PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



VOL. 2 No. 5

SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING FIXTURES were arranged in the period 1st October, 1960, to 31st December, 1961:--

1960

December 10th Joint Meeting with the Surrey Archaeological Society. Lecture: "Armour and Old Weapons", by C. Blair.

1961

February 22nd

March 22nd April 26th

Brains Trust. Chairman, F. B. Benger; Members, J. Harvey, F.S.A., C. W. Phillips, O.B.E., F.S.A., J. Sankey, B.Sc., A. T. Ruby, M.B.E. Lecture: "1959/60 Excavations of Nonsuch Palace", by Martin Biddle. Lecture: "History of the Royal Borough of Kingston", by F. J. Owen. This meeting was preceded by a Special General Meeting of the Society.

Visit to Claremont, Esher. Leader: T. E. C. Walker, F.S.A. May 27th

July 1st July 29th Visit to Hawks Hill Excavations. Natural History Ramble on Juniper Down. Leader: Mrs. Topping.

Walk down the Mole Valley. Leader: A. T. Ruby, M.B.E. August 27th

October 21st

Fungus Foray. Leader: Mrs. Topping.

December 2nd

Joint Meeting with the Surrey Archaeological Society. Lecture: "Hawks Hill Excavations 1961" (see 1.7.61 above), by F. A. Hastings.

No. 4 of Vol. 2 of the Proceedings of the Society was issued during the year and was well received by members.

A special General Meeting of the Society was held on 26th April, 1961, when the rules were amended to coincide the Society's year with the calendar year.

Fifteenth Annual General Meeting

Held at the Council Offices, Leatherhead, on Thursday, 22nd March, 1962

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the period 1st October, 1960, to 31st December, 1961, were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected as shown below. The meeting was followed by a Brains Trust Session.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1962

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

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

Hon. Secretary: J. G. W. LEWARNE

(69 Cobham Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey. Tel.: Leatherhead 3736)

Hon. Treasurer: W. T. BRISTOW

(Lloyds Bank, Leatherhead, Surrey)

Hon. Programme Secretary: Dr. P. TOPPING

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

Committee Members: Mrs. B. HAYNES, F. B. BENGER

Hon. Auditor: A. H. KIRBY

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

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

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

PROCEEDINGS

of the

Leatherhead and District Local History Society Vol. 2, No. 5

1961

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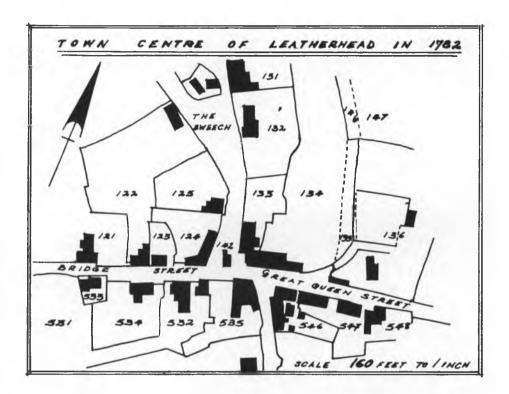
OCCASIONAL NOTES



THE STOCKS HOUSE, LEATHERHEAD

THE WATER-COLOUR DRAWING by John Hassell dated 1822 which we reproduce above (formerly in the possession of the late F. Kingsnorth of Leatherhead and now in that of his daughter Mrs. Stephens of Sunninghill, Berks.), is important because it is almost the only illustration of a Leatherhead street scene of the pre-photographic era.

The Stocks House stood in the centre of the road at the junction of North Street with Bridge Street, and this view of it, looking south, may be compared with a section of the 1782/3 Manor Map of Leatherhead also reproduced, where it is shown as parcel 142. In the accompanying references to the map it is described as a freehold of one perch in the holding of William Clements. In 1819 Thomas Bridges was assessed in respect of the Stocks House for Poor Rate.



A note of explanation concerning the 1782/3 Manor Map is necessary. In it the present High Street is shown as Great Queen Street, and Church Street as Little Queen Street. These names may well have been bestowed upon them to mark the route taken by Queen Elizabeth in 1591 when she visited Edmund Tylney at The Mansion, coming from Nonsuch Palace at Ewell. The wide part of North Street, then including part of the site of the present War Memorial, was known as The Sweech.

It is probable that Hassell, the artist, was sitting at a point now represented by the pavement in front of No. 12 North Street when he made the sketch. The building with a window in the right middle foreground stood upon the site of the present National Provincial Bank; beyond it is the turning right into Bridge Street, and behind are seen buildings on the sites now occupied by Nos. 3 and 5 Bridge Street. The wall with a pillar to the left rear of the Stocks House was approximately on the site of the present Westminster Bank frontage.

The Stocks House itself appears from the form of its abutting chimney, its fenestration, and the shape of its gables to have been built in the seventeenth century. Whether it gained its name from the proximity of the stocks, which are seen in the picture, or whether it was in fact an official building housing the Parish Constable with his "cage" for prisoners, it is not possible to say with certainty; but the fact that the property was a freehold vested in individuals both in 1782 and 1819 suggests the first as the more probable reason for its name, although the possibility that by custom the Vestry rented the building for what

we now call police purposes cannot be ruled out. It is therefore worthy of record that the Vestry Minutes (in the Parish Chest) record the presence at meetings of the Overseers of the Highways of the following in the capacity of Constable: September 23rd, 1782, Joseph Hamsher and Thomas Halfacre (Joint Constables); September 22nd, 1803, Jno. Arthur; September 22nd, 1820, Richard Mozley.

F. B. BENGER.

REV. JAMES DALLAWAY

IN VOLUME 2, No. 1 of these *Proceedings* reference was made to the search for the grave of Dallaway (the first local historian) in Leatherhead churchyard. It has recently been discovered by the Verger, Mr. A. E. Burnett, and is found to be a flat ledger of Portland stone resting on several courses of brickwork. The inscription, to him and to his friend Richard Duppa, who is buried with him, is almost illegible, and it is hoped to have it re-cut. Fortunately the exact wording is recorded in Brayley's *History of Surrey*, 1850, IV, 445.

MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM LEATHERHEAD HIGH STREET 1954

By S. G. NASH

STRUCTURAL ALTERATIONS were being carried out to the party wall dividing Messrs. Burtons (Tailors) premises from those of Messrs. Findlay (Tobacconists) and this necessitated a new electric cable being led by the S.E.E. Board to the main cable running down Leatherhead High Street at a distance, in the vicinity of Burton's, of about 4' 6" from the edge of the pavement and at a depth of 2 feet. This new cable meant that ground which was not so disturbed as most in the town area would be trenched.

By midday on April 14th, 1954, a trench about 1 foot wide and 2 feet deep had been taken from the S.W. corner of Burton's premises and at right angles to it, for a distance of 8'3", and a square hole, 3 feet by 3 feet (A on plan), then taken out round the main cable, so that the S. side of the square hole was 3 feet from the edge of the pavement.

In order to be able to work underneath this main cable the hole was being made deeper than the trench. It was at this point that I arrived. The new cable had already been drawn through the trench and much of the earth therefrom replaced so that I was unable to examine the section or bottom of the trench but in the rubble still left I found no pottery, only fragments of glass bottles, bricks, and tiles.

I found one or two sherds in the spoil most recently thrown out of the hole but it was while I was there that it began to come out in a much greater quantity. (Fortunately the workman came from Colchester and knew what to look for.) The hole was taken out to a depth of 2' 6", and I then had to get back to work.

At 5 o'clock I returned, the foreman had got a few more sherds for me, and had become interested and begun following the pottery layer by undercutting in the S.W. corner of the hole. He then allowed me to continue while he went to tea and I recovered all I could.

As shown in the section drawing, the first two feet consisted chiefly of soil, with a few fragments of glass, brick, and tile therein and a very large quantity of Horsham slabs, some of it lying at an angle of 45° or so, as though fallen from a roof. The complete specimen, pierced for hanging, which I saved, was at this angle.

From 2' to 2' 3" was a layer of pottery, tight-packed and with little or, more usually, no soil at all between the sherds. The bottom layer of this pottery lay on a very thin layer of clay, say $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and beneath this, to the excavated depth of 2' 6" was chalk.

The contrast between the soil, rubble and pottery on the one hand and the clay-chalk on the other was very pronounced, the latter being so clear-cut, smooth and level that I at the time judged it to be a floor, unless the natural surface of chalk—assuming I was down to the natural—is in places as smooth and level as this. Moreover, the top 2 feet, despite being under the pavement, was loose and lightly packed, whereas the pottery was packed so tightly it was hard to get out and the chalk required a pick, a trowel making no impression.

(As regards the possibility of it being the "natural" chalk, I would mention I have never seen the chalk reached in any other hole in this part of the town and I know that at the Hospital where I worked the chalk is far below this depth. On the other hand, the chalk apparently comes practically to the surface round the "Swan pit".)

Owing to the cable being in the way I was unable to examine carefully the N.W. and N.E. corners of the hole, but the S.E. corner appeared sterile, as if the pottery began somewhere in the hole, or from a N.E. direction, and continued in a strip about 2 feet wide running S.W. in the ultimate direction of the Westminster Bank. By undercutting we followed it for about 18". As, however, the pottery was most obvious and prolific in the S.W. corner I spent nearly all the time there and closer examination and undercutting may have revealed it elsewhere also. Unfortunately it all had to be done hurriedly as the hole had to be filled in and the pavement replaced that day.

(I would add that where I found the pottery was, as nearly as I could visually judge, on the line of the upper part of the High Street, which, unlike Burton's, has not been set back. Also the old "Swan" extended much further into the present road, and the corner in the old days, as I remember it, began lower down, was much more acute, and the pavement was a narrow thing of about 2 feet in width.)

S. G. Nash (20.4.54).

- P.S. I also found two iron tile-nails, which unfortunately I did not keep.
- 21.4.54. A hole was dug in the position (B on plan) marked in pencil and shaded on the plan, in completion of the electrical work. It was taken out to a depth of 3' 6", and consisted of soil, rubble, bits of chalk, several complete bricks, and a few fragments of glass. There was no pottery, no Horsham slabs, and no solid level of chalk.
- 22.4.54. A third trench (C) was taken out by the E.S. Water Co. to a depth of 4' 6". This was a confused mass of debris: soil, sand, clay, a great deal of chalk, flints, bricks, tiles and a little glass, but no Horsham slabs.

The first 12" were modern road surface. Three inches beneath this, in situ in the debris, were pieces of modern (19th century) green glazed stoneware, and which are apparently pieces of the same vessel as was represented by a single fragment found in the upper (debris) level in trench A.

A NOTE ON THE MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM LEATHERHEAD HIGH STREET (1954)

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

THE POTTERY which was found by Mr. Nash at the bottom of the hole A, lying on a thin layer of clay which rested apparently on the natural chalk sub-soil, is clearly all of one fairly brief period (that which, at "The Mounts", was that of *Sir Eustace de Hacche*) from about 1280 to 1300 A.D. It is paralleled very closely by the pottery of this period found during the excavations at Pachenesham. It can be presumed to have

been at the bottom of a small rubbish pit, typical of those which are so numerous on mediaeval town sites (e.g., Oxford, and the reports on numerous such finds there in the vols. of Oxoniensia). The thin silt layer of clay $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, between the pottery and the chalk bottom, could have washed in during a brief period of time between the digging of the hole and the depositing of the first of the kitchen refuse in it.

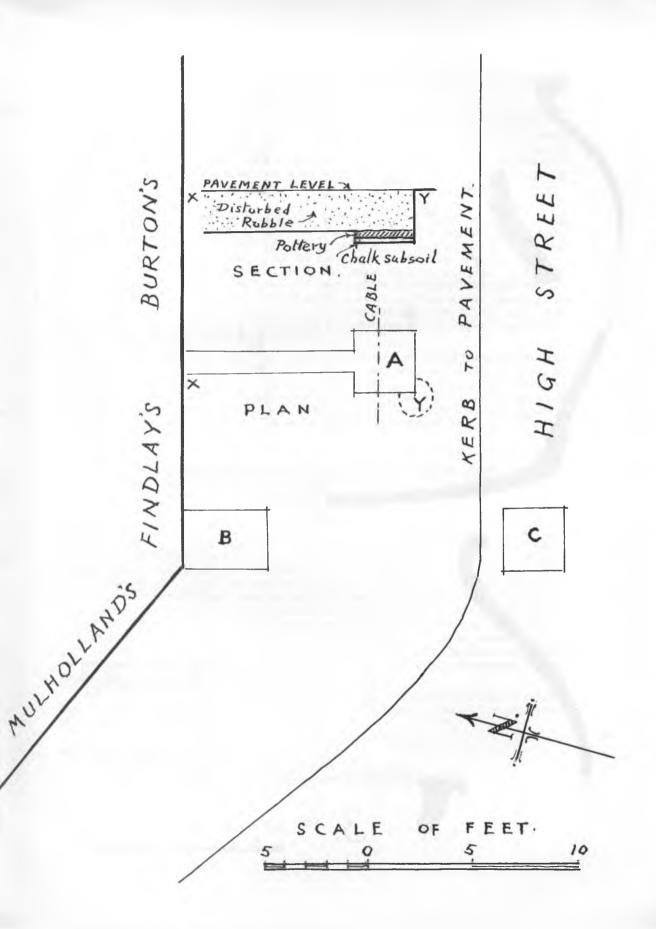
The pottery, such of it as was recovered, represents (some fairly completely, but mostly by one or two sherds) the following vessels:—

