been excavated at Sandlands Road, Walton, and on Walton Heath (Bird speculates that the latter might have been owned by the proprietor of the Ashtead tilery<sup>28</sup>). The mediaeval village of Ashtead is thought to have become established lower down the eastern

route as indicated by the pattern of tenements and plots flanking Rectory Lane. That way then followed the line of Woodfield Lane to the Rye before veering off through "The Forest" towards Kingston or Chessington.

From The Street, a branch (of which the stub is recorded in the 1802 Wyburd survey as 389 "A road" followed the later development of Greville Park Road across the North Field through a plot on which The Woodman has been built to the hamlet of Woodfield. Part of this green way survives alongside the northern part of the Woodfield open space as footpath 28. Having forded the Rye it proceeded to serve Caen Farm (Dykkes in the fifteenth century) before turning westwards and dividing to exit The Common either at Ashtead Gap or Epsom Gap.

In 1909 a dispute arose over access to the Caen Farm Estate from Green Lane: L.B. & S. C. and L. & S. W. Joint Railway Company contended that there was merely an "accommodation crossing" but the Parish Council disagreed on the basis that the company's line had been built over "an immemorial roadway" which remained a public right of way. Eventually, the parties reached a compromise agreement for a permissive passage through wicket gates to what is now defined as footpath 24, again up to Epsom Gate and A243 towards Kingston. John Lawrence's map indicates that the present Agates Lane (named after a family of tenant farmers at New Purchase Farm in the nineteenth century, formerly West Farm Lane and, even earlier, Malthouse Lane) extended in 1638 only from "Edward Otway's" copyhold property to Marsh otherwise Club Lane. The Wyburd survey of 1802, however, revealed an extension, the length of two fields, further north. This was a "driftway" (common road or path for driving sheep and cattle) probably established when Robert Howard acquired the manor in 1680 to give access to demesne land in "The Marsh". The original hedge lines tapered in towards the bottom to facilitate the sorting and segregation of stock. From that point a track allowed animals to be taken to a watering place on the Rye brook, and to higher fields with an outlet to Ashtead Woods (along, as quaintly named in the twentieth century, "Sleeper Alley").

Undoubtedly, Kingston developed as an important centre at a crossing point on the Thames where Emperor Claudius is said to have arranged for the "construction of a substantial wooden bridge". It was an ancient market town where, according to tradition, Saxon kings were crowned and a council is recorded to have taken place in 838, being mentioned as illa famosa loco quae appellatur Cyninges tun. 30 We have a particular record of "Devonshire oxen" and "Derbyshire sheep" having been bought for Col. Howard, respectively in 1823 and 1824, at "Kingston Great Fair"31: beasts would have been driven back to Ashtead and the size of the flocks etc requiring grazing could account for the width of some verges along the way from Malden Rushett (although others take a view that the roads were broad to allow room for manoeuvre around rutted areas). Outside The Star public house stands a "coal post", one of many erected by The City of London, "where any turnpike road, public highway, railway or canal entered", to delimit the District in which there was a right to exact duties imposed in the seventeenth century and earlier. Derek Renn has kindly drawn my attention to further markers at O.S points TQ 173601 and 178606 whilst there is another near Woodcock Corner all lying along bridleway 29 where it is intersected, in turn, by rights of way 31, 34 and 38, confirming their character as long established thoroughfares<sup>32</sup>.

For completeness, one should perhaps comment on the remaining two routes running from south to north on the Lawrence map. Barnard's (or Barnet, now Harriotts) Lane is thought to have been no more than a track along the Leatherhead boundary beside the fields of *Priors Farm* when Merton Abbey owned the freehold of 30 acres but it had been developed by Mr Cole to

service his additional copyhold real estate. The other, with a bulge to the east, curved round "Little Ashtead" manor house (*Old Court*) and linked the capital messuage to *The Parsonage* in one direction and Marsh Lane in the other.

