PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

VOL. 2 No. 4

1960

SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE SOCIETY continued to gain ground, although it is hoped that the degree of original research undertaken by members will be intensified in the future.

Fixtures were arranged in 1959/60 as follows:—

1959	
December 5th	Joint meeting with Surrey Archaeological Society. Lecture: "Stonehenge and its Cultural Significance", by Dr. Corcoran.
1960	
January 20th	Brains Trust. Chairman: Mr. F. B. Benger. Members: Messrs. John Harvey, F.S.A., C. W. Phillips, F.S.A., John Sankey, B.Sc., and A. T. Ruby, M.B.E.
February 24th	Lecture: "Parish and Other Records with special reference to Fetcham", by Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne.
March 30th	Talk on "Field Archaeology" by Mr. A. T. Ruby.
April 27th	Lecture: "English Church Brasses with special reference to those in Surrey", by Dr. J. Kent of the British Museum.
May 14th	Visit to Slyfield Manor House, Stoke D'Abernon. Talk by Mr. F. B. Benger on architecture and history of same.
June 25th	Visit to Lingfield Church in connection with lecture held on 27th April, 1960.
July 9th	Conducted tour of Bookham Common, to study its flora and fauna. Leader: Mr. Norkett, of the London Natural History Society.
August 6th	Field meeting in the Mole Valley. Leader: Mr. Sankey of the Juniper Hall Field Studies Centre.
September 24th	Visit to Michelham Priory near Hailsham, Sussex.
October 15th	Fungus Foray in Boxhill Woods. Leader: Dr. Topping.

Number 3 of Volume 2 of the *Proceedings* of the Society was issued during the year, and the Index to Volume 1 has been distributed to Members.

Fourteenth Annual General Meeting

Held at the Red House, Leatherhead, on Saturday, 12th November, 1960

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee for 1959/60 and the Accounts to 30th September, 1960, were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected as shown below.

After the formal business a film of the 1959 Nonsuch Palace Excavation was shown and an exhibition of brass-rubbings was staged.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1960-61

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. Leatherhead 3736)

Hon. Treasurer: S. E. D. FORTESCUE
(133 Lower Road Gt. Bookham Surrey. Bookham 2606)

Hon. Programme Secretary: DR. P. TOPPING
(Angroban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead. 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. Leatherhead 2711)

PROCEEDINGS
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Leatherhead and District Local History Society
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CONTENTS

Illustrations:

OCCASIONAL NOTES

THE PORTRAIT IN OILS of William Lock of Norbury Park here reproduced was offered at auction on 19th December, 1960, with fifteen other lots (being the property of Miss Ann Julia Wauchope, great-granddaughter of Fanny Burney's niece, Charlotte Barrett) by Messrs. Sotheby & Co. of New Bond Street, London; and was purchased by Mrs. Barbara Spencer who now lives at Norbury Park. We are able to reproduce it with Mrs. Spencer's kind permission.

The artist was Edward Francis (or Francesco) Burney, nephew of Dr. Charles Burney the musician and cousin of Fanny Burney, afterwards Mme. D'Arblay. Edward Burney was born at Worcester in 1760, entered the Academy School at an early age, and gained the friendship of Sir Joshua Reynolds. In 1780 he exhibited three drawings illustrating Fanny Burney's *Evelina*, and afterwards a few portraits. He is best known for his book illustrations (of which there is an example in the Victoria & Albert Museum) and by his portrait of Fanny Burney, which was engraved as a frontispiece to her works. He died in London in 1848.[1]

The portrait of William Lock ($29\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ inches) is a scholarly copy of that which Sir Thomas Lawrence painted for Lock's friends, the Angerstein family, and it appears to have been executed in the first place for Colonel Phillips, husband of Fanny Burney's sister Susan, who lived at Mickleham. But by 1807 it was in the apartments of Dr. Charles Burney at Chelsea College, for it is mentioned in his Will made at Bath in that year: ". . . His [i.e. 'my nephew Edward'] excellent copy of Mr. Lawrence's excellent Portrait of Mr. Lock of Norbury Park whom I & my whole family have ever revered, which is placed over the door of my parlour, is the property of my Grand daughter Phillips having been painted for her father Colonel Phillips by my Nephew."[2] There was also a preparatory pen and wash sketch by Edward Burney, which latter may have been the portrait of "dearest Mr. Lock, our founder" which Fanny Burney records as the first thing placed in Camilla Lacey, her first home with General D'Arblay.[3]

The face of William Lock as seen in the Lawrence and Burney portraits is that of a man of great sensitivity, and also, one could say, of a man who had known suffering, for there is a certain sadness in the expression. All the contemporary accounts dwell upon the high regard in which he was held by everyone with whom he came into contact, from King George III to Dr. Samuel Johnson, but nothing is known to have occurred in his life up to the time this portrait was painted which could account for its poignancy.[4]

The other lots in Messrs. Sotheby's sale of Miss Wauchope's property included a number of very interesting relics of Fanny Burney and her husband General D'Arblay, including Edward Burney's portrait of her, various manuscripts of hers and her husband, a letter from her son Alexander dated 1815 to his mother in Brussells telling of Napoleon's behaviour when the *Bellerophon* called at Torbay on the way to St. Helena, and a portrait of General D'Arblay by Carl and Horace Vernet. F. B. B.