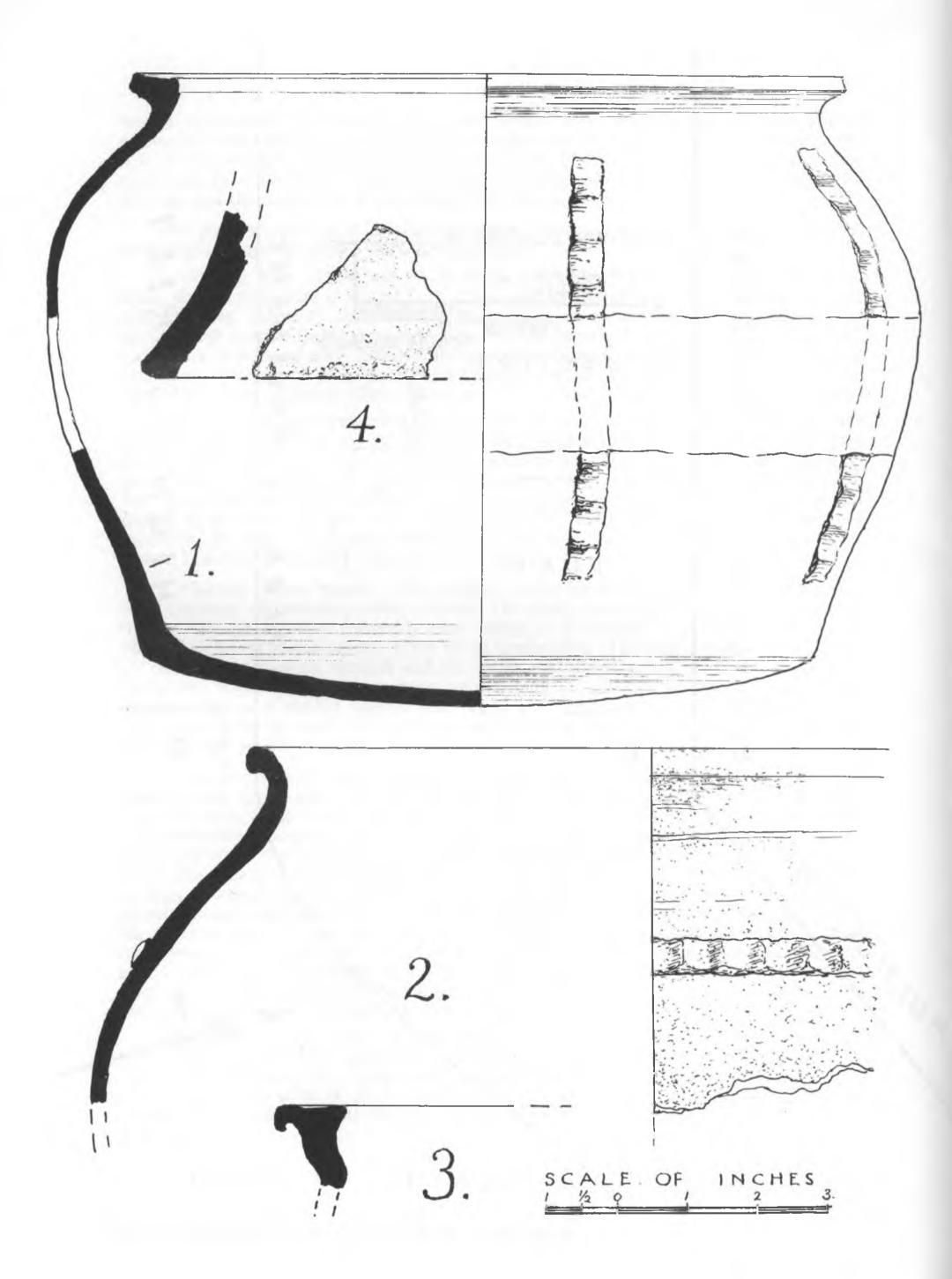
1. Cooking pots. These are all of hard, sandy-grey ware. (Except for one small scrap, shell-gritted ware is absent.) In colour the vessels are mainly grey, dark-grey, or buff, but they, especially their lower outside parts, are much blackened by fire—as was the case with most of the cooking-pots from "The Mounts". Most of the pots had applied, undulating ribbons of clay (presumably as ornamentation, but probably also helping to strengthen them), such as is usual with cooking pots at this date, especially those after 1290. (The pots of about 1200–1260 from "The Mounts" were without applied strips.)

Six pots in all are represented, of which two (including No. 1 of the illustration) are of buff to brownish ware and the rest grey. One fragment (No. 3) of dark brownish-grey ware is probably from a large bowl as its diameter, estimated from this 4-inch long fragment, was at least 18 inches, and possible nearer 2 feet. An exceptionally large vessel. The other buff-ware pot is represented only by pieces from the sides and base. It has applied strips both vertically and applied as curved "arcading", and a row of incisions decorates the angle at the junction of sides and base. All these pots have the sagging type of base as was usual in medieval times (see No. 1).

- 2. Flagons. Many pieces of two flagons of red-brown ware and with crude glazed outer surfaces, of brownish-yellow colour. The glazer had applied broad white lines of creamy-white glaze which formed a crude design of a "feather" or "frond" type, but of which insufficient pieces remain for it to be determined. The bases of both had a band of "pie-crust" ornament, formed with the fingers and thumb pinching into the clay, round the bottom edge. No handles were found and only one piece of the neck and rim of one of them. Pieces of similar flagons were found at "The Mounts", and a complete flagon of this type (one of about 50 found in a well at Canterbury and dated c. 1280) was lent to the Society by the excavator, Mr. Frere, for our exhibition of several years ago.
- 3. Also not figured were a number of fragments of crudely glazed white ware, with patchy yellow-green glaze and incised ornament of alternating straight and wavy lines. They represent some five or six different vessels, and are of about 1280 or a bit earlier and apparently from jugs. The largest piece (row of three conjoint fragments) is of a very hard, grey-white ware with remains of a slightly greenish-yellow glaze on the outer surface which also bears three horizontal bands of incised ornament in the form of looping zig-zags or waves, formed while the pot was rotating on the potter's wheel. This, a large globular flagon when complete, is likely to be of about, 1250–60 and somewhat earlier than the other pottery. It has the pock-marked surface of early glazing, apparently due to small pellets of the glazing mineral being thrown on it while the surface was still soft, as with the earliest of the glazed pieces from "The Mounts". It is very similar, in ware and glaze, to the piece of a handle found well down in the large rubbish pit at the latter site, and which cannot be later than about 1250 A.D.

Associated with this pottery is a fragment from the lower edge of a mediaeval chimney pot of an elongated bell-shaped type as figured by G. C. Dunning, F.S.A. (in his paper "Medieval Chimney-pots", contributed to *Studies in Building History:* Essays in recognition of the work of B. H. St. J. O'Neill. Edited by E. M. Jope and published, 1961, by Odhams Press Ltd. on Plate IX, No. 7), from one found in a medieval pottery-kiln at Ringmer, Sussex.





The fragments of a similar chimney-pot were found in the debris of the main building at "The Mounts" and are figured by Mr. Dunning in the same paper (No. 1 on page 83).

The piece here figured, No. 4, is of the thick, belling out, bottom edge, and it retains traces of the white lime-mortar in which it was originally set. It is made of a grey-brown clay or "potters' earth", into which some coarse sand, shell, and burnt clay particles have been mixed. It was about eight or nine inches in diameter at the bottom, but the fragment retains only $2\frac{1}{2}$ " of the edge and this is insufficient for any exact estimation. Stone Roof-tile.

The stone tile is so termed in preference to "slate" or "roof-slab" as it is of a hard sandstone (?Horsham stone) cut to the size of a roof-tile of small dimensions (viz. 5 inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and of about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch maximum thickness). It has, like the mediaeval roof tiles from "The Mounts", been pierced for only one nail; the hole, which is $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, is I inch in from the right side and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the top edge. The upper surface of the stone is much weathered and darker than the original underside, and the latter has, towards the lower edge, a small patch of white sand-lime mortar, showing that some mortar (similar in appearance to that on the chimney-pot fragment) was used either in fixing them or in "torching" or plastering the underside of the roofing, between the battens, when the stone tiles were in position.

As the roof stone, and fragments of others with it, were recovered from the disturbed debris, and not from the stratified mediaeval pottery layer, their actual date is uncertain. It is, however, possible that they are remnants of old buildings destroyed in the "lamentable fire" of 1659 when so much of Leatherhead was destroyed that a public appeal for funds, fire insurance then being unknown, had to be launched (v. *Proceedings*, Vol. I, No. 2, Occasional Notes: Surrey Quarter Sessions Records. Order Book. 1659. S.C.C. 1934).

A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

VII. THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

By A. T. RUBY, M.B.E.

THE MAPS in this series have hitherto been prepared either from specialist fieldwork (maps 1 and 2), from archaeological excavations or finds (maps 3, 4, and 5), or from ancient records (map 6 and the references to Saxon churches in map 5). Not until the 16th century, in this country at least, were any maps produced having any pretensions to reality when, after Leyland's attempts, in 1571 Queen Elizabeth commissioned Christopher Saxton to carry out a measured survey of all the counties of England and Wales. Saxton was one of the men who had recently acquired the new cartographical techniques, developed in Germany and the Netherlands and brought to England, which were, by then, coming into use by the new land surveyors ("land-meaters") to draw estate plans for the landed gentry. This idea of having measured plans of their real property became very popular with landowners and the practice grew rapidly.

Now for the first time it is possible to reproduce copies of actual contemporary maps. For the Leatherhead area we have, in the Society's archives, copies of five such maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, viz:—

Thomas Clay's Survey and Map of Bookham, 1614–16. John Lawrence's Map of Ashtead, 1638. J. Richardson's Survey of Fetcham Park Estate, 1777. Map of Pachenesham Manor (centre of Leatherhead), 1782/3. Tithe map of Fetcham, 1791.

As regards the Bookham map, a description of it appears on page 51 of Vol. 2 of these *Proceedings*, and an adaptation on page 11 of Vol. 1, No. 8. References thereto also appear in Mr. John Harvey's "A Short History of Bookham" commencing in Vol. 1, No. 8, and still continuing. The 1614–16 map does not differ materially from the Bookham portion of Map No. 6 appearing in our last number except for showing buildings not erected in the medieval period and a number of details not possible to reproduce in the general map of the district.

The Ashtead map has already been reproduced in these *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 10, facing page 21. It is described on page 20 (and following) of that issue by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther in Part VIII of his "Ashtead and its History", another continuing serial. There is also a map, c. 1708 (privately owned), which it is hoped to reproduce in a future issue.

The Fetcham, 1777 map, is herein dealt with. It is intended to reproduce the Leatherhead 1782 map in our next issue and the Fetcham tithe map will, it is hoped, also appear at a later date with an article on Fetcham parish.

The Fetcham Park survey was carried out by a J. Richardson for Sir George Warren, K.B., who acquired the property through his marriage in 1761 to Jane, daughter and heiress of Thomas Revel of Fetcham. The original is in the Minet Library, Camberwell, and consists of a number of separate maps, including plans of Sir George's holdings in Leatherhead Common Fields, Mickleham, and elsewhere with terriers for each area. The map as published here has been put together by the writer from the separate plans in the original which cover Fetcham, i.e. plans of Fetcham Park and of the areas described by their respective farm names. The southern portion of Further Great Farm (which included the Home Farm) on Fetcham Downs has been omitted for reasons of space. Some modern roads and the two railway lines have been indicated to make identification easier.

It should be pointed out that though each area (other than Fetcham Park) is entitled a "Farm", it is not a farm holding in the modern sense of an area owned by or leased to a single farmer. Each "farm" contains numerous strips from ten down to one-quarter acres each in the holding of various individuals, or glebe land, Poor strips, etc.; almost one-third of the acreage of Cannon Farm south of the Guildford Road (known as Cannon Bank) was in the name of Sarah Blundell (who is also recorded in the terriers in respect of other strips both in that Farm and in others).

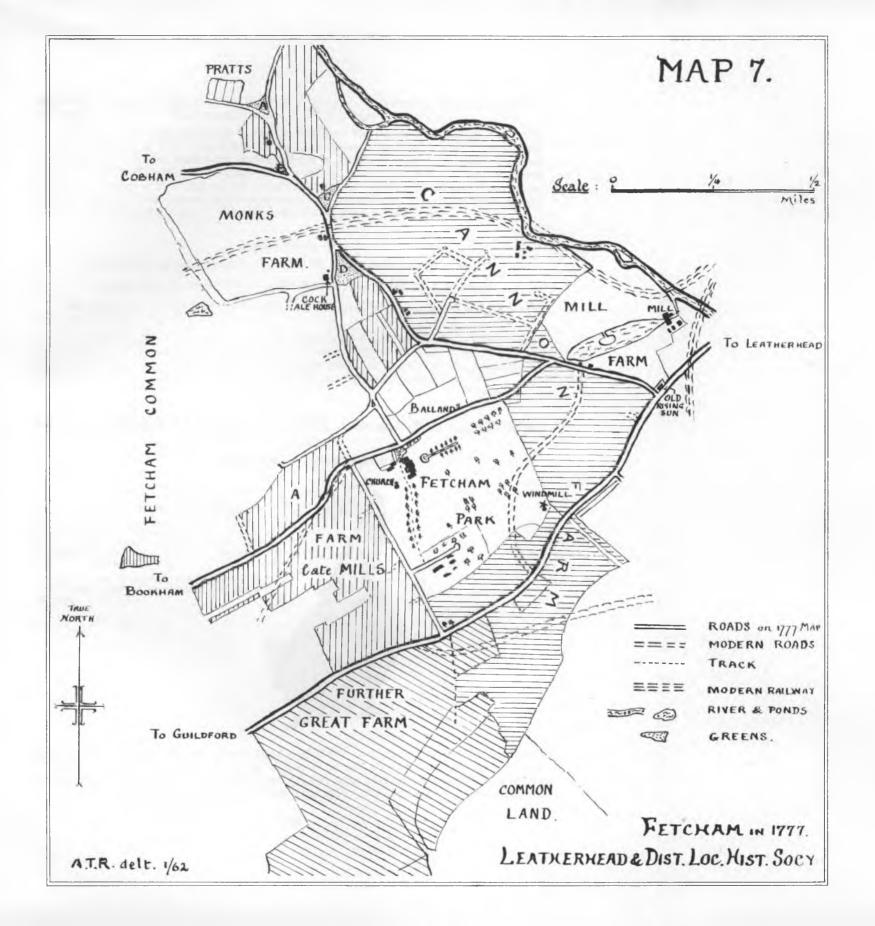
The terriers show the following acreages (in round figures):—

			Inclue	des
		Total Acreage	Inclosures Acres	Coppice Acres
Further Great Farm	 	377	64	60
Cannon Farm	 	221	113	8
Late Mills	 	152	91	
Monks Farm	 	47	_	
Mill Farm	 	43		_

Attention is called to the four greens existing at and to west of the northern end of the Street, marked A, B, C and D on the map. The names of the greens are:—

A — Simon's Green	C — Middle Green
B — Monks Green	D — Cock Green

Other points of interest are the windmill in the Park and the facts that the millpond then extended almost to the Cobham Road and that Bell Lane did not join the Lower



Road but continued straight on to Fetcham Common. Its course is still represented by the deep ditch running along the north side of Bell Cottage.