#### NOTES

- 1 Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, S30(1)
- 2 Hall A. 2008 Surrey Archaeological Collections 94, 225–249
- 3 Vardey, E. (Ed) 1988 History of Leatherhead, 12
- 4 Jackson, A.A, (Ed.) 1977 Ashtead, a village transformed, 24–25, 194–195 & Vardey, E. (Ed.) 1988 History of Leatherhead
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- 6 Smith, J. E. 1902 Ashtead Past and Present, ix
- 7 Gollin, G. J. 1977 Turnpike Toll House between Ashtead and Leatherhead Proc. L & D L H Soc. 4, 1,2. & Surrey History Service Collection 869/311-3
- 8 Jackson, A. A. (Ed.) 1977 Ashtead, a village transformed, 18
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- 10 Surrey Historic Environment Record 137
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- 14 Bird, D. G. & J (Ed.) 1987 The Archaeology of Surrey to 1540, 180
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- 17 Lever, R. A, 1981 Place-names along the Ashtead/Epsom boundary Proc. L & DLH Soc. 4, 5, 114
- 18 Renn D. 2006 "King's Ways" in Bookham Proc. L & D L H Soc, 6, 10,320
- 19 Malden, H. E. (Ed.) 1911 Victoria County History; A history of the County of Surrey, Vol. 3, 293-301
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#### JOHN ASTRIDGE OF ASHTEAD (1846–1939)

by BERYL WILLIAMS

The name John Astridge first appears in the Ashtead parish registers in 1866 when he was best man at the marriage of William Payne and Rachael Cummins. As the Dutch say "From a wedding comes a wedding", and almost exactly a year later John (of Epsom) married Ashteadborn Hannah Street at St. Martin's Epsom. John had been born in the Hampshire village of Cliddesden (pronounced Clisden) and he took his bride back there where their first child, Charles, was baptized; their second child, Mary Ann (Polly) was baptised in nearby Basing. By 1871 they were back in Ashtead, where John found work as an agricultural labourer and housing in a cottage near the bakery on Ashtead Common.

In their early years in Ashtead, John, Hannah and their steadily growing family received assistance from local charities: An annual payment of between five and eight shillings from Mrs. Smith's Gift (paid as a credit to local shopkeepers) and between four and seven shillings from Mrs. Bond's Charity and in 1879 (during Sollie's illness) the family received two pairs of blankets from Mrs. Howard's Gift. The family also benefited from membership in the village Clothing Club—in 1877 and 1878 they saved 19/6d in the club and were rewarded by 8/8d being added by local benefactors.

#### The Death of a Child

In 1878 anxiety descended on John's family, the extent of which was brought to light in a letter written to 8 year-old Polly by her Astridge grandmother and preserved by Polly's family.

The letter writer was John's mother, Ann (née Legrove), who was born in Basing in 1819. Compulsory and subsidized education was not introduced until the 1870s but Ann could read and write (with inventive spelling). Her husband, farm-labourer Charles Astridge, died of exhaustion at work in the fields at the age of 60 and Ann married James Jeffreys, a Basingstoke shoemaker. Here are extracts from Ann's 1878 letter to Polly.

March the 2 1878 Winchester Street Basingstoke, Hants

My Dear little granddaughter, very many thanks to you my dear for your very nice long letter which I was so very pleased to reseve from you for I assure you dear Pollie that it was with great pleaser I read your nice letter, it was very good indeed for the first letter that you ever wrote...

I could not help crying over your letter for I am so greved to hear that your dear little brother Sollie [aged 6] is such a sufferer. I am afraid now that there isent much hopes of the dear little fellow ever being well again if his brains are got so bad and we must all waite god [sic] own good time and then he will take him to himself to be with the angels in heaven above weare all is love there will be no more sorrow thear and all his sufferings will be taken away from him and all his pain. Kiss the dear child for me and give him 6 pence into his own dear little hand and tell him I sent it for him to bye some little thing with what he would like best my dears do you think that you culd bye him one of those little tiney spinning tops what they spin with thear finger

and thumb not with string, they are not much biger round then a shilling and you can spin them on the table cloce by him and I think it might please the dear little sufferer. Tell your dear father that they are very much like I have seen him play with when he was a boy at home - put a little stick throw [through] a white ivery button and call it a monlagigg. ...