NOTES

1. Bryan (Michael), Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. Ed. Graves and Armstrong, 1893.
2. Messrs. Sotheby & Co's catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, etc., 19th–21st December, 1960, lot 295.
3. Hill (Constance), Juniper Hall. 1904. Plate facing page 66.
4. *Proceedings* of this Society, Vol. 1, No. 8, pages 15–18, for a short account of William Lock and his family, and their contacts with Fanny Burney and her sister Susan Phillips.

The Committee of the Society feels that an acknowledgement is due to Mr. H. L. Meed, who is responsible for the most excellent drawing of the maps which accompany the Cartographical Survey series which have appeared in the *Proceedings*. The Medieval Map which appears in this number is a good example of the high degree of accuracy and skill in layout which Mr. Meed has displayed, and the Society is greatly indebted to him.

A PALAEOLITHIC FLOOR AT LOWER KINGSWOOD

By L. W. CARPENTER

SINCE the publication of my report on the palaeolithic flint implements of Walton and Banstead Heaths in the Society's *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, 1956, little further research has been possible owing to the dwindling acreage now under cultivation in the area. In the autumn of 1959, however, a small dry valley or coombe on the edge of the plateau at Lower Kingswood had all the top soil removed by bulldozers and scrapers. The top soil was heaped up around the perimeter, while the floor of the valley was raised by the dumping of ashes, clinker, and hard rubbish and the top soil subsequently re-spread. This soil removal exposed the old clay-with-flints surface which seems to lie mainly between 18 inches and 3 feet below the present agricultural surface. The cleared area was carried up to just above the 550 feet contour line. After scouring by autumn and winter rains the surface could be searched for worked flint, and as the dumping was a slow business I was able to examine the site very thoroughly.

I found that the top soil contained much neolithic flint work. Two rough celts, some fragments of polished flint axes, a number of scrapers, and an abundance of flint flakes with cores and hammer stones could all be assigned to the neolithic culture. All this flint was entirely unpatinated and fresh looking. Mesolithic pieces were very rare and patinated a milky white, but a good, straight-sided tranchet axe was found embedded in the clay. The large mounds of soil on the site undoubtedly contain many more neolithic flints and probably some further mesolithic as flint work of both periods is quite common on the Walton and Banstead Heaths plateau. At first no trace of palaeolithic worked flint could be found but at length in the S.W. corner of the cleared area and just above the 550 ft. contour line I found the ovate shown in figure 1, embedded in the clay-with-flints. An intensive search on this spot soon revealed other specimens and numerous flakes. Most of the illustrated flints and the flakes were found embedded in the surface of this corner

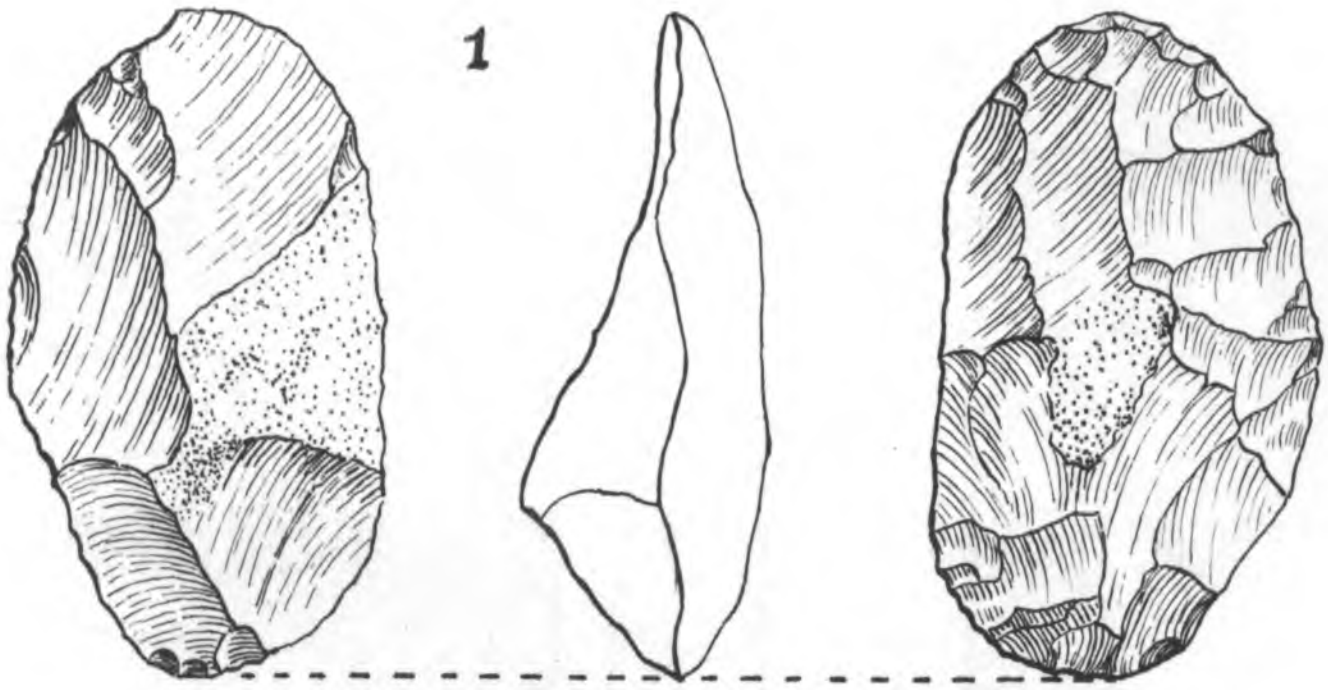
or were dug from just beneath the surface. Others, of course, may have been scraped off the clay surface and become buried in the soil mounds waiting to be re-spread when the dumping is completed.