This map does not, of course, cover the whole of the parish of Fetcham, but it will be seen from it how very rural Fetcham was (and indeed remained for the next century and a quarter). There must have been cottages in addition to those houses mentioned in the terriers (and shown on the map) but the area seems to have been the least populous of all the parishes with which we are concerned. Indeed at the beginning of this century the population of Fetcham was only three hundred. Nevertheless it presents a fair picture of what the Leatherhead area looked like nearly two hundred years ago.

ADDENDUM TO

CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY No. III (Proceedings, Vol. 2, No. 1)

Iron Age site excavated in 1961 under the direction of Mr. F. A. Hastings

This site is on the opposite (northern) side of the road from Site No. 8, at Map Reference TQ 155 554.

Excavation in 1961 (first season's work) revealed grain storage pits containing pottery belonging to Iron Southern Second "B", broken loom weights and animal bones. Many post holes were found and pottery continuing into the Romano-British period. A Marnian bowl (Iron Southern First "B") had previously been found on the site.

EDITOR.

LEATHERHEAD FAMILIES OF THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES By F. BASTIAN

V. GARDINER of THORNCROFT

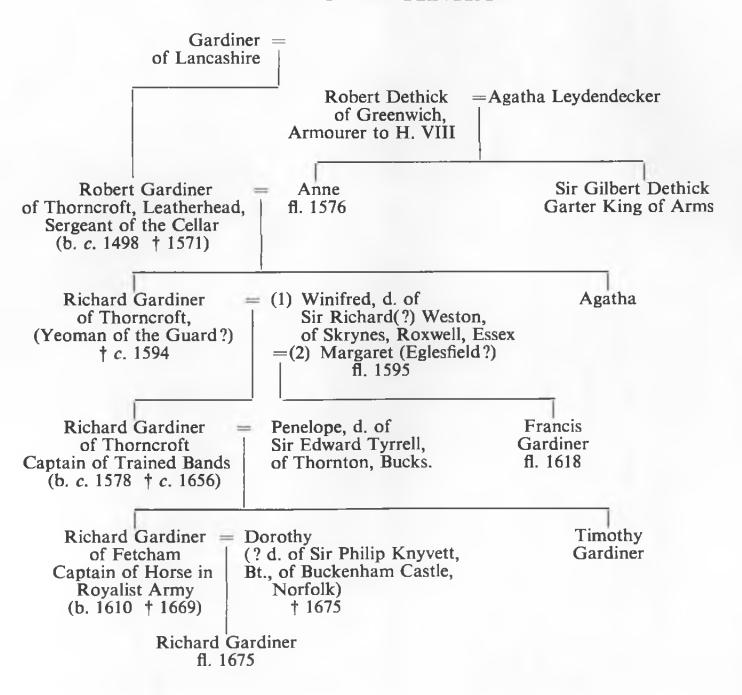
The helmet carried with the funeral cortège of Robert Gardiner (now in the Parish Church of Leatherhead). The helmet is of contemporary (16th century) English, though not Greenwich, make. The spike and the crest are purely funerary additions.

Information and photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Claude Blair of the Victoria & Albert Museum.



ROBERT GARDINER, Sergeant of the Cellar to Elizabeth I, was the first of his family to come to Leatherhead. Nothing is known of his ancestry, except that he came from Lancashire, and most probably from the northern part of the county. According to his epitaph he was "well borne of ryghtt good race"; but his family evidently did not

GARDINER OF THORNCROFT



bear arms. He may perhaps have been related to the John Gardiner who founded Lancaster School in 1469, or to the Richard Gardiner who was Mayor of Lancaster in 1488. A cousin of his married a daughter of John Fells of Furness Fells.¹ It is curious that another Leatherhead family, the Sands, should have sprung from the Furness Fells area, but there is no apparent connection between them.

Robert Gardiner was born about 1498. What brought him to Court we do not know, nor anything of his life until about the age of 35. We get our first glimpse of him at the Coronation Banquet of Anne Boleyn in Westminster Hall in 1533, when with John Burnell and two other grooms of the Buttery and Cellar he was appointed to wait on the Barons of the Cinque Ports, "at the side board on the Queen's right hand". Contemporary chroniclers give lengthy accounts of this elaborate ceremony, a symbolic moment, at which the flower of England's aristocracy perforce identified themselves publicly with Henry VIII's assertion of royal power and defiance of the Pope, and thus prepared themselves to become his accomplices in the great act of spoliation that was to follow.

In this Robert Gardiner enjoyed his share. In 1538 he and Burnell, his fellow servant of the Cellar, were granted the tithes of the Rectory of Urswick, near Ulverston in Furness.³ In the following year the same two men were granted a 21 years lease of the monastery of Cockersands and the Rectory of Garstang, a few miles south of Lancaster.⁴ In 1545 a Robert Gardiner was appointed bailiff, collector, and surveyor of coalmines at Elstwick, Northumberland, and of all coalmines that had belonged to Tynemouth monastery.⁵ If this was the same man, he presumably appointed a deputy, as we know he did for the next appointment that came his way. In 1546, Robert Gardiner, now for the first time described as Yeoman of the Cellar, with Robert Askue, Groom of the Cellar, was made keeper of the wood and park of Eyton Park, alias Parowtyn, in Denbighshire, and sergeant of the lordship of Radnorland.⁶ In 1551 we find him being granted a lease for 21 years in reversion of "the commaundrie of —— in Cornwall"; and later in the same year he obtained a rent-free grant for life of lands worth 10 marks per annum in Sutton-upon-Derwent in Yorkshire.⁸

There are signs that by 1545 Gardiner was pulling up his roots in Lancashire and striking new ones in Surrey. In that year Burnell alone was granted a 30 years lease in reversion on the expiry of their joint lease of Cockersands and Garstang.⁹ In the same year or earlier Merton College granted Gardiner a lease of their Manor of Thorncroft in Leatherhead, which was to remain the family residence for a century.¹⁰ In 1546 he was granted the custody of Patesland (12a) and Oxencroft (4a) in Leatherhead and of seven acres in Mickleham, being "escheat lands" which had fallen to the Crown through the felony of former owners.¹¹ Finally, in 1551 he purchased from William More, Esq., a freehold estate in Leatherhead, consisting of a toft, a garden, 45 acres of land and 6 acres of pasture.¹²

The reasons for this are not far to seek. It was probably not long before 1545 that Gardiner had married Anne, daughter of Robert Dethick of Greenwich, a Fleming by birth who held a post in the Royal Armoury. It would be natural for Gardiner and his wife to seek a home near London; and Leatherhead was an easy ride from Henry VIII's magnificent new palace at Nonsuch which, though still incomplete, was already coming into use. There can be no doubt that his whole life centred round the Court. Earlier in the reign the Royal Household had been thoroughly reformed. It had been laid down that all officers were to perform their service in person, and that they were not to be seconded for service outside the Court. Promotion from groom to yeoman, and from yeoman to sergeant, was to be by seniority, the sergeant being responsible for the organization and smooth running of his own department of the Household. At a time of violent political fluctuations, when the great officers of state could never be sure how long their heads

would remain on their shoulders, the household officers, in their humbler capacity, enjoyed comparative security; and the officers of the Cellar must have been unusually well placed to find favour whoever was in power. Most of the grants mentioned above took place during the reign of Henry VIII; a few were under Edward VI. In the latter reign, too, was a grant of 20 shillings, "as a rewarde for his speciall service", made in 1550.¹³ In 1554, early in Mary's reign, he was pardoned, "in consideration of his service", the arrears due to the Crown from the lordship of Radnorland.¹⁴

On 20th July, 1548, he took an important step socially when, as Robert Gardener of Lancashire, Yeoman of the Mouth to Edward VI, he was granted a coat of arms by Gilbert Dethick, his brother-in-law, who was then Norroy King of Arms; and a new coat was granted the following year. Gardiner's arms are given as: sable a chevron between three bugle-horns stringed argent on a pile in chief or a covered cup gules all within a bordure of the third charged with eight crescents of the fourth. Crest: a man's head affronte from the neck per pale or and azure on the head a tasselled cap countercharged. Another: out of a coronet or a goats head sable horned and bearded of the first. When his crest was confirmed on 3rd April, 1560, two years after the accession of Elizabeth I, Gardiner was for the first time referred to as Sergeant of the Cellar. By this time, too, his brother-in-law had been knighted, and as Garter King of Arms had risen to the head of his profession. 15

The last recorded grant to Gardiner was in 1562, when he was given, again "for his service", a 21 years lease in reversion (due to fall in in 1569) of a messuage in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, annexed to the Palace of Westminster, at an annual rent of 46s. 6d. It is clear, however, that he continued to look on Thorncroft as his real home, for in his will, dated 4th February, 1570/1, he asked to be buried at Leatherhead, "my parish church, in the church before my pew, if it please God to call me to his mercy when I am within thirty miles thereof." When he died, on 10th November, 1571, at the age of 73, his wish was carried out; and Thomas Churchyard, the Court poet, wrote his epitaph:

Here ffryndly Robartt Gardner lyes, well borne of ryghtt good race, Who sarvd in cowrtt wyth credytt styll, in worthi rowlm and place; Cheef Sargantt of the Seller longe, whear he did duetty shoe, Wyth good regard to all degrees, as ffar as powre mightt goe. He past hys youth in sutch good ffraem, he cam to aeged years, And thearby porchaest honest naem, as by report apeers. A ffrynd whear any cawse he ffownd, and cortes unto all, Off myrry moode and pleasant spetch, howe ever happ dyd fall. Ffowr chyldren for to ffornish fforth the table rownd he had, Wyth sober wyeff, most matron lyk, to mak a man ffull glad. Prepaered to dye longe ear hys day, whych argues greatt good mynd, And told us in the other world whatt hoep he had to ffynd. We leave hyme whear he loektt to be, our Lord receyve his spreett, Wyth peace and rest in Habram's brest, whear we att leynth may meett. 18

Only two of his four children seem to have survived him, for his will mentions only a daughter, Agatha (named presumably after her maternal grandmother, Agatha, daughter of Mathias Leydendecker), and his son Richard, who was to have "all my armour and weapons and the two geldings I usually keep at the court, and my chain of fine gold weighing about thirty ounces or thereabouts". If his son should marry, "and into my house do bring his wife, my wife being then sole and unmarried, my son's wife shall bear no rule in my said house but under my wife". We know that Robert Gardiner's widow, Anne, was still living at Thorncroft in 1576, for in that year she was assessed at Leatherhead for the Lay Subsidy at £15 in goods.

Of RICHARD GARDINER, the first of four in succession with the same name, we know much less than of his father. From the fact that he was an executor of his father's will, it seems that he was then of age, and so must have been born not later than 1549. His first mention at Leatherhead dates from 1577, when he was appointed an overseer of the will of Edward Skeete. Listed as a defaulter at a muster held at Cobham in 1583, he was apparently exonerated because "he is the queen's man in ordinary". This implies personal attendance on the Queen; and it seems probable that, like Robert Barber who had written his father's will, he was a Yeoman of the Guard. He died some time before 3rd April, 1594, for at a Court of the Manor of Pachesham and Leatherhead held on that date the bailiff was ordered to distrain on his son, also Richard Gardiner, for his relief. 19

Richard Gardiner (I) married twice, but the details of each marriage are uncertain. According to the pedigree given at the Visitation of Surrey in 1623, his first wife, and the mother of his eldest son, was Winifred, daughter of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, Essex. This seems very difficult to fit in with the known facts of Weston's life. Perhaps she was a daughter of Sir Richard Weston, and sister of Sir Jerome. Gardiner's second wife was named Margaret; and it seems likely that she was Margaret Eglesfield, spinster, of St. Leonard's, Stratford Bow, whom Richard Gardiner, gentleman, was granted a licence to marry, on 8th December, 1579. If so, we must reject as inaccurate the entry in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, which implies that Gardiner's eldest son, Richard, by his first marriage, was born about 1581. At all events it was to his widow, Margaret, that letters of administration were granted on 16th May, 1595, while in the same year she obtained a new lease of Thorncroft from Merton College.