Dear Pollie ... be sure to be kind to dear little Sollie also to the rest of your dear brothers and sisters and tell them that I sent my kindest love to them all and lots of kiss [sic] not forgeting your own dear self Pollie. You can kiss them all for me and they must kiss you in return. Pollie I hope you will take cear to keep this letter for my seake. With my fondest love to you all my dears from your loving and affectionate grandmother and grandfather [crosses for kisses] James & Ann Jeffreys

Sollie's death in March of 1881 was certified as being from 'Brain disease, convulsions for five years' and the census taken shortly after has John (a bricklayer's labourer) and Hannah with their five remaining children living on Ashtead common (likely Whittaker Cottages).

#### The Need to Work Away from Ashtead

A second letter from John's mother to Polly was written on 16 February 1884 and includes this reference to John and 16-year old Charlie working away from home:

Is your dear father and brother still at home as your dear mother said that they explead [expected] to be sent away to work somewhere ... but of course ... go wear thear work be.

This letter was directed to Glebe Road and indeed the 1885 Ashtead Rate Rolls show the family living at 12 Glebe Road, a cottage and garden of 13 perches with an annual rental value of £11.

#### The Death of a Second Child

Hannah gave birth to Annie, their eighth child, on 16 September 1884 at 12 Glebe Road but Annie was premature and did not thrive for she died of exhaustion just six days later. The business of registering Annie's death was taken on by a neighbour, R. Haynes of Glebe Road who said he was present at her death (an indication that John might indeed have been working away from home). Shortly after Annie's death the family moved to a slightly bigger property (14 perches) at 2 Glebe Road with an annual rental value of £15 and here John and Hannah's two youngest children were born. In 1891 (with four children and two lodgers) and 1901 (with two children and one lodger) John and Hannah were still at 2 Glebe Road but by 1911 John and Hannah (as empty nesters) were back on the Common living at *Firs Cottage*. Hannah died in 1925 (aged 79) at neighbouring *Oak Cottage*.

#### The Perversity of John

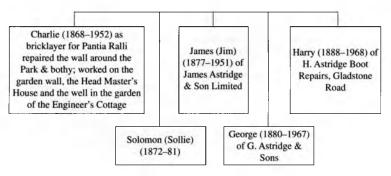
John is remembered for refusing to observe British Summer Time.<sup>2</sup> And, in spite of having a literate mother and brother (and his mother suggesting in a letter to Polly that her father read a particular book), he never signed his name: when he was best man at the 1866 wedding, when he married in 1867 and when he witnessed his son's marriage in 1890, he made his mark with an 'X'.

#### The Death of John Astridge

For the last years of his life John lived with his son Jim at *Cliddesden*, Woodfield and died there on 20 February 1939 aged 92—this is his (not entirely accurate) newspaper obituary:

THE OLDEST INHABITANT - Mr. John Astridge, of Cliddesden, Ashtead, who claimed to be Ashtead's oldest inhabitant, died on Monday of last week at the residence of his son, Mr. J. Astridge. Born 92 years ago, Mr. Astridge had lived in the village for the past 67 years. He was for many years employed at the old Ashtead Brewery and was one of the first members to join the Brewery Inn Slate Club. Until his health prevented he was of late years found to be assisting his son in the woodyard. Mr. Astridge was the oldest man to attend the Ashtead Coronation Celebrations which coincided with his 91st birthday [May 12, 1937]. He married Miss Hannah Street, a native of Ashtead, at Ashtead Parish Church on October 19th 1867. He leaves 94 descendants, including 4 sons, 4 daughters, 39 grandchildren and 47 great-grandchildren. The funeral took place at Ashtead Parish Churchyard on Friday last when the Rector (the Rev. E.J. Austin) officiated. The chief mourners were: Mr. C. Astridge (son), Mr. & Mrs. H. Vidler, Mr. & Mrs. W. Sayers (sons-inlaw and daughters), Mr. & Mrs. J. Astridge, Mr. & Mrs. G. Astridge, Mr. & Mrs. H. Astridge (sons and daughters-in-law), Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. Jeapes (daughters), Mr. & Mrs. H. Astridge (son and daughter-in-law), Mr. & Mrs. R. Astridge, Mr. & Mrs. F. Astridge, Mr. A. Haffenden, Mr. P. Astridge, Mr. E. Astridge (grandsons), Mrs. W. Hollonds, Mrs. E. Wynn, Mrs. R. Richardson, Mrs. F. Woodhurst (grand-daughters), Mr. G. Street (nephew) and Mr. W. Wellings. There were a number of beautiful floral tributes including those from: "Polly & Harry": "Lizzie & Will": "Jim & Em"; "George & Topsy"; "Nell & family"; "Em & family"; "Reg & Lizzie"; "Fred & Olga"; "Stanley & Alice"; "Percy & Arthur"; "Ann & Will"; "Nancy & Bert"; "June & Derrick"; "Iris", "Kit & Charlie"; "Lil & Ralph"; "George & Annie"; "Jim, Edie & Eileen"; "Mrs. Weller & daughter"; "Mr. & Mrs. Benham"; "Mr. & Mrs. W. Wellings;" "Mr. & Mrs. F. Wellings"; and "Great-grandchildren".

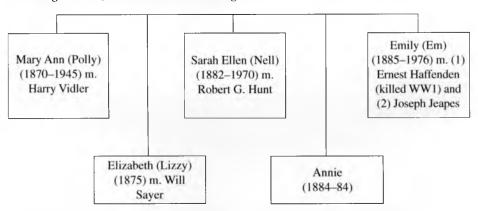
#### The sons of John and Hannah Astridge





John Astridge and his adult sons

#### The daughters of John and Hannah Astridge



#### The Maintenance of Family Contacts: Hampshire - Ashtead - New Zealand

The two letters written by John's mother refer to letters and visits made between Basingstoke and Ashtead (probably by train) which may also have included John's younger brother George and his family who lived in London. George took his family to New Zealand in 1911 but contact was maintained and letters written 1957–1962 by George's daughter to her cousin Em of the Ashtead family have been preserved by Em's family.

By happenstance this letter written by John's brother George to the Master of the Basingstoke Workhouse has also survived:

4 Morley Road Stratford, E. Nov 6, 1902

Dear Sir,

The receipt for 10/- came to hand on Wednesday morning.

As this letter will probably close our correspondence, I desire again to express my sincere thanks to you for your kindness and the great respect & consideration you have shown towards my late uncle, R. Legrove; also for the kind letters you have written to me from time to time with reference to him. They (the letters) have been read by all the members of my family, and we could not help noticing the friendly spirit in which they were couched. While thanking you for this I take the opportunity of assuring you that the feeling is reciprocal.

I cannot close without asking you to convey my best thanks to all those in the Institution who have in any way contributed towards the well-being of my late uncle during the final stages of his earthly life.

With kind regards to yourself and family. Believe me, Yours sincerely, G. Astridge

#### NOTES

- 1. SHC ATDGIL/15/4/2 and 3
- 2. Hoad, Gwen (2004) James Weller-Farmer of Ashtead. Proc. L&DLHSoc. 6, 219-221.

#### FROM THE LONG HOUSE TO MILNER HOUSE NURSING HOME

By PETER TARPLEE

The building which is now Milner House Nursing Home was built in 1892 as a private house. It was known as The Long House and built for Daniel Pidgeon (see Clube, 1998)—hence the initials "DP" which are moulded into the stonework in various parts of the building as well as on some brasswork and drainpipes. Eight years after moving into their new house, the Pidgeons were in a hotel in Aswan in Egypt on holiday when Mr Pidgeon died from an attack of influenza. The rector of Ashtead happened to also be in Aswan at the time and so was able to conduct the funeral service.