The flints found embedded in this clay are all deeply patinated and frost-bleached, and show the characteristic thermal fractures due to the extremes of temperature encountered during the last great glaciation In my previous article I stated that I was not prepared to accept as palaeolithic any worked flints from the Banstead and Walton Heaths plateau unless they exhibited all these characteristics. I must now modify this statement as I have subsequently handled the two hand axes found at "Knowlehawe", Tadworth, in the clay-with-flints on the edge of the plateau. These hand axes are reported in Vol. 2, 1957. One of them is bleached on one side but is only partly patinated on the other, and the original flint surface is showing in places. On the Kingswood site the half completed hand axe (fig. 5), the cores and some flakes were neither bleached nor deeply patinated, although all exhibited the thermal fractures. These last mentioned were buried in the clay-with-flints and dug from below the surface. It would then appear that flints bleached to an ivory shade of patination were probably those which lay on the surface exposed to the severities of the Ice Age for at least a considerable period of time. Much of the natural flint which occurs here in thick beds in the clay shows this ivory bleaching with thermal fractures on the upper surface and frost shattered flint of every shape and size is strewn over the whole area.

With the recovery of the hand axes and other pieces together with eighty-three flakes from this small site there seems little doubt that here we have the remains of a palaeolithic working floor, one of the several which must have existed on this plateau. The culture would appear to be that termed the Middle Acheulian and is probably contemporary with the material which has recently been excavated from the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe. Classification by types, so popular in earlier days, is beginning to fall out of favour due to the evidence of recent excavations and it would seem that these folk who could produce such a finely polished tool as Fig. 3 would also make use of the simplest flakes and the most elementary shapes when such pieces suited their immediate needs. In using the term "floor" to describe a working site of this nature it must be remembered that all traces of everything but the indestructible flint have disappeared. Drastic climatic changes over a vast time span make it difficult to formulate any theory as to the geographical appearance of the countryside when palaeolithic man hunted over it.