The doubtful entry in Foster runs as follows: Gardner, Richard (Gardyner) of Surrey, gent, St. Alban Hall, matric., 19 Oct 1599, aged 18; B.A. from All Souls Coll. 3 Dec 1599. It looks as though the first year is wrong, and that he was actually born about 1578. There is no ambiguity about the entry for his half-brother Francis, who took his B.A. at Merton College on 22nd February, 1602/3, and who possibly became a student of Gray's Inn in 1604, for he is definitely named as son of Richard Gardiner of Leatherhead.

RICHARD GARDINER (II) then was probably born about 1578 and educated at Oxford. In 1606 Richard Levitt, Vicar of Leatherhead, was accused of farming lands from him. If he was not already resident at Thorncroft, he presumably was by 1611, in which year he was named second among the trustees of Skeete's charity. ²³ About 1613 he was appointed by the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, to be Captain of the Trained Bands of the middle of the three divisions of the county, with command over 300 footmen. By 1618 he had also been made a Justice of the Peace, an office by no means so common as it was to become later in the century.

In November of the latter year, Richard Gardiner instituted a Star Chamber case against Walter, Edmond, Edward, and Thomas Browne, all of Dorking, gentlemen, as a result of certain incidents which had occurred during the previous summer on the occasion of a muster of Trained Bands held at Leatherhead.²⁴ The surviving documents are Gardiner's bill of complaint, and the joint answer of the first three defendents. They formally denied the charges, but by putting forward alternative versions of a few of the alleged incidents, they seem to have tacitly admitted the substantial truth of most of the rest; and Gardiner's bill provides us with a remarkably vivid glimpse of life in Leatherhead nearly three-and-a-half centuries ago.

Gardiner alleged that on 27th and 28th July, 1618, he had assembled his trained band on Leatherhead Mead, to muster and train them with the help of "his Lieutennantes, Serients, and other skillfull and expert men in these affayres", "divers . . . Justices of the peace . . . beinge allsoe assembled for the better orderinge and governinge of that service and divers gentlemen and others beinge there allsoe assembled to see the manner and

order of that service". However, the four Brownes, "beinge all of them men of rashe violent and dissolute carriage and behaviour and haveinge of longe time borne causles hatred and mallice" against Gardiner, planned to affront him in full view of the county; and "beinge of greate allyance in those parts and there beinge manie of theire frends and neighbours . . . present", including some members of the trained band itself, they gathered on the 28th, armed with "swordes daggers privile cotes and other unlawefull weapons", on Leatherhead Mead where the training was in progress. They were charged with "passinge divers reproachefull tearmes of your said subject", and with "affirminge that they mervailed how your said subject came into so much credit as to be imployed in suche your maiesties service", in order to provoke a breach of the peace. In this they failed, according to Gardiner, because he strictly enjoined his friends and officers to make no reply and to avoid all provocation. But about four o'clock in the afternoon the rioters "with greate oathes and threateninge" forced Thomas Lingham, constable of West Molesey, who was then taking part in the training, to take off his corslet, and Walter Browne put it on his own back, Lingham being violently assaulted when he protested; "and the said ryoters did thereuppon with greate boastinge and jollitie riot to the house of one whoe had a comon alehouse . . . at Lethered . . . and did there pawne the said armor for beere". Perhaps this was the Running Horse, near Leatherhead Bridge, where a century before John Skelton had seen Eleanor Rumming conducting her business on exactly the same lines. The Brownes and their friends remained in the alehouse, drinking, boasting of their success, and threatening "that they would allsoe the same night goe to your said Subjects house and beate your said subject and all his men and followers out of the dores".

About nine o'clock that night, when Gardiner was at supper at Thorncroft with his friends and officers, he alleged that the Brownes and their followers forced their way into his house. Here they "did . . . lay hands uppon one Katherine Melorshe then beinge one of your subjects mayde Servants and some of them . . . houldinge the said Katherine about the necke the others of them did most uncivilly and barbarously take up all her clothes up to the waste and there held them up abuseinge her in most imodest and barbarous manner". On being interrupted, they drew their swords and assaulted one Richard Allnut, "your subjects lieftennante", and "caught from him and from divers others of your Subjects officers and servants theire hatts and fethers which they then wore beinge the cullors used for trayninge . . . and spurned the said hatts about the hall, and cryed out one to another with greate oathes . . . and with their said swordes did runne at the said Richard Allnuts breste, but by the providence of god it glaunced by his body, rasing only his skinn and piercinge his dublet and shirt". He did, however, receive such a wound in his left arm "insoemuche as the bone is perished therewith whereby he is like to lose the use of the said arme, and the said wound was soe deepe and voyde that it bled a greate quantitie of bloud insoemuche as the said Allnut was inforced for the safeguarde of his life to drinke twoe bowles of his owne bloud . . . to allay and abate the bleedinge". They also assaulted John Browne and John Daniell; and the latter, "sittinge at supper on the benche side of the table in yor subjects hall", received two sword thrusts in the breast which his thick doublet warded off, and then saved his life from a still more savage thrust, because "the said John Daniell seeinge the thruste cominge did sinke downe under the table". At this stage Gardiner, "hearinge suche a noyse in his hall came with all speede into that Rome where the said ryotous persons weare"; and though he had to endure more "reproachefull tearmes", it seems that his unwelcome visitors departed without further violence.

The defendents put forward a different version of this incident. They claimed that Edmund Browne had been invited by Gardiner to his house, and that the others had gone with him for company, and that "the said complainant did at first bid them all very kindly welcome". Edmund Browne being unarmed, and "there beinge Musicke in the same Roome which hee was in, did take by the hand a Maide there standinge by and as hee

veryly thinketh it was the said Katherine Mellersh in the bill named and proffered to daunce whereupon one Walter Turner gent did in forceable manner take the maid from him." Turner's friends then set upon Browne, who called for help, at which Edward and Walter Browne came into the room and drew their swords to save his life. If any had been injured, it was through their own fault. They also implied that Gardiner was slow to take steps to restore order, for when he "was tould that there was a hurleburley in his house and that this defendent Edmund Browne was sorely beaten and was like to be slayne he . . . did . . . make answeare that they were but at fisticuffs".

On the following day Walter and Edward Browne again went to Thorncroft, but Gardiner refused to speak with them. On 30th July, Walter Browne rode alone from Dorking to Leatherhead, to "intreate peace", according to his own account: as proof of his peaceful intentions he stated that he "had no other weapons about him but only his Rapier which he usually weareth when he rideth". He encountered Richard Gardiner and his brother Francis in Mark Field (on the west of the Mole, near where Young Street now runs). There was some talk of "satisfaction", and Browne declared that he would give "suche satisfaction as was fitt for a gentleman to give which he said was his sword and did thereuppon challenge your said subject to fight with him". Gardiner replied that as a Justice of the Peace he had taken an oath to keep the King's peace; upon which Browne ("in a scoffinge manner" or "in jestinge sort", according to which version we accept) remarked that Francis Gardiner had taken no such oath. When he too refused to have anything to do with him, "the said Walter Browne thereuppon with greate anger did with horrible oathes vow and sweare that if your said subject did cause him or anie of his confederation to spend soe muche as two shillings in law for anic the misdemeanours before mentioned, that then he and they would call your subject to a stricte accompt for the same and would have the best bloud in your subjects body".

The result of the case is not known, though things certainly look black for the Brownes. It would be interesting to know whether the "causeles hatred and mallice" they were said to have borne towards Gardiner sprang from a personal vendetta, or a family feud of the Montague and Capulet variety, or was the reflection of local political factions centring round the perennial problem of "who's in, who's out", in which some historians see the origins of later struggles between Court and Country parties, Royalists and Parliamentarians, Tories and Whigs. In his bill of complaint Gardiner had gone out of his way to mention that he owed his appointment to "the right honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham Admirall of England and Lord Liefetennante of your said County of Surrey". Another link with the Court is provided by Sir Richard Weston, probably Gardiner's first cousin, who assiduously developed his interest there until he became Lord High Treasurer (1628–1634) and Earl of Portland. Though, reading between the lines of the Star Chamber case, it looks as if Gardiner may not have had sufficient personality and local standing to carry off the positions which he held, in the family pedigree given at the Heralds' Visitation of Surrey in 1623, he was still styled "Captaine".

Difficulties of another kind are suggested by the Leatherhead Lay Subsidy assessment lists. In 1621 he had been assessed at £20 in lands: in 1625, he was named as one of the Collectors for the Hundreds of Kingston, Elmbridge, Copthorne and Effingham, and his assessment was for £10: in 1628, when he was again a Collector, he was assessed at only £5.25 Despite these clear signs of financial embarrassment, when Merton College carried out a survey of Thorncroft in 1629, he was still "Farmour to ye Scite of ye Manor". A curious detail is that he could not distinguish between his own freehold strips in the Leatherhead Common Fields and those which were Thorncroft demesne lands. It seems likely that Gardiner remained as tenant of Thorncroft until 21st March, 1639/40, when a lease was granted to Edmund West of Marsworth, Bucks; ²⁶ but as West was a cousin of Gardiner's wife, Penelope, daughter of Sir Edward Tyrrell of Thonton, Bucks, and

seems never to have lived at Thorncroft, Gardiner may well have continued to live there until in 1649 a lease was granted to Walter Rogers. Though too old to fight during the Civil War, he seems to have given active support to the Royalist cause. Among the papers of Henry Hastings, Esq., receiver of the assessments in the Middle Division of Surrey, is a paper dated 20th February, 1644/5, and headed: "The returne of the money cannot be received of the first three months weekly assessment in the sayd county".²⁷ One of the nine items runs: "Lethered p'sh Collectors Jo: Fox & Rich: Skeete for Mr. Gardiners whose land is sequestered one pound seaven shillings and fourpence 01: 07: 04". He was still living on 2nd July, 1652, when he was named as one of the only two survivors of the original trustees of Skeete's charity, but as he was then living out of the parish he was omitted from the newly appointed trustees. He died some time before 21st June, 1656, when letters of administration were granted to his son, Timothy Gardiner.²⁸

The letters of administration refer to him as "late of Letherhead, widower". The family had not moved far, as their new home was in Fetcham; and from later references linking the family still with Leatherhead, we may guess that they were now living in a much more modest house just on the west side of Leatherhead Bridge, so that, though within the parish of Fetcham, they joined in the local life of Leatherhead, rather than in that of the more distant Fetcham village.

RICHARD GARDINER (III), the eldest son, had been born about 1610, entering Queen's College, Oxford, in 1624 at the age of 14, and becoming a student of the Middle Temple in the following year. In the same list of unrecoverable taxes quoted above, is another item: "Fetcham p'sh Collectors Jo: Blundell & Rich: Neale for Rich: Gardner in (sic) a Cornet in the army two shillings & sixpence 00:02:06". The military tradition of the family was being carried on; and from later evidence we know that Gardiner eventually rose to be Captain of Horse in the King's army.

A curious sidelight on the affairs of the Gardiner family during these years comes from a letter dated 7th December, 1652, from Sir Philip Knyvett, bart., of Buckenham Castle and Tibenham in Norfolk, to the Committee for the Advance of Money, sitting at Haberdashers' Hall. Knyvett was a papist, who had conformed in 1642, but subsequently relapsed into popery, and his estates were in the committee's hands. He begins: "Whereas there is due unto Richard Gardiner of Lethered . . . the some of one hundred and twenty pounds for the board, cloathes and attendance of John Knyvett my sonne a poor distressed and lately distracted young man for three yeare last past for want of which some the sayd Mr. Gardiner is much dampnified being himself indebted . . ." and goes on to request that he should be paid. The concern shown by Sir Philip for Gardiner's interests suggests that perhaps the latter was his son-in-law. A petition in Richard Gardiner's name, but signed "Dorothy Gardyner for her husband" and endorsed "June 22 1653" requests the payment out of Sir Philip's money, in the hands of Mr. Audley for children's portions, of the sum of £140 "for the Board Cloathes and Attendance of John Knyvett a poor distressed bedd rid young man . . . for want of which some your peticoner (being much indebted) is like to be with his whole family utterly ruin'd and undone". This petition was accompanied by the following certificate:—

"The 16th of November 1651

Wee whose names are heere under written p'sihioners of Lethered and Fetcham doe testify and declare to all whom this p'sent wrighting may come. That John Knyvet sonne of Sr. Phillip Knyvet hath dwelt in the p'shes of Lethered and Fetcham for the space of ten yeares past or thereabouts and during the time that he walked abroad did usualy come to church upon the Lords day but for the space of this five or six yeares last past he hath not come a broad and that he was never in armes against the parliament."

The 22 signatories include Thomas Mell and James Fisher, the respective ministers.²⁹

Protestations by seventeenth century petitioners that they were facing imminent ruin are not always to be taken literally, but in this case there was little exaggeration. Between 1654 and 1659 Richard Gardiner made seven small sales of land or houses in Leatherhead and Fetcham.³⁰ Though still a resident in the area he submitted no pedigree at the Heralds' Visitation of Surrey in 1662. From the year 1663 there survives "A List of officers Claiming for the Sixty Thousand Pounds Granted by his Sacred Majesty for the Relief of his Truly-Loyal and Indigent Party", 31 and amongst those in Surrey not too proud to beg for a share in this relief appear:

> Gardiner Rich. Cap. Horse.

Gardiner Tim. Horse Lieut. to L. C. Clarke.