The house remained in the ownership of Mrs Pidgeon for another 25 years but she did not live there. The first tenants were the Klinker family who stayed for two years or so. Mr Klinker was an importer of Ibach pianos, but he and his family also gave the impression that he was a gentleman farmer. At that time the land belonging to the house stretched down to Leatherhead Road, and the house surviving on the corner of Ermyn Way was a lodge of the estate. Our society has a collection of photographs taken by Klinker's daughter Nanetta; these show the farmland around the garden and also indicate that the front door of the house was on the opposite side of the house to where the present main entrance is, and that the drive to the house was where *The Cedars* is now. The Klinker family were followed by various tenants, including Abraham Dixon, who stayed there for about a year from July 1893 following a fire caused by lightning which left *Cherkley Court* a gutted shell. In 1926 the house was bought by Sir Frederick Milner on behalf of the Ex-Services Welfare Society.

The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Milner, Bt. was born on 7th November 1849 and died on 8th June 1931 after a very interesting and useful life. He followed three of his predecessors in the title in becoming an MP for York. He was elected in 1883 but was defeated in 1885; he later represented the Bassetlaw Division of Nottinghamshire from 1890 for 16 years until he had to retire due to problems with increasing deafness. So at 57 he was out of a job, and he stated that during his time as an MP he had written, by his own hand, over 50,000 letters in his work representing his constituents. He had been appointed as a Privy Councillor in 1904 and what had been a promising career appeared to be closed by his enforced retirement in 1906. However, his main work in life was only just beginning.

He had been moved by the poor treatment of injured troops returning from the Boer War, and later he saw the risk of injustice on a much larger scale to those returning from the Great War. He raised money for the disabled ex-servicemen and he spoke and wrote continuously to further their cause and to try to get their pensions raised to an acceptable level. It was through his efforts that the Ministry of Pensions was set up; before that all other ranks' army pensions were dealt with by Chelsea Hospital. He founded a recuperative hostel in Hampstead, he set up a number of village settlements and he started the Ex-Services Welfare Society. Eventually the government set up similar institutions and they asked Sir Frederick to close his. This he declined to do, and before long the government had more cases than they could deal with and they began to send patients to him. His main interest was with the "shell-shocked" servicemen, as they were referred to at that time, and in 1919 he set up the Ex-Services Welfare Society to help them. The treatment of shell-shocked troops was often barbaric and, if their condition led to a failure to obey orders, they were often shot. If you have read any of the *Regeneration* trilogy of novels by Pat Barker you will know something of the mental hospital treatment of mentally disabled

officers, but for any other ranks who avoided death by firing squad and were returned to Britain, the only recourse was to lock them in pauper lunatic asylums. From a study of parliamentary proceedings of the time it was obvious that many MPs could see nothing wrong with this.



The front of Milner House today



The empty Remploy factory

Even 15 years after the Great War, there were over 6,000 servicemen and nurses confined to mental hospitals as well as 30,000 suffering from neurasthenia. Milner would never accept that this was the right treatment for most of these people, as he felt that they could still lead a useful and satisfying life. In 1924 the Ex-Services Welfare Society opened the Sir Frederick Milner House at Eden Park in Beckenham, Kent as a rest and treatment centre. It was two years later that the Society bought for £5,500 The Long House in Ermyn Way, Ashtead, where disabled ex-servicemen could live in a sheltered environment and yet perform a useful function in life. No medical care was provided, but the residents were employed in various activities under sheltered conditions. There was a successful market garden and, a year after the house had been purchased by the society, a sheltered workshop was built alongside the house, used mainly to make electric blankets and heating pads. The factory was staffed by residents of the Sir Frederick Milner Home and they continued making electrically heated blankets and similar goods until their closure in 1980. The Society isolated its industrial side from the charity and set up the private company, Thermega, whose shares were owned by the Society. which had previously bought the patent for the making of electric blankets.