Descriptions of Illustrations 1 to 11

1. Ovate hand axe. Edges sharp. Ice-bleached ivory patination with thermal fractures. Retaining patches of cortex on both sides. Bold economical flaking on one side.
2. A ficron or tongue-shaped hand axe of cherty flint with a basal point. Bleached patination of ivory hue.
3. A carefully finished triangular hand axe. Ivory, bleached patination with a high gloss. Thermal fractures. A peculiar feature of this specimen is the battering which occurs on one focal point. This has been recorded on hand axes from other sites, such as Swanscombe. A small cone of percussion still remains on the flat side of this hand axe.
4. The butt of a massive hand axe. Ivory, bleached patination with high gloss. Thermal fractures. The pointed end has been removed by frost action as the break shows two pot-lid fractures.
5. An unfinished hand axe. The face depicted shows the initial bold flaking with the median ridge. A similar attempt to prepare the other side which is rather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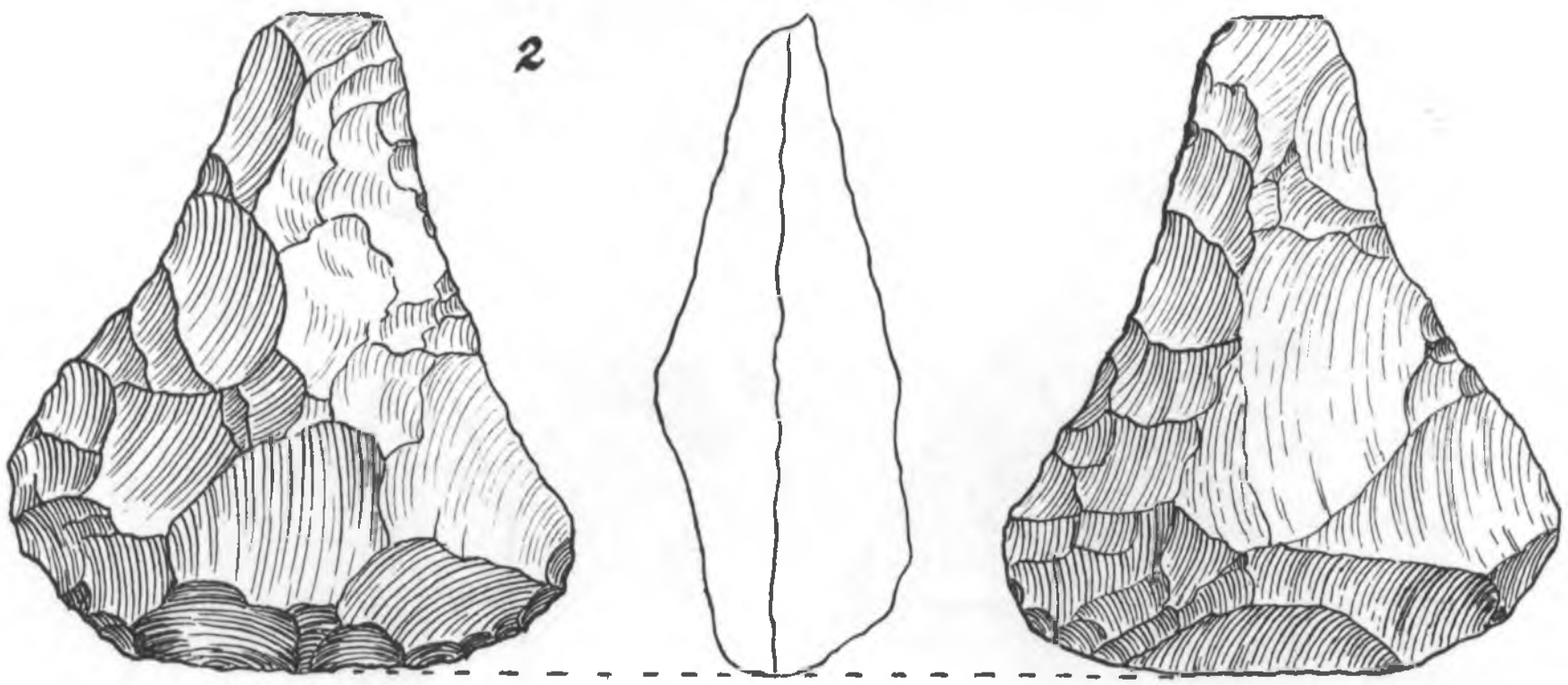
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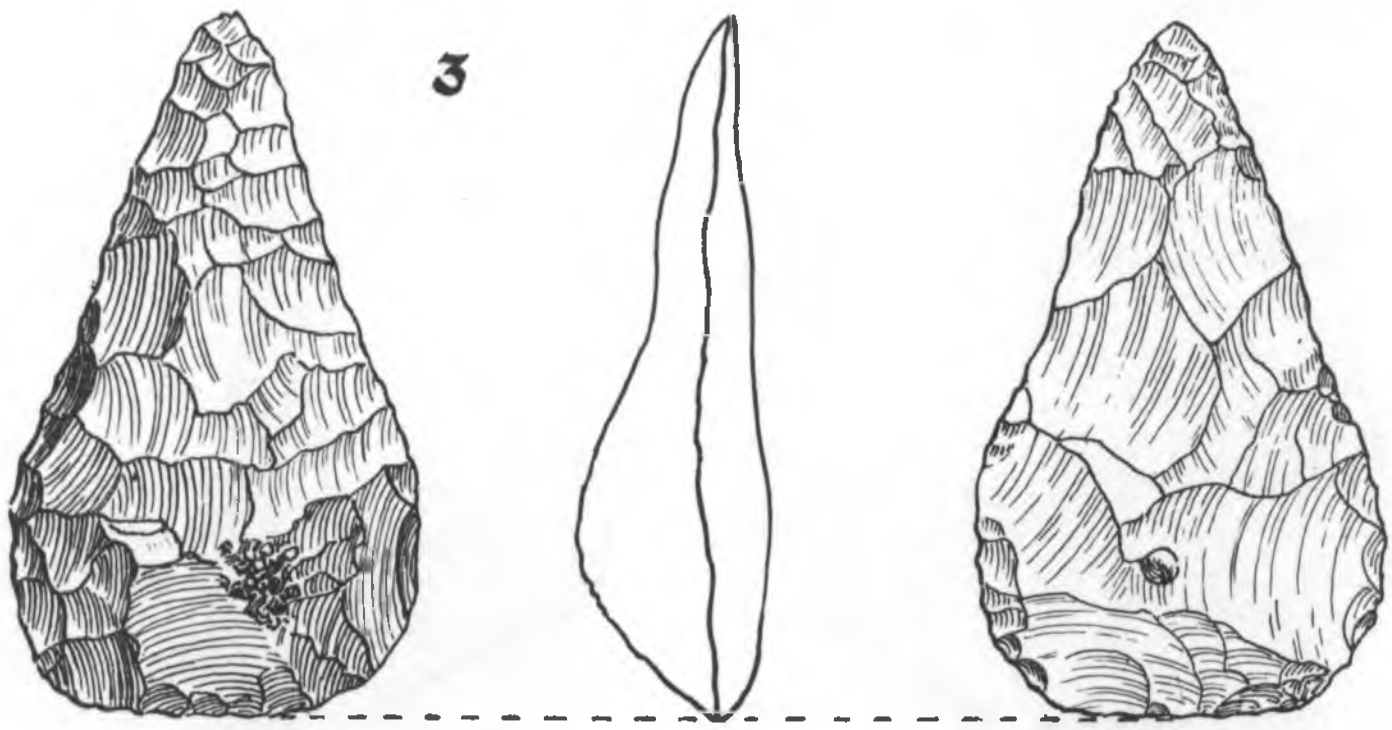
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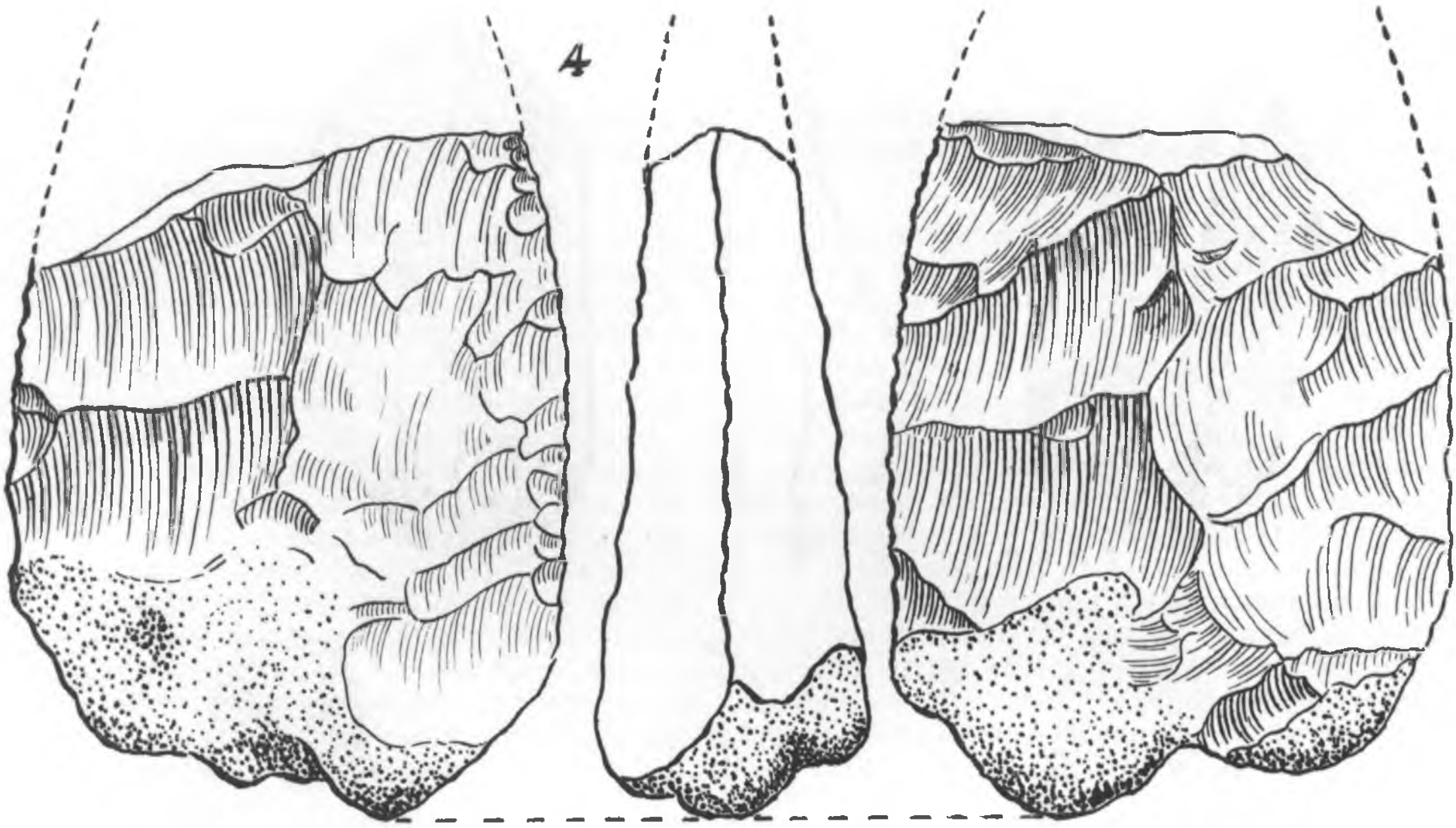