"Mr. Gardner" was assessed for four hearths in Fetcham in the 1664 Hearth Tax assessment list, which may be compared with the twelve hearths of the old family home of Thorncroft, then occupied by Sir Thomas Bludworth; 32 but it was as Richard Gardener of Leatherhead, gentleman, that he was presented in 1665 for allowing his ditches there to overflow.33 On 14th June, 1667, as "Richar Gardyner" he witnessed the will of Robert Rogers of Fetcham, gentleman, whose house and brewhouse seem to have been at the Old Rising Sun, and who was thus probably a close neighbour.³⁴ Little more than two years later he himself died, and was buried at Leatherhead on 15th December, 1669.35 Presumably the Elizabeth Gardiner who was married there to Nicholas Allingham on the very same day was from a different family. His widow survived him for six years, for on 17th December, 1675 authority was granted to Richard Gardyner (IV), natural and lawful son of Dorothy Gardyner of Fetcham, widow, to administer her estate. 36

The life of a family of broken gentry is difficult to trace, let alone to envisage, and we do not know what became of the Gardiners. Of Richard Gardiner (IV) nothing more is known. Was Mr. Thomas Gardner who was buried at Leatherhead on 17th February. 1687/8 a member of the family? One pathetic link with the past remained until the burial at Leatherhead on 27th December, 1692 of "Mr. John Knevett of Fetcham", bedridden presumably for the last forty years and more.

> "We leave hyme whear he loektt to be, our Lord receyve his spreett, Wyth peace and rest in Habram's brest, whear we att leynth may meett."

NOTES

- 1. Visitation of Surrey, 1623 (Harl. Soc.).
- 2. Cal. S.P. For. & Dom., Henry VIII, Vol. VI, p. 248.
- 3. Cal. S.P. Dom., H.VIII, Vol. XIII, pt. I, p. 587.
- 4. Cal. S.P. For. & Dom., H.VIII, Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 609.
- 5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pt. II, p. 676. 6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pt. II, p. 157

- 7. Acts of the Privy Council (1550–2).
 8. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. VI, Vol. IV, p. 51.
 9. Cal. S.P. For. & Dom., Vol. XX, pt. II, p. 678.
- 10. Sir Henry Lambert, Surrey Manors of Oxford Colleges, S.A.C., Vol. XLI, p. 42.
- 11. Cal. S.P. For. & Dom., Vol. XXI, pt. I, p. 686.
- 12. Surrey Fines
- 13. Acts of the Privy Council (1550-2).
- 14. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Philip & Mary, Vol. II, p. 149.15. Grantees of Arms to the End of the 17th Century.
- 16. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Elizabeth (1560-3).
- 17. P.C.C., 4 Daper.
- 18. The Parish Church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Leatherhead (1927), pp. 6-7.
- 19. Surrey Record Office, S.C.59/1/4.
 20. Visit. Sy., 1623. D.N.B., Richard Weston, 1st Earl of Portland.
- 21. Marriage Licences at the Faculty Office (1543-1869).
- 22. P.C.C. Admon., 1595, fo. 133.

- 23. Charity Commissioners, Report on the Charities in the County of Surrey, 1839.
- 24. P.R.O. Star Chamber 8 Bundle 156, No. 18.
- 25. P.R.O. E 179/186/408. *Do.*/428. *Do.*/441. 26. *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLI, p. 42. 27. P.R.O. E 179/187/467.

- 28. P.C.C. Admon., 1656, fo. 130.
- 29. Committee for the Advance of Money, pt. III.
- 30. Surrey Fines.
- 31. S.A.C., Vol. XXXIII, p. 126.
- 32. Surrey Hearth Tax, 1664 (S.R.S.). 33. S.R.S., Vol. XXXIX, p. 130. 34. Sy. Record Office, 19/1/23.
- 35. Leatherhead Parish Registers.
- 36. Comm. Court of Surrey, Cal of Probate and Admin. Acts (1674-9).

ADDENDUM TO

No. 2 OF THIS SERIES—GODMAN, GERARD, AND DACRES

(Proceedings, Vol. 2, No. 2)

One of the members of the Society, Mr. Ralph Mann, now at Union College, Bunumbu, Segbwema, Sierra Leone, has directed the Secretary's attention to an item in the catalogue of Mr. B. A. Seaby, Coin & Medal dealer of 65 Great Portland Street, London, W.1. On page 49 of the catalogue is described and offered for sale a commemorative medal, as follows:—

> "M.439. Death of Anne Eldred-Godman (born at Leatherhead), 1678. Ouartered arms of both families. Reverse; veiled female in contemporary garments, holding skull, seated near pedestal, on which urn. Medallic History of England 241. High relief, original cast and chased. Very rare, good very fair. £5 5s."

The Secretary points out that the family tree, on page 44 of Volume 2 of the Proceedings, shows Anne as one of four daughters of Thomas Godman of Leatherhead (died 1661) and that she married John Eldred of Colchester, who is mentioned by Mr. Bastian in his article on page 47. The medallion is of some local interest, if any generous member would care to acquire it for the Society.

As a footnote it should be recorded that Mr. Ralph Mann has recently taken part in excavations in his part of Africa, in an area where the first Europeans to arrive did so no longer ago than the eighteen-nineties, and the oral tradition of the native goes back at furthest to the eighteen-forties. As he justly says: "It is a strange experience to be living on the doorstep of pre-history." EDITOR.

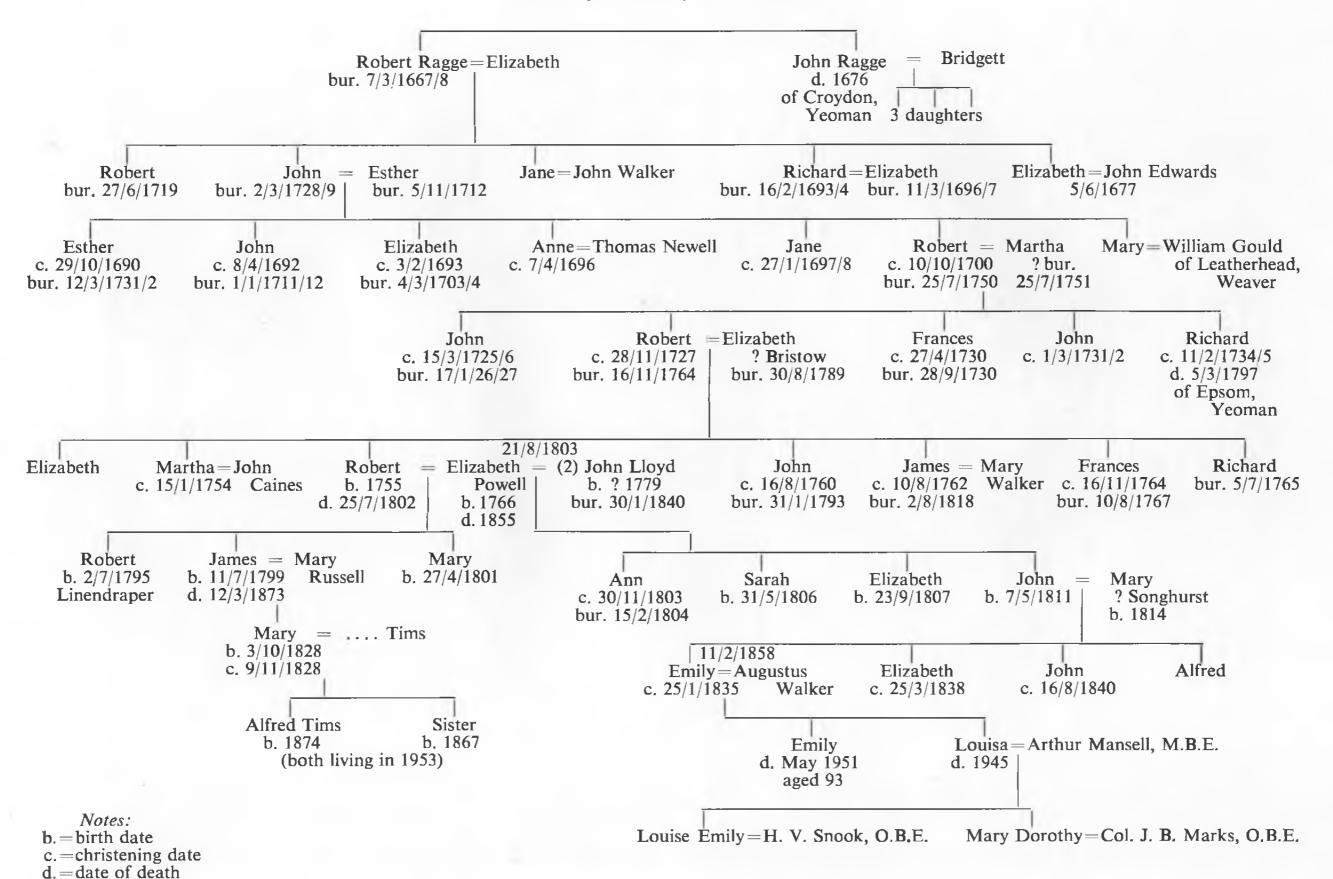
THE RAGGE, LLOYD, AND WALKER FAMILIES LEATHERHEAD SADDLERS AND HARNESS MAKERS FROM THE 17th TO THE 20th CENTURY

IN 1961, Mr. S. G. Nash directed my attention to an engraved glass goblet, formerly in the possession of Miss Emily Walker of Leatherhead (who died in May 1951, aged 93) and now owned by her niece, Mrs. Louise Emily Snook, by whose kind permission we are able to illustrate it. The goblet measures ten inches in height, the width of the base is five and a half inches, and the width of the rim five inches. It is a good specimen of the engraved glass of its period and may well have been a production of the Falcon Glass House, Blackfriars, which was noted for fine engraved flint glass. I was aware that Miss Walker was the last proprietor of a saddlery business formerly carried on at Nos. 7 and 9 Bridge Street in a fine timber-framed house of circa 1600 which, after being unroofed by the then owner in 1938, was finally demolished as a Civil Defence exercise in the first year of the 1939-45 war; and that this business had been owned during the 19th century by a family of the name of Lloyd. Mr. H. V. Snook informed me that the J. Lloyd whose name appears on the goblet had married the widow of a man named Ragge. It seemed appropriate that in illustrating the goblet we should endeavour to give with it some account of the history of the saddler's business, and as a first step Mr. A. T. Ruby made a search through the Society's transcripts of the Leatherhead Parish Registers for entries of Ragges or Lloyds. The results were so fruitful that he was able to make up a sketch pedigree, and it should be stated here that subsequent research has not only shown Mr. Ruby's trial effort to be remarkably accurate but has confirmed several tentative links which Mr. Ruby had indicated in it. It emerged from this trial pedigree that the date on the goblet was the date of the marriage of John Lloyd I to the widow of Robert Ragge who died in 1802, and that the Ragges ran back to one Robert Ragge who was buried in March 1667/8. The question then arose as to whether, though the Society's transcripts of the 1693 and 1783 Quitrent rolls of Pachenesham Manor showed the Ragges to be the owners of the Bridge Street house, they were in fact saddlers who had carried on the business there before the Lloyds; and this could only be determined by a search for the appropriate wills and administrations in the Principal Probate Registry at Somerset House and elsewhere, which Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A. kindly undertook. It was found that the Leatherhead Ragges all described themselves as "Collar Maker", the ancient term for the makers of the leathern roll stuffed with rope which was, and is, used to take the strain of weight by draught horses. We now had a clear line from the first known Leatherhead Ragge, who died in 1667/8, to the link with the Lloyd family and therefrom to Miss Walker. It remained for me to make searches in the Onslow muniments at Guildford and in the Pachenesham Manor Court Rolls and Books at the Surrey Record Office, and to put together the following account; but it should be emphasized that the credit for the bulk of the research is due to Mr. John Harvey and Mr. A. T. Ruby and to some assistance from Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne. F. B. BENGER.

The RAGGES appear to have originated in the Midland counties and there are records of them in Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, and Derbyshire; but the only person of that surname in Surrey mentioned in the 1593/4 Lay Subsidy² was Thomas Ragge of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and it is possible that the Leatherhead Ragges may have been descended from him. A Robert Ragge of Beddington, labourer, whose will was proved 20th December, 1638,3 appointed Richard Ragge of Croydon, Collarmaker, as executor, and made a bequest of £5 to Robert Ragge of Croydon, also Collarmaker. This Robert Ragge may have been either the father of the first of those shown on our genealogy, or even the same; for certainly our Robert had a brother John, yeoman of Croydon, who was appointed overseer of his will. Unfortunately, except for a few entries said to have been transcribed from an earlier and lost register, the Leatherhead Parish Registers do not commence until 1656, and so it is not possible to state with certainty that the Robert who heads our pedigree was in fact the first of the Leatherhead Ragges. We do know that he was living here in June 1647, for in that month Elizabeth Daniel, daughter of Edward Skeete of Leatherhead⁴ and widow of Edward Daniel, Citizen and dyer of London, leased to Charles Lynn of Leatherhead, yeoman, a messuage or tenement, barns, stables, backside and gate rome in Leatherhead, late in occupation of Henry Fox, reserving "free liberty of ingresse, egresse and regresse through the yarde or gaterome before demised to a tenement thereonto adjoyning now in the occupation of Robert Ragg" for a term of twenty-one years.⁵ This lease is amongst the deeds of Sir Thomas Foot, Bt. in the Onslow muniments, and as the second Robert Ragge is shown in the 1693 Pachenesham Quitrent Roll⁶ as holding freehold a house and backside in Leatherhead "late Sir Thomas Foots" it is a fair assumption that the 1647 lease refers to the Bridge Street house later owned by the Ragges, which at that time may have been divided into two tenements. Was Henry Fox the same as "one Fox, a glover, of Lethered", who is stated in a letter of Sir Richard Onslow dated 18th September, 16437 to have "kept close a horse that was to be conveyed

bur. = date of burial

RAGGE, LLOYD, & WALKER



to Oxford; it is fit he should be examined" (i.e. was a Royalist sympathiser)? Sir Thomas Foot died in 1687, leaving his Leatherhead properties to his grandson Richard Onslow, afterwards the first Lord Onslow⁸ and the 21-year lease of 1647 would have run its course shortly after the death of the first Robert Ragge. It might well have been then that the freehold was acquired by the second Robert Ragge. There is no specific mention of freehold property in the will of the first Robert Ragge, dated 7th Feb., 1666/7 and proved 21st March, 1667/89 yet as he served as a Juror of the Courts Leet of 1654, 1655, 1659, and 1663¹⁰ the inference is that in some way he was a freeholder of the manor. Robert's will of 1667 leaves "to my son Robert all my stock belonging to my trade abroad and at home for leather and hempe and wodmell, harnes and all other things and tools—the bed whereon he lieth and the coverledd which is in the chest and the chest which is next the bed's head and the Mare which standeth in the Roope house upon condition that he bring up my son John to the trade." The mention of the Rope House should be noted, for the Rope Walk was in operation during living memory, and its remains were only cleared away when the premises were finally demolished in 1939/40. The will shows the first Robert to have been a man of substance.