Electrically heated pads had been developed by an American doctor, S I Russell, around 1912, particularly for use with tuberculosis patients, who spent a lot of time out of doors. The first commercial production of electric heating pads and blankets was carried out by the World War I veterans for Thermega. At a function at the Sir Frederick Milner Home in 1928, Sir Frederick reported that the staff at Thermega totalled 40 and he stressed the need for cottages to be built to accommodate married couples in cases where the men worked in the factory. In 1930, 12 cottages were built at the home, and these survive in Ermyn Close. At that time the factory was producing over 500 electric blankets each week, as well as some 2,000 electric pads to take the place of poultices for local heat application. Sir Frederick insisted that the factory was not a charity but a business run on commercial lines, and that all the staff were paid a living wage. Even when Thermega closed they were making 2,000 blankets a week as well as plastic wallets, tool pouches, portfolios etc. and they were also making flare parachutes and packing parachute lines for Schermuly at Newdigate (who, of course, have also gone from the area after their merger with Pains-Wessex of Salisbury).

In a book to be published in 2010, Dr Fiona Reid states "anyone who has ever used a Thermega electric blanket has benefited from the work of a mentally disabled serviceman." I have a copy of the Thermega catalogue of medical appliances, dated 1942, and among other things it lists:- Thermega blankets; Thermega pads; medical blankets; ambulance blankets; operating table blankets; sweating blankets; cage heaters for premature births. The brochure lists all the various hospitals which used Thermega products—at that time, before the NHS, each hospital was independent. A local Leatherhead directory of 1970 describes Thermega as follows:-

Thermega are the pioneers of two things in Great Britain, namely Industrial Rehabilitation and the Electric Blanket. It is the Sheltered Workshop of the Ex-Service Welfare Society and has provided employment for disabled men from two world wars. Thermega now specialise in all forms of gentle heat applied to medical, experimental and industrial use, and their appliances can be found from the North Pole to the Equator! They also have a wide range of electric blankets for the domestic market. Their trade slogan "The First and Still the Finest" is firmly believed by the Management and Staff.

As well as the blanket factory, there was a basket industry where new clients were tested and, if they showed an aptitude for the discipline of a commercial factory environment, they were

transferred to the Thermega works.



Milner House: the manufacture of "Thermega" electric blankets

thermega 3-heat de luxe

WASHABLE ELECTRIC UNDERBLANKET



Thermega advertisement

Sir Frederick Milner, "the Soldiers' and Sailors' Friend", who had enabled many disabled ex-servicemen to live a life of dignity rather than be placed in an asylum, died in 1931. In 1933 Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Reginald Yorke Tyrwhitt became President of the society and in 1946 they opened a treatment centre in Oaklawn Road, Leatherhead named after him, which is still in operation. In 1958 the society changed its name to the Ex-Services Mental Welfare Society and the patients are now are described as suffering from "Combat Stress".

Sir Frederick and the Society did much more than run the homes. He spent nearly all his life working on behalf of the neurasthenic and mentally disabled ex-servicemen and, from studying the articles and letters which he was constantly writing, it is clear that he used the time after he left parliament on behalf of this rather unfashionable cause. As an example I quote from a letter which Sir Frederick wrote to the father of someone he was trying to help:-

I have been trying to work your son's case through the Director Gen Medical Services, who is the only official I know with any idea of humanity......The Pens Min Boards are most harsh and unjust. I have upset them over and over again at Tribunals. I am sorry to say I am breaking up fast, and fear I may not be able to carry on much longer, but I will do all I can for your son, and with a good certificate I may succeed. If he is told to go before a Board, be sure to let me know in time, and I will give him a letter to the Chairman. If they know I am behind him they will be more careful.

Very truly yrs Fred Milner.

This letter somehow got to Whitehall, and some very acrimonious correspondence ensued, with all staff being told to pass any letter from Milner to head office and not to reply to it. Sir Frederick, of course, got sight of this instruction and wrote saying that they should not be acting on private correspondence. It's all very much like the present time when documents are leaked from official bodies and cabinet ministers become very active.

During his post-parliamentary life Sir Frederick Milner devoted his time and energy to mentally disabled ex-servicemen and although I only quote from one letter, there are many like this and I think it underlines the differences between the official line and that of the Welfare Society. I give a few short quotes from correspondence from Milner:-

"The department dealing with widows and dependents is hopeless". "If you write to a department you either get no answer or are fobbed off with a buff post-card saying the matter will be attended to, which it never is". "I have just past my 80th birthday, and am still fighting for the ex-serviceman....the poor fellows who have lost their reason or their lives through their service for their country have not had their share of the country's generosity".