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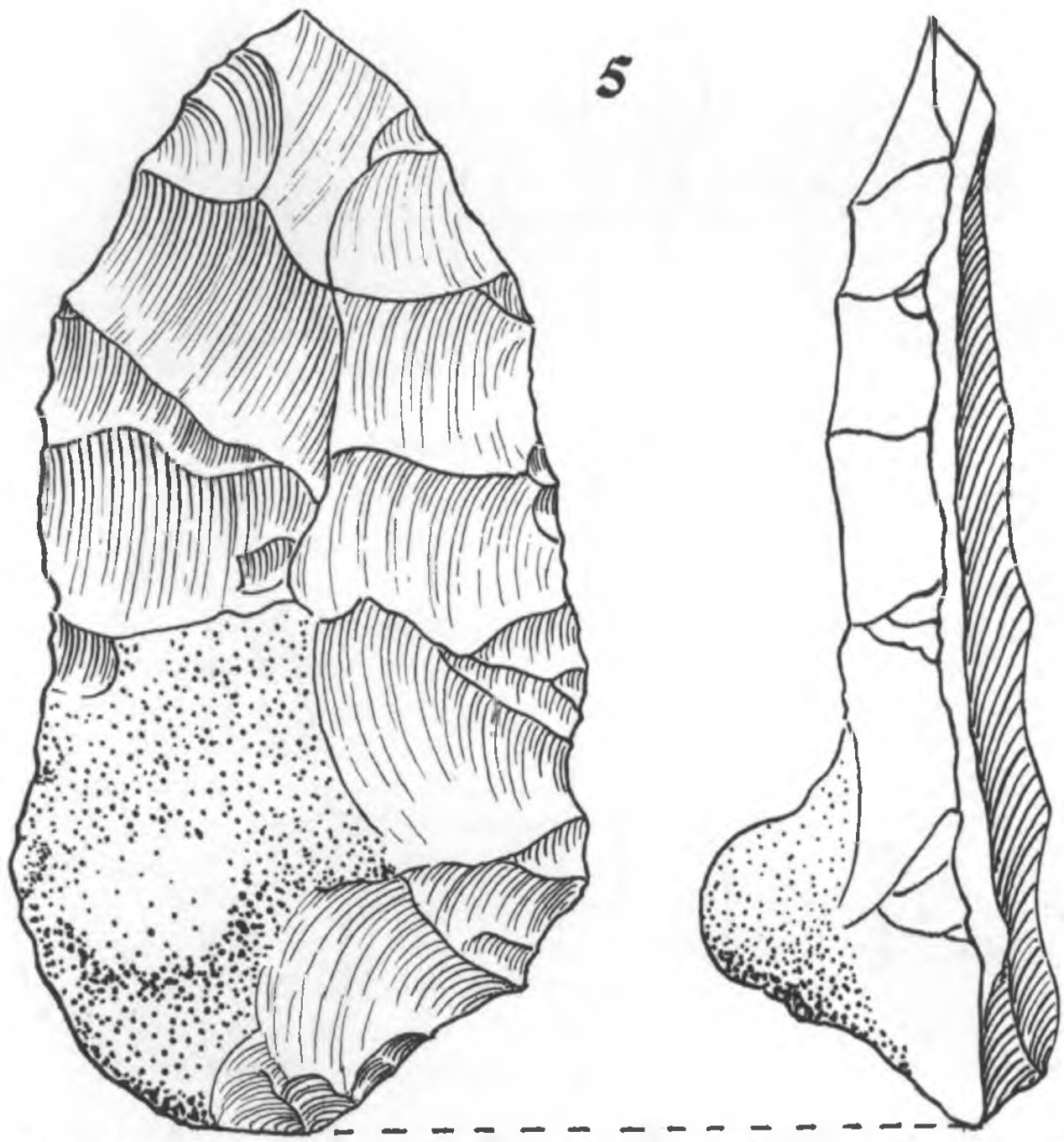