The second Robert Ragge was to increase this substance considerably. Although he did not figure in the will of his uncle John of Croydon, 11 dated 17th June and proved 31st July, 1676, which left a conditional reversion to his brother John and £20 to his brother Richard, in the assessment of 2nd November, 169512 he was rated to pay 6s. 8d. in respect of his Leatherhead properties and holdings, a quite substantial sum in comparison with the average of the list, showing that he had already acquired property other than the Bridge Street house. In 1703 he was one of the Churchwardens signing a Vestry minute. 13 a further sign of substance. Whether by good fortune in business or by other means he managed to put together sufficient money to embark during the last ten years of his life on a series of money-lending transactions which come to light at the Courts Baron of the manor. The period during which they took place is the same as that in which the whole country was gripped in a fever of speculation following the incorporation of the South Sea Company, and it seems not unlikely that Ragge, with a cool head, was advantaging himself from the follies of others, who were raising money upon the security of their copyhold lands in a rush to get rich quickly. The series of manor rolls in the Surrey Record Office is not complete, but at the Court of 17th October, 1711 there were conditional surrenders by John Allingham to Ragge as surety for the payment of £82, and by Robert Marsh as surety for the payment of £430 8s. 9d. At the Court of 2nd May, 1712, Marsh was shown to have defaulted and there was a final surrender to Ragge of the customary messuage Rowhurst with forty acres. Allingham had fared better and made a further conditional surrender for an outstanding balance of £35 10s. At the Court of 26th October, 1714, Elizabeth Rogers made a conditional surrender as surety for the payment of £287, but Allingham had managed to clear his debt and final satisfaction was acknowledged by Ragge. Probably with the proceeds of some of these transactions Ragge purchased from John Barfoot of Lamborne Hall, Essex, certain customary lands of the manor— Nynhams 18 acres, Megg Mershes 27 acres, a close called Megg Mershes 6 acres—which were surrendered at the Court of 10th October, 1715.14 Ragge died in June 1719, and his will, dated 14th April and proved 22nd August of that year¹⁵, left all his copyhold lands in Leatherhead to his nephew Robert and, after various bequests, the residue to his brother John, his sole executor, and the latter's heirs. Presentment of Robert Ragge's death and Admission of his nephew Robert was made at the Court Baron of 14th October, 1719.14

There is but rare mention of John in the Court Rolls, but in October 1711 he was appointed Tithing-man at the Court Leet.¹⁴ He died in March 1729, and his will¹⁶ dated 8th October, 1726 and proved 22nd May, 1729, bequeathed, after the death of his son Robert, his freehold dwelling house in Leatherhead, with its orchard and grounds, nine

acres, to his grandson John, with remainder to the right heirs of his son Robert; which clause had come into operation by the time of his death, for the grandson John died in January 1727, an infant of less than one year.

John's surviving son, the third Robert, does not figure in the extant Pachenesham Court Books in the same way as his uncle; though at the Court Leet of 25th October, 1742¹⁷ he was fined twenty shillings for not fencing the Middle Chalk Pit in the Common field, which appears to have been that which still remains in Headley Road west of the By-Pass Road. Like his predecessors he seems to have prospered, for he acquired a moiety of a copyhold tenement (Cradlers) in Leatherhead of the Manor of Thorncroft to which he was admitted at the Thorncroft Court of 1748. It would be illuminating to be able to look through the books of account of the Ragge business, for the mid-eighteenth century was high summer for a skilled craftsman of this kind. Not only was there the basic agricultural need for harness, but the roads had been made fit for an ever increasing number of stage coaches, waggons, and private vehicles, and such a business, situated near the junction of two important county thoroughfares, had every reason to prosper. Robert the third died in July 1750, intestate, 19 and his son Robert was admitted to the copyhold holdings of Pachenesham manor at the Court of 23rd October in that year. On this occasion too a Presentment was made of the Ragge freeholds in the manor,17 which are cited as a messuage and backside "formerly belonging to Sir Thomas ffoot", and one headacre of land abutting upon Broadlands and Short . . . (?Sturty) Lands in Leatherhead field formerly belonging to Blake and in occupation of Featherstone. In November 1750 an enrollment was made in the Court Book licensing the fourth Robert to devise and let his customary holdings in the manor¹⁷ and in October 1754¹⁷ he surrendered his copyhold lands to the Uses of his Will, a formal step by which at his death his heirs would be admitted to the copyhold holdings in accordance with the directions of the will. It is possible that he made a will at this time, but if so by the time of his death in November 1764, at the age of 37, it had been replaced by one drawn on 25th August of that year²⁰ in which he left all his goods, effects, lands and tenements, both freehold and copyhold, to his brother Richard on trust to pay certain sums to his children on reaching the age of 21, the residue until the children had reached that age to the maintenance of his wife and children and their education. At the Court Baron of Pachenesham, 22nd January, 1765,21 presentment of his death was made, the copyholds cited-Rowhurst with forty acres, Nynhams 18 acres, Megg Marshes 20 acres, a close called Meg Marshes 6 acres, and two closes together 7 acres abutting on Thorncroft land and Barnett Lane, and Proclamation was made for his brother at this court, according to the will, but Richard did not come to claim and be admitted until the Court of 13th February.²¹ Robert left four sons, one of whom died less than a year after him, and two daughters, all of them young children. Whether his own brother John was still living to carry on the trade until Robert the fifth was trained we do not know, and we lose sight of the family in the records until 1782, except that in 1769 Richard Ragge was admitted to the Thorncroft copyhold Cradlers, a rather belated admission, as indeed had been the presentment of the death of his father at the same court in 1755,18 and it is probable that the Thorncroft courts were not held annually. The fourth Robert Ragge's widow must have continued to live in the Bridge Street house, for in the terrier attached to the 1782/3 Pachenesham Manor Map²² she is shown as holding freehold parcels 531 and 532, which the map shows to be the house and the orchard behind it. Robert Ragge her son is shown as holding 14 parcels (ten of them small freehold parcels amounting to approximately six acres, two parcels of fifty-six and forty-one acres (plus) copyhold, and two further parcels of copyhold of three and two roods respectively). This was probably the surveyor Gwilt's note of the actual position rather than the legal, for technically the copyholds at any rate were in the possession of Richard Ragge as trustee of the will, as we shall presently see. That there was some confusion in the manor authorities' minds does seem evident, for in 1783 the Quit Rent roll of Pachenesham Manor²³ shows Mrs. Ragge the widow as the holder of both freehold and copyhold. Robert Ragge the fifth was in trouble of the same nature as the third Robert when at the Court Leet of 1st November, 178824 it was presented by the Inquest that "the Middle Chalk Pit which lays near the road to Headley and which belongs to Mrs. Ragge was in a state dangerous to passengers on account of the want of railing", but there was no fine. His uncle Richard. yeoman of Epsom, does not seem to have managed the trust properties very creditably, for it was presented at the Court of 16th November, 179024 that Rowhurst with the barns and stables "held by Richard Ragge of Epsom by copy of Court Roll was considerably out of repair." At the Court of 28th November, 179124 it was said to be in a ruinous condition, and at the same court Richard Ragge surrendered, to John Fuller of Leatherhead, Rowhurst, Nynhams, Megg Mershes, the close Megg Marshes, and two closes of 7 acres. By this time the youngest surviving child of the fourth Robert Ragge was about 27 years of age. If the properties were sold to meet the cash bequests to the children it was a somewhat belated accomplishment of the purposes of the trust. The wealth drawn together by the second Robert Ragge had taken the first step towards its eventual dissipation, as so often was the case when the strict rights of primogeniture or Borough English were set aside by a surrender to the uses of a will. Nevertheless Robert Ragge the fifth and his brother James were jurors at the Court Leet of 10th December, 1792,24 which seems to show that they were both freeholders of the manor, and at the Court Leet of 4th November, 179324 Robert Ragge was elected Ale Conner. He was Foreman of the Jury at the Court Leet of 3rd December, 1798²⁴ and several subsequent courts.

Richard Ragge of Epsom died 5th March, 1797. His will²⁵ dated 4th November, 1796, and proved 1st July, 1797, left all his real and personal estate to his wife for life and directed her to sell the Thorncroft Cradlers property to pay debts. After her death (she died in 1801) there was remainder to his nephew Robert, charged to pay £50 to James Ragge and £10 to "my nephew Edmund Ragge of Pattrasham in Leatherhead", who must presumably have been the son of Richard's brother John. In 1803 by a presentment at the Pachenesham Court Baron on 28th November²⁴ Edmund was shown to be living in a copyhold messuage at Pachenesham Green formerly belonging to Richard Ragge, but then belonging to the estate of Thomas Cooper deceased, which was declared to have fallen into decay and ought to be repaired. The death of Richard Ragge was not presented at the Thorncroft court until 1801¹⁸ when, in spite of the directions of his will to sell Cradlers, Robert Ragge was admitted to it, with a heriot of 10s. and a fine of £10. There was Surrender to Will and Licence to sub-let at the same court.

At the Court Baron (Pachenesham) of 3rd December, 1798²⁴ there was presentment of the alienation of a freehold messuage and orchard in Leatherhead by Richard Bennett to James Ragge. In December 1793 James had married Mary Walker of Fetcham. ²⁶ The property was apparently a cottage in the Fairfield, Leatherhead, for in 1819 his widow was rated in respect of it. ²⁷ Robert Ragge died 25th July, 1802, intestate ²⁸ in spite of his Surrender to Will at the Thorncroft court in the previous year. His death was not presented at the Pachenesham court until 10th December, 1804²⁴ when his freehold properties of the manor were cited—messuage or tenement in Leatherhead (the Bridge Street house), rent twopence, and a piece of land in the Common fields called Head Acre yearly quit rent twopence, and a piece of the waste whereon pales had been erected yearly rent also twopence. Robert's grave, with an incised stone, remains in Leatherhead churchyard to remind us of the last Ragge proprietor of the Bridge Street saddlery, and on it his social position is exactly described—"Mr. Robert Ragge". His widow, thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, was left with three young children, the eldest of whom, Robert, was only seven. In spite of these impediments, within little more than a year she had married as second husband one John Lloyd, a young man of twenty-three. The cynical might well remark that the material advantages to Lloyd must have outweighed the disad-

vantages, and that they added up to something more than a glass goblet, however charming it may be.

JOHN LLOYD does not seem to have been of a Leatherhead family (there is no mention of any Lloyd in the Parish Registers before him). As his marriage to Elizabeth Ragge took place during the illusory peace following the Treaty of Amiens, one wonders whether he had drifted to this part of the country in army service during the first part of the Napoleonic struggle, had secured release and settled down when opportunity offered, and though he is nowhere described as Collarmaker, yet as he carried on the business until his death he may perhaps have learned this trade in the Army. The first record which we have of him, apart from his marriage, is that at the Pachenesham Court Leet of 28th November, 1803, three months after his marriage, he served as a Juror, 24 presumably as a freeholder in right of his wife.

In 1808 the death of Robert Ragge the fifth was presented at the Thorncroft court¹⁸ and his brother James was admitted to the Cradlers property. James died in 1818, and the property was sold in 1828 to William Richardson.¹⁸

John Lloyd apparently prospered, for in 1819 he was assessed for rates at £30 in respect of his Leatherhead properties.²⁷ In February of the following year he was one of those selected by the Vestry to assist the foreman of the fire engine,^{28A} that weird contraption which was kept in Vicar James Dallaway's garden and of which a glimpse can be had in one of Mrs. Dallaway's etchings published in 1821. This of course may well have been good business, since such a cumbersome object would require both a strong horse and frequently renewed harness to get it to a fire.