In 1981 the Thermega factory was taken over by Remploy, who carried out a major modernisation and refurbishment of the works between 1986 and 1992. Remploy was set up under the 1944 Disabled Persons (Employment) Act by the then Minister of Labour Ernest Bevin. "Remploy" was a brand name originally devised by the Ex-Services Employment Mental Welfare as a shorter name than the previous Disabled Persons Employment Corporation. The organisation grew to have a network of facilities throughout Britain which enabled disabled staff to carry out useful functions in a work situation. Leatherhead was part of the manufacturing services group and they acted as a contract manufacturer engaged in the batch production of electro-mechanical and electronic equipment, as well as the assembly and packaging of a wide range of products. In November 2007 it was announced that the Leatherhead Remploy factory

would be closing as would many others throughout the country. After extensive lobbying by trades unions, Mole Valley District Council and others the state-owned company closed 29 factories with the loss of 2,500 jobs, 42 being at the Ermyn Way works. This brought to an end this industrial initiative where disabled people had been enabled to live a worthwhile life whilst being productive. Although the initial application for 13 dwellings was refused it appears that the factory will be replaced by a housing development.

In 1988 the Ex-Services Mental Welfare Society put *Milner House* up for sale with a site of 2.1 acres; the rest of the grounds were used for separate development, including the houses on the site for married couples. The home was bought by Ashbourne Homes and it is now operated by Southern Cross Healthcare Group as a nursing home for the elderly which can accommodate 58 residents. Appropriately, it is named after Sir Frederick Milner, the retired Member of Parliament who did so much for the welfare of mentally disabled ex-servicemen, at a time when this was not a popular cause. Also in the town there is *Tyrwhitt House*, named for his successor as President of the Ex-Service Welfare Society, which is still providing treatment for the illness now known as "combat stress", which unfortunately continues to be very much needed.

#### **Further reading**

Barham, Peter Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War

Brook, Roy The Stress of Combat; the Combat of Stress

Clube, J R L&DLHS Proceedings, 1998, 6, 2, 33-36

Horder, The Rt Hon Lord; Health and Social Welfare 1945-1946

Reid, Fiona; Broken Men: Shell Shock Threatment and Recovery in Britain 1914-1930

The Times, 8-11-28, Training the Shellshocked.

The Times, 9-6-31, Obituary of Sir Frederick Milner.

Material was also obtained from various letters to 'The Times' and from Ministry of Pensions and Ministry of Labour files at the National Archives

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

The Society has published or compiled a number of books on the local history of the area, and the following are still available (prices include p&p):-

| A History of Ashtead, edited by Jack Stuttard, 1995.                                     | £9.99  |
|--|--------|
| Archive Photographs Series — <i>Leatherhead</i> , compiled by Linda Heath, 1996.         | £12.99 |
| History of Fetcham, edited by Jack Stuttard, 1998.                                       |        |
| Bookham in the Twentieth Century, by Bill Culley, 2000.                                  | £6.50  |
| History of Headley, edited by Jack Stuttard, 2001.                                       |        |
| Leatherhead, A History, by Edwina Vardey, 2001.  |        |
| The Swan Leatherhead and its Brewery,<br>by Mary Rice-Oxley 2001.                        | £5.95  |
| Leatherhead and District. Then and Now, compiled by Linda Heath and Peter Tarplee, 2005. | £12.99 |
| The Inns and Public Houses of Leatherhead and District, by Goff Powell. 2006.            | £5.50  |
| Over the Bridge, Memories of a Leatherhead Lad from<br>Both Sides of the Bridge,         |        |
| by Brian Hennegan. 2009.   | £6.50  |

Copies may be ordered from the Sales Secretary, L&DLHS, 64, Church Street, Leatherhead, KT22 8DP.
Cheques should be made payable to "L&DLHS"