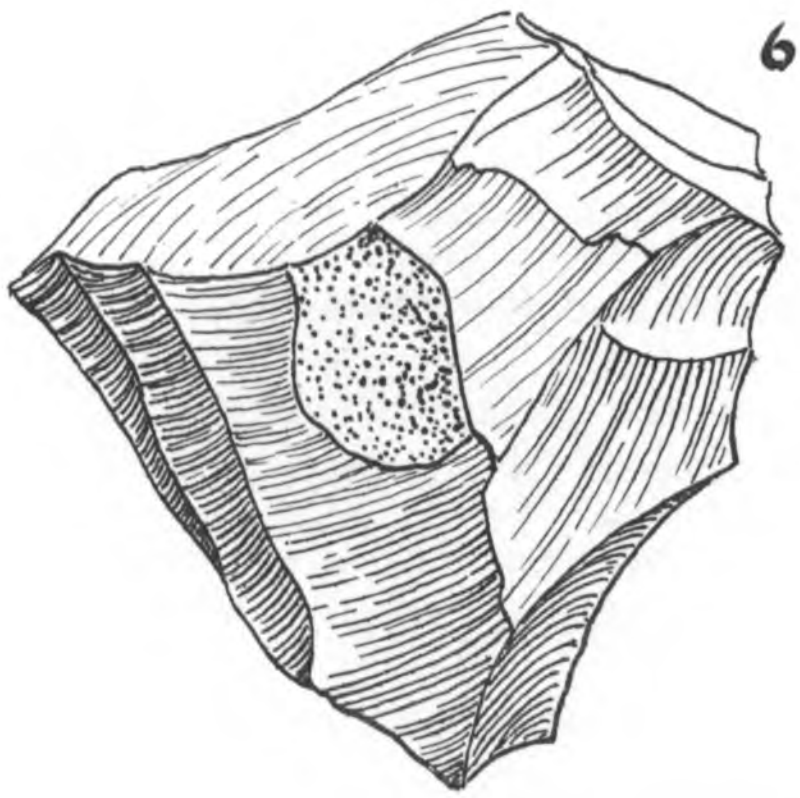
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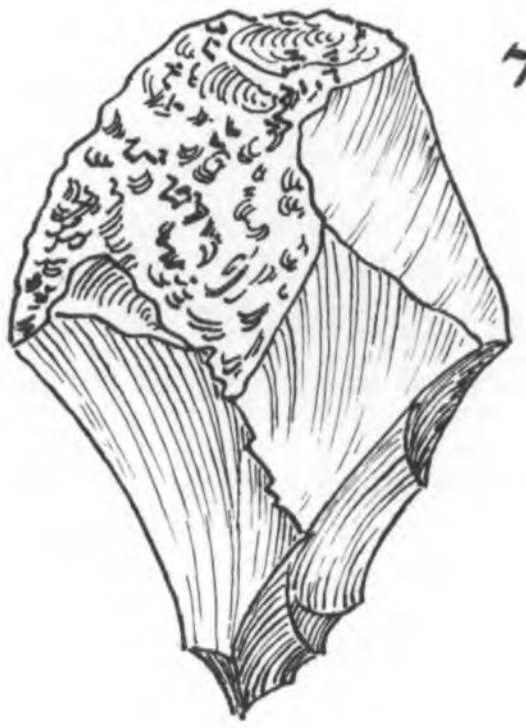
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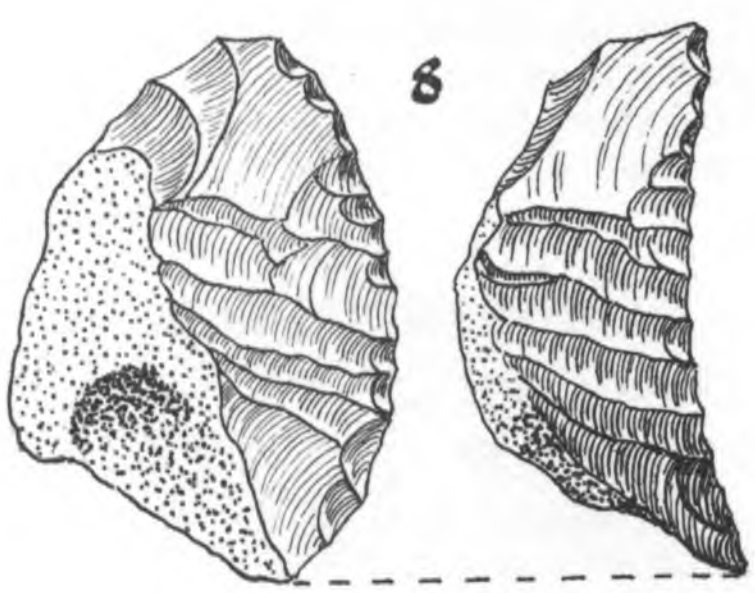
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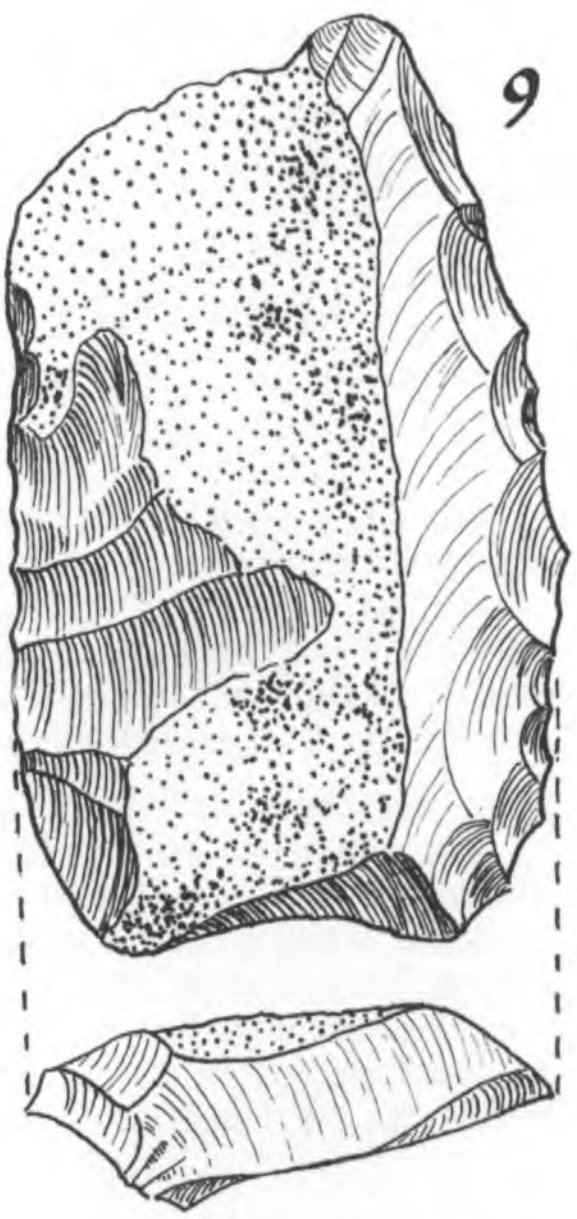
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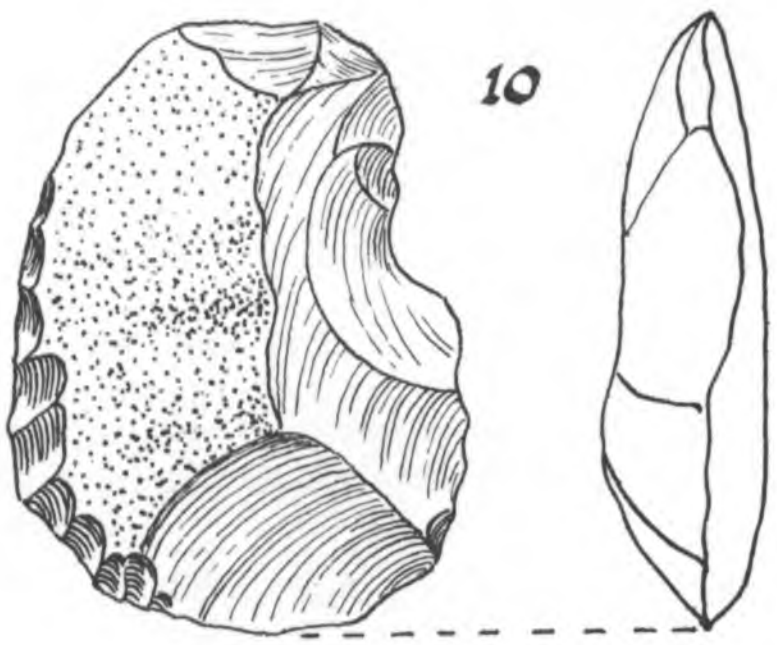
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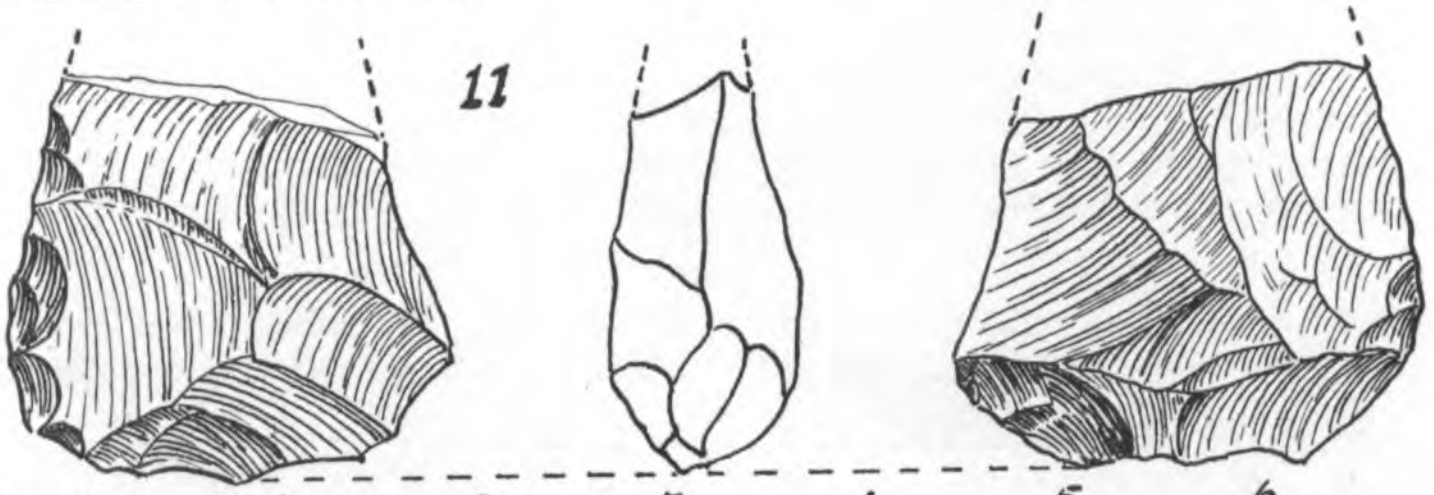
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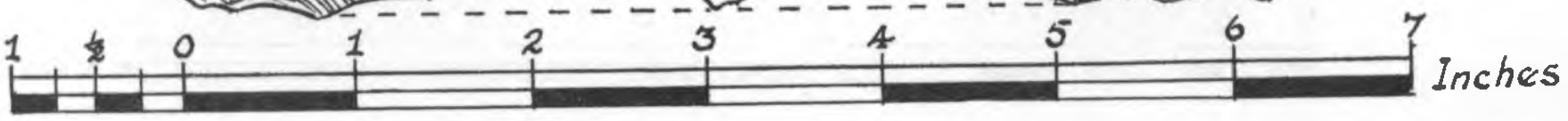

cherty, has resulted in the removal of a large irregular flake which has caused a cavity and the flint has been abandoned. Patination irregular. Thermal fractures.

6. A biconical core with bold flaking. Not deeply patinated. Thermal fractures.
7. Core. Not deeply patinated. Thermal fractures. Seems to have been used as a rough hand axe and also a hammer stone.
8. A steep-sided scraper. Patinated and bleached to an ivory hue with reddish and purple stains. Glossy. Resembles similar scrapers found at High Lodge, Suffolk, and now in the Sturge collection in the British Museum.
9. A flake chopper. Irregular patination. Cherty flint, much stained and abraded in places.
10. An ovate flake with secondary flaking and trimming on one side. Ivory