The inevitable happened in 1824/25, when, his three step-children being then all of age, friction arose between him and them over certain matters outstanding from the estate of their father. Very sensibly the parties agreed to go to arbitration rather than to litigation, and the Award of the Arbitrators (James White and Charles Roberts) dated 4th January, 1825, is in the possession of the Society²⁹ having been given to us by Mrs. H. V. Snook in 1951. It appears from it that young Robert Ragge claimed of Lloyd money in respect of a proportion of the personal effects of his father, other sums as a portion of the rents of certain estates (not specified) which had belonged to his father, and the value of goods sold and delivered by him to Lloyd. Lloyd counterclaimed for money expended on young Robert's education, clothing and maintenance, apprenticeship and other expenses in putting him to the trade of Collar Maker and Sadler, for money expended on the repair of certain houses and buildings in Leatherhead and Oxshott, and for taxes, insurances, quit rents and expenses, etc., chargeable on these premises, commencing from the 25th July, 1802 (the date of death of Robert Ragge the fifth). In respect of these claims the arbitrators decided that the balance was in Lloyd's favour in the sum of £100 10s, 1d. They dismissed a further claim for dower to his wife which Lloyd made in respect of the proceeds of sale of a freehold orchard in Leatherhead (was this parcel 531 of the 1782/3 Terrier?) which young Robert had sold in 1817 to Richard Sturt; and they also dismissed a similar claim by Lloyd in respect of the sale of the copyhold moiety of a certain estate situated in Oxshott, but part of the manor of Stoke d'Abernon, which Ragge had sold in 1821 to Hugh Smith, the lord of that manor; and Lloyd extended the claim to the freehold moicty as well in right of his wife. It seems possible that these were the lands in Cobham parish which were bequeathed in his will by the second Robert Ragge to Richard Ragge of Dorking, tanner, who was possibly the son of his brother Richard, and which by some means had returned to the Leatherhead Ragges. They are clearly shown on A Plan of Stoke d'Abernon Estate Belonging to the Honourable Sir Francis Vincent Bart, 176930 as belonging to "Mr. Ragge", and they would appear to be the outlier of Stoke manor which had at one time been held by the monks of Waverley.³¹ The



award further determined that all sheds, improvements, fixtures, etc., in and upon the premises in Bridge Street, Leatherhead, "occupied by the said John Lloyd, the said Robert Ragge, Thomas Eagleton and others" were the property of Robert except such as were specified in an attached schedule as belonging to Lloyd. It would thus appear that up to this time Lloyd and his stepson were occupying the same house and engaged in the same trade, but in the Parish Register at the christening of some of his children Robert is described as a linendraper, a trade which he perhaps adopted after this dispute. John Lloyd claimed of James Ragge in respect of money expended in repairs to Cradlers, which he had apparently inherited from his uncle James (for it is unlikely to have been he who was admitted in 1808, when he was only nine); the fines, fees and expenses attending James's admission to the copyhold estates of his late father, with insurance, quit rents and taxes, also for maintenance, education, apprentice fees, clothing and pocket money from the date of his father's death. James Ragge counterclaimed for money received by Lloyd from James's tenants, for the value of a third part of the personal property of his father, and for interest accrued on the balances remaining in the hands of Lloyd. The arbitrators decided that the balance was in Lloyd's favour in the sum of £29 11s. 7d. They also declared that any additions, fixtures, fittings and improvements done at the cost of Lloyd were the property of James Ragge, and that any claim in that respect by Lloyd was null and void. Lloyd claimed of Mary Ragge in respect of maintenance, clothing, education, apprentice fees, etc., from the date of her father's death. She counter-claimed for the value of a third part of her father's personal property, and for a further sum secured to her on reaching the age of twenty-one by a Deed of Settlement dated August 19th, 1803, in all £300; also for interest on balances in Lloyd's hands and for her services as a servant. The arbitrators decided the balance to be in Mary's favour in the sum of £63 12s. 7d. In a final statement the arbitrators stated that the Deed of 19th August, 1803, by which the respective shares of the residue of personal property due to the three children from their father's estate, with a further sum to make up £300 in the case of Mary, were to be secured by an investment in 3% Consols, in the hands of a trustee, had never been put into effect in this respect; but it was awarded that they should not now prosecute any claim against Lloyd and his wife for non-performance of the conditions of the deed. One cannot help feeling that Lloyd had come out of this dispute indecently well.

In spite of this dispute, relations between the parties seem to have settled down again, for the Society possesses (also the gift of Mrs. Snook) a will of John Lloyd dated 5th July, 1828²⁹ which is witnessed by Robert and James Ragge. There is no evidence of probate. Robert Ragge appears to have left the district eventually, for he is not buried with his father as is James, who died March 12th, 1873.

James Ragge had several children, one of whom, Mary, married a Mr. Tims (a Mr and Mrs. Timms, photographers, of 41 Newington Causeway, advertised in the Leatherhead section of advertisements to Swete's Hand Book of Epsom, published in the mid-19th century); their children, Alfred and his sister, were living in 1953 when Mr. A. T. Ruby had correspondence with Mr. Alfred Tims.³² From this it appeared that James Ragge's later years were financially difficult, though earlier he had lived in a substantial dwelling known as The Red House (not to be confused with the present premises of that name), keeping a staff of servants.

The first John Lloyd died in 1840. His widow survived him by fifteen years, dying in 1855 at the age of 89. They are buried beside the last of the Leatherhead Ragges. Their son John continued the saddlery business and we reproduce his advertisement in Swete's Hand Book of Epsom in which, as we now know, he justly claimed that the business had been carried on in the Bridge Street house for over 200 years. His descendent, Mrs. Snook, possesses a daguerreotype of him, very handsomely attired. He and his wife had two



JOHN LLOYD,

Saddler & Farness Maker,

LETHERHEAD & GREAT BOOKHAM.

Carriage, Gig and other Harness warranted of the best Material & Workmanship.

Established in the above building for 200 Pears.

sons, John and Alfred, and two daughters. It seems probable that the third John succeeded his father at some time during the second half of the nineteenth century, and was himself succeeded by his brother Alfred whose name occurs as the proprietor in Kelly's *Directory of Surrey*, editions 1882 and 1890. Emily, the eldest of the girls, married in 1858²⁹ Augustus Walker, a mason, and she succeeded to the business in the nineties, in which she was assisted by her daughter Emily Walker. Miss Walker carried on in the old house after her mother's death, but when she lost her remaining craftsmen by death she removed in the summer of 1905³³ to the next house down the street, from whence she sold ready-made leather goods, and was still in business in the mid-thirties. She died in May 1951 at the age of ninety-three. However, the year 1905 is the real terminal date of this account of the saddlery business. The horse was already giving place on the roads to the internal combustion engine, as it was finally to be replaced in the fields during and after the second World War. The age of the "collar maker" was over.

NOTES

1. Brayley, History of Surrey. 1850. Vol. IV, Appendix, pp. 35-37.

2. Surrey Archaeological Collections, XVIII, p. 176. This Thomas Ragge was an Ironmonger, as is shown by his will, Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, 131 Berry, made on 6th January, 1608/9 and proved 26th May, 1610. He had a wife Beatrice and brothers William Ragge and Richard Ragge, both of whom had children. From a bequest to the poor of Prestwold, Leics., it is to be presumed that Thomas Ragge had moved to Surrey from the Midlands.

3. P.C.C. 181 Lee.

- 4. Proceedings of this Society, Vol. 2, p. 6.
- 5. Guildford Muniment Room. 97/13/559.
- 6. Surrey Record Office (hereafter S.R.O.) Acc. 377.
- 7. Historical MSS. Commission. 7th Report, p. 686a.
- 8. P.C.C. Foot 136.
- 9. Archdeaconry Court of Surrey. Register 1660-70.f.49.
- 10. S.R.O. 59/1/5.
- 11. Kent Record Office. PRS/W/14/85 (Peculiar of Shoreham and Croydon).
- 12. Leatherhead First Church Book. 1693-1739.
- 13. Society's Archives. X55, p. 7.
- 14. S.R.O. 6/17.
- 15. P.C.C. Browning f.152.
- 16. Commissary Court of Surrey. Reg. Pinfold 1729-39 f. 6v.
- 17. S.R.O. 6/19.
- 18. Merton College, Oxford, Index to Court Rolls, 1736-18.. p. 145 ff.
- 19. Commissary Court of Surrey. Administration Acts 1750, f.152.
- 20. Archdeaconry Court of Surrey. Register 1763-69, f.96.
- 21. S.R.O. 6/20.
- 22. In possession of G. H. Grantham, Esq. Copy made by Mr. John Harvey: W.8 in Society's Archives.
- 23. S.R.O. 6/19.
- 24. S.R.O. 6/21.
- 25. P.C.C. Exeter, f.519.
- 26. Fetcham Parish Registers.
- 27. Society's Archives, W.10.
- 28. Administration P.C.C. 1802,
- 28a. Society's Archives, W.50.
- 29. Society's Archives, X.72.
- 30. S.R.O. 179.
- 31. Victoria County History. III. 458.
- 32. Society's Archives, X.88.
- 33. S.R.O. Rate Books of Leatherhead Urban District Council,

A SHORT HISTORY OF BOOKHAM-Pt. VIII

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY witnessed, in England, revolutionary changes even deeper than the obvious transformations of the economic and political scene wrought by the Industrial and French Revolutions. For it was between 1700 and 1800 that an age-old relationship between man and man gave way before the pressure of social changes due to the impact of a new economy upon a country formerly dependent upon agriculture in one form or another.

Under the old system, rich and poor had had a fundamental identity of interests, and there had seldom been (apart from a few crises due to pestilence or famine) an atmosphere of class-warfare. Class had been a matter of blood: the aristocrat knew himself to be different from the peasant, with whose offspring marriage was unthinkable. Secure in this confidence and with the backing of a chivalrous code he was able to treat his social inferiors as human beings equal before God and with, more often than not, personal consideration. A similar social condition of close personal intimacy linking persons of different classes across an impassable gulf still survives to some extent in Spain and in Ireland, countries relatively little affected by the idea of money as such.

In England, ever since the fourteenth century when personal services became generally commuted for money payments, and the wars with France had to be financed by heavy taxation and borrowing at interest by the Crown, a change had been in progress. Very slowly at first, more rapidly after the immense redistribution of landed estates in the sixteenth century, social class became less and less a matter of blood, more and more of ability to acquire cash and credit. A chivalrous code of honourable behaviour was being undermined by a purely material system of "Caveat emptor". The newly arrived class, by monied power and lack of scruple, invaded the privileges of the aristocracy and intermarried into its ranks. By the eighteenth century the result was a squirearchy of very mixed origins. The landed proprietor, no longer internally sure of himself, began to fence himself and his family off from his social inferiors by the creation of a new set of "snob" values, and to treat "the poor" with a callous disregard only relieved by occasional acts of ostentatious condescension.

It is against this background of fundamental changes that the history of Bookham must be viewed. Still largely a rural community of yeomen and cottagers at the end of the seventeenth century, a hundred years later it had become a group of game-preserving, largely non-productive, estates, interspersed with several very large farms, some of them artificially formed by a complicated system of sub-letting the individual strips in the medieval open field, which still survived unenclosed. Beneath the squires and the wealthy farmers was a population of servants, minor tradesmen, labourers, and (steadily growing in proportion) paupers.

The old manor-house of Great Bookham Court still stood in 1721, when it was a farm occupied by Thomas Martyr,¹ but it was soon to be absorbed into Eastwick Park. A new estate was being formed at the southern end of the village by the creation of what was to be known as Bookham Grove.² In this case the gradual agglomeration of small properties began about 1680, the main road to Guildford and the old north-south lane called The Whiteway were diverted about 1721 for greater privacy (the origin of the awkward double corner at the "Victoria" which has only just been abolished after some 235 years), and the seat became a nobleman's residence on its sale to Viscount Downe in 1775. The pleasure-grounds of Polesden were enlarged, and the first section of its great terrace built in 1761 for Captain (later Admiral Sir) Francis Geary, R.N., who had bought the estate in 1748 for £5,500. Meanwhile the ancient manor of Slyfield had become a

mere farm let for the benefit of Exeter College, Oxford, and by 1744 its splendid Jacobean and Carolean mansion had been dismembered. On the other hand, another new estate had been formed further west, on the boundary of Little Bookham, out of mainly copyhold lands of both manors, and a substantial residence called Hill House built there.

Not all the estates and farms were in the hands of the newly rich. For most of the century a few of the old families held out: notably the Martyrs of Phoenice Farm and the Woods of Bagden, while the designation "yeoman" still occurs in wills until after the middle of the century. Examples are those of Thomas Byshop (1706/8) and Thomas Cook (1715/16) of Little Bookham; and of James Bourn (1720/22), George Heath (1724/5), George Cook (1729), William Berry (1746/8), Charles Gurr (1761/2), and George Tickner (1765) of Great Bookham. Such self-descriptions have to be used with caution, for Charles Gurr, who made his will as a yeoman, had been a shopkeeper when he married in 1728. Several trades occur among Bookham testators: baker (Thomas Wood, 1753); blacksmith (Richard Hubbard, 1732); maltster (George Gills, 1722/3; John Wood, 1766/8; Thomas Cooper, 1769); victualler (Robert Charman, 1782/8); weaver (Francis Stint, 1732), besides such descriptions, mostly later in the century, as farmer (Joseph Fish, 1778/93) and schoolmaster (Henry Crawter, 1796/1802). In a few cases even self-styled labourers made wills.³

Weaving, which had for long been an important home industry in Bookham, was probably almost extinct by 1750, while by the end of the century the annual fair had died out, though the domestic accounts of the Howards of Ashtead show that cheese and hops were still being bought at "Buckom Faier" in 1711–18.4

The surviving parish documents of Great Bookham give some impression of local life in the eighteenth century. The affairs of the village were still governed by a Vestry of local squires and farmers, electing churchwardens, overseers, and surveyors of highways. Not every local gentleman was willing to serve, and in 1701 "Mr. Lodowic Howard promised to pay 20s. to be excused from serving the office of Overseer for the yeare ensueinge according to his turn."

Among constant items of expenditure the church clock is outstanding. In 1710 William Risbridger was being paid for it, as well as 5s. for cleaning it; in 1714 and 1715 one Francis Stint was paid for 5 years for looking after it (£3 15s. 0d.), while Risbridger received 15s. for doing so for 3 years. In 1752 the clock was being maintained by one Worsfold, perhaps the Mr. Thomas Worsfold of "Darking" who, on 20 April, 1778, "hath a greed... that he sall and will immediately Put the Church Clock of Great Bookham into Good and substantial Repair and also new lines for the some of five Guineas (the Deal Board and painting the same except)", undertaking also to keep the clock in repair for 20 years for 6s. a year. The dial had been painted in 1771. Worsfold was still being paid his annual fee in 1792, while one Potter had a guinea for winding.

Bell-ringing also gave rise to special payments: the Hanoverian dynasty was brought in with 2s. 6d. to the ringers "At the Proclaiming of King George" in 1714, while they received 5s. for "King George's Birth-Day", and another 5s. "At the Kings Coronation". On 24th January, 1757/8, during the Seven Years' War, 4s. was "Gave for Ringing for the King A Prusher", no doubt a celebration of Frederick the Great's victories over the French and Austrians at Rossbach and Leuthen.

In 1753 a man was paid 10s. 6d. "for Measuering the Steple", and 20 years later 2s. was "Spent putting up the Weather Cock." At Little Bookham Church the surviving vane over the bell-turret bears the date 1744 and the initials "I S". Great Bookham Church underwent substantial repairs and improvements at several dates: in 1768 the Vestry agreed "that a New Altar peice and Rails be put up in the Chancell and a new

pulpitt and Diske, and White Washing, the Church to be Repeared accorden to the plan"; and in the next year it was decided "to have the Kings Armes painted and set up in the Church as it was before", the canvas costing 2s., "Expences with the Painters" 2s. 6d., and "putting up the Kings Arms" 6d. In 1771–72 a bill of £4 13s. 6d. was paid to one Gregory "for mending the Church wall and Church", and between 1788 and 1792 various sums were received by James Peters and Roberts, bricklayers, and by Mr. Roberts the glazier; in 1778 Peters received £1 7s. 11d. in payment of his bill, and beer costing 4s. 6d. The repairs probably included the brick buttresses to the tower.

The churchyard also had to be kept in order, "the yewtree at ye west end of ye Church & five Walnut trees in ye church yard" being planted by Samuel Lisle the Vicar on 13th February, 1733/4; while in 1738 "a man Grubbing the Ivy round the Church" had 2s. The Vicar did not always see eye to eye with his parishioners, for in 1712 the Rev. John Hyett noted "That the Tenents of the manner of great Bookham about ye year 1672 or 1673 presented me for shutting up the Vicaridg Lane: I proved by the Terrier it was part of the Gleab; and they could claim only a foot way between sun riseing and setting. I haue ever since kept it shut up: and that when they at a Court 1710 presented all priviledges and Grievances not spareing the Lord [of the Manor] himself the Lane was not presented." This lane was, however, to cause further trouble a century later.

Responsibility for the roads also gave rise to difficulties. In 1776 the Vestry agreed that the Surveyors should "mend the Road leading from Slyfield Mill to the Bridge by Sir Francis Vincent", but in 1787 the same road "from Sheep Bell House to Mark Oak" was indicted by a Mr. Page, and the Vestry determined to stand trial rather than make it up, again deciding to proceed to trial in 1791 and 1792 when, under the leadership of Admiral Sir Francis Geary it was agreed unanimously "to try the Cause at the next Assises and to Defend the Inditement by an Equal Rate on all the Inhabitants to defray the expences." This declaration was signed by Geary; Henry Crawter and Thomas Martyr, churchwardens; Robert Wood and Edward Waterer as Overseers, and again as Surveyors of Highways; and by eight other parishioners, of whom three made their marks.

The care of the poor demanded increasing attention. On 18th July, 1715, John Virgo, parish pensioner, was buried, and it was noted "that William Loueland at the Buryal... encouraged Richard Hubbard the officer to force his way into the ch.yard and church refuseing to pay for it as All parishioners haue since done those only excepted wher it is exprest: pd. for the pall." As an example of the normal type of pension, it was "Agreed at a Vestry Octobr ye 6. 1717 to pay for the Rent of Goody Williams five Shillings", while four men and four widows had benefited in sums from 10s. down to 3s. from the windfall of £2 10s. 0d. received on 22nd April in the same year, being "Money forfeited by killing a Hare in the Manor of Great Bookham paid into the Hands of the Overseers, Thomas Wood and Thomas Mugridge." In 1732 it was ordered that "ye Overseers of ye Poor shall procure brass badges, & take care to have 'em fixt before christmas next upon every person yt receiveth alms of ye parish, otherwise to stop their allowance", and two years later Charles Phips was paid for making clothes for the poor.

In February 1734/5 the Almshouse was repaired at a Cost of two guineas, "a Round house" was ordered to be built and the expense paid from the Poor Book in 1752, and in 1791 the Almshouses were to be thatched. One David Hoeit received 2 lbs. of Mutton in 1756, for which 7d. was paid, while 2s. was spent in 1763 "for the Cure of Buggses Girls Mouth of the Cancer." The practice of removing paupers to their parish of origin, under the Act of 1662, is exemplified by a removal order of 5th January, 1773 by which Lidia White, widow of Thomas White, with her child William "aged about 1 month" was brought from Richmond to Great Bookham.

Ever since 1610 parishes had been liable to contribute to the building of gaols and houses of correction, and in 1720 Great Bookham voted "1d. per pound to a Book for building a New Goal" [sic], while in 1722, £1 Is. 7d. was to be paid to the High Constable "for Reparing the House of Correction money at Guildford." Contributions were also made to the General Hospital, the Vestry of 7th April, 1760, raising £25 14s. 0d. from five of its members who agreed "to Lay Down the Aspittle Money One Account to be Reducted out of the Next Poors Book."

Public nuisances were usually left to the initiative of the Court Leet, but on 26th December, 1759, the Great Bookham Vestry made the entry: "Mr. John Venn it was thought Proper to give you Notice to Rail in your Slimekillpitt lying in the said Parish or cause it to be Done or Other wise it will be in Dited to Next Quarter Seshons." Other methods of dealing with awkward parishioners are shown by a memorandum of 1732 in the second Parish Register: "John Wood ye son of Tho: Wood yeoman & Brother to ye present Tho: Wood of Bagden was serv'd by a Warrant & carried before Mr. Ballard one of His Maj.ties justices of ye peace, where he was excus'd from ye penalty of ye act of parliamt., upon my request; for haveing disturbd my Curate in ye performance of his office, & for playing in ye Church yard; & upon our agreemt. His Father was to pay to ye poor of ye parish five shillings, as Mem: I receved but four shillings & sixpence of ye said sum witness my Hand, Sam: Lisle vicr."

Our knowledge of the detailed history of Bookham at certain dates is due to the survival of particular documents: Domesday Book, the abstract of Court Rolls of 1327-47, the Surveys of 1548 and 1614. Most fortunately, another such survival permits the reconstruction of the whole layout of Great Bookham as it was in 1797–98. This is a large map drawn on the scale of 20 inches to a mile, showing every parcel of land numbered, and with a corresponding reference-book giving the owner, occupier, use and area of each parcel.⁵ Neither map nor book bears a date, but on the book is the statement by a former owner that both had belonged to Mr. Seawell, descendant of the Thomas Seawell who appears as one of the proprietors of 1798. Another plan, to the same scale and identical in treatment,6 shows Seawell's estate only; this is dated 1797 and signed by Spurrier & Phipps of London. The date of the parish map can be indepedently proved to lie in the season 1797-98 by comparison with other documents: Richard Brinsley Sheridan, shown as the owner of Polesden, did not acquire it until 31st August, 1797;7 the land occupied by Mr. Cressy on the plan was rated in the assessment taken in autumn 17988 to "William Taylar late Cressey"; the Rev. G. A. Pollen, shown as occupier of Hill House, was so assessed in the autumn of 1798, but not in the spring of 1799; on the other hand, Thomas Skinner was not admitted to certain copyholds until 30th October, 1798.9 The survey of so large an area, its plotting, and the detailed description of all the lands shown, might well last over a year.

Unlike the smaller map of 1614–15, that of 1797–98 marks every strip in the common arable fields as well as the enclosures, houses, and outbuildings. It thus provides an invaluable record, in the last generation before enclosure, of the agricultural arrangements which had lasted since Saxon times. Comparison with the map of 1614–15 shows that some changes had taken place. A few small plots had been taken out of the common waste, and several marginal areas of open field had been enclosed, but the essential divisions survived. The total area of the parish appears as 3,222 acres (54 acres short of the real amount, due largely to the omission of roads), of which 785 acres were common waste, 690 acres open arable in 463 separate parcels, and 1747 acres enclosed land.

Ten big proprietors owned between them 2148 of the 2437 acres of land (excluding the common waste): the Earl of Effingham (609 acres), Richard Brinsley Sheridan (580 a.), James Wood of Bagden (271 a.), Samuel Castle (167 a.), the Slyfield Trustees (122 a.),

Edward Waterer (98 a.), Lady Downe (86 a.), Thomas Seawell (81 a.), Robert Wood of Yewtrees (73 a.), and Thomas Skinner (61 a.). Some of these estates extended also into neighbouring parishes. Of the 45 other landowners, 34 owned less than 5 acres each, in many cases only small plots of an acre or so.

Very large areas of the big estates were leased off as farms to several major occupiers, the largest being Sole Farm of 390 acres, let to John Bennett by the Earl of Effingham. In some cases farms were made up of leases from more than one owner, and within the next twenty years, if not by 1798, a system was to grow up whereby whole blocks of openfield land were brought together so that agriculture could be carried on by methods approximating to those used on enclosed land. This was but an intensification of the slow process of exchange and consolidation of strips that had continued since the Middle Ages. By 1804 the movement for enclosure was far advanced, and Sheridan alone, a warm-hearted Irishman, stood between the last of the commoners and destitution. He wrote: "Nothing can be more for our interest than the enclosure if I have my due; but I will see real justice done to the cottagers and the poorest claimants. Timber-Tow Wood is the village Hampden." Of a meeting called for the purpose he added: "I was called to the chair to resist Sumner's unpopularity, the poorer claimants putting their cases entirely into my hands."10 Sumner was apparently George Holme Sumner of Hatchlands, later M.P. and Lord of the Manor of Great Bookham; which of the numerous Wood family led the party of commoners is unknown, but it may have been that James Wood of Bagden who, making his will three years later, declared that his estates in Bookham should never be sold or mortgaged but "continue as long as ever there shall be in the Wood family a male air" [sic.]11 His son John broke the entail and sold Bagden in 1813, after at least eleven generations had held the farm from father to son for three hundred years.

NOTES

- 1. Indenture of 20 Oct., 1721, enrolled on Close Roll (Public Record Office, C.54/5188).
- See article by F. B. Benger in *Proceedings*, Leatherhead and Dist. Local History Soc., Vol. 1, No. 9, pp. 21-25.
- 3. Wills at Somerset House in Prerogative Court of Canterbury; Commissary and Archdeaconry Courts of Surrey; double dates are those of the making and probate of the wills.
- 4. See *Proceedings*, Leatherhead and Dist. Local History Soc., Vol. 1, No. 8, 1954, p. 3; and details kindly supplied by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.: hops were bought at about 10d. to 1s. a lb.; three cheeses, of unspecified size, cost 12s. in 1712, and £1 14s. in 1718.
- 5. Surrey Record Office, S.C.15/12; a full-size facsimile of the map is in the Guildford Muniment Room.
- 6. National Trust: Polesden documents in Surrey Record Office.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Church Book 1798-1817, Great Bookham Rectory.
- 9. Little Bookham Court Book 1753-1808, Surrey Record Office.
- 10. W. F. Rae: Sheridan, A Biography (1896), Vol. II, p. 203 ff.
- 11. Will of 3 Jan., 1807, proved 12 Jan., 1808, among Polesden documents, Surrey Record Office.

Those who feel interest in the district as it exists to-day, as well as in its past, and who desire to see its attractions preserved, may wish to subscribe to the LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT COUNTRYSIDE PROTECTION SOCIETY. Annual subscription, one shilling, to which donations may be added.

Honorary Secretary: F. B. Benger, Duntisbourne, Reigate Road, Leatherhead.

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the period from 1st October, 1960 to 31st December, 1961

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d. £	s. d.	£ s. d. £ s. d.	
Balance brought forward at 1st October, 1960	24	11 10	Printing of Proceedings 114 2 Printing of Index 54 10	
Subscriptions:—			General Printing	6
138 @ 10/- (including 6 paid previous year)	69 0 0	10000	Postages, Stationery, and Sundry disbursements	6
1 @ 7/6	7 6 5 0	1 2	Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:—	
1 @ 1/-; 2 @ 2/	10 0	333	Surrey Record Society 1 0 0 South Eastern Union of	
In advance: 23 @ 10/-, plus 2/6 on account	11 12 6	15 0	Scientific Societies 12 6 Field Studies Council	6
Grants:—		13.89	Visits and Meetings:—	U
Surrey County Council Leatherhead U.D.C	15 0 0 10 0 0		Expenses	
Donations to Index Fund	53 5 0	0 0	1 16	6
Sales of Proceedings and Binding Cases	26 18 5		Balance at Midland Bank Limited, including subscriptions paid in advance 13 18	3
Donations	5 9 0	12 5		
		333		
	£216	19 3	£216 19 :	3

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

(Signed) A. H. KIRKBY,

Honorary Auditor.

30th January, 1962.

(Signed) S. E. D FORTESCUE, Honorary Treasurer. provet first about written

Di Nemport

Seal of Lady
Diana Newport
on the marriage
settlement, of
1683, when she
married Thomas
Howard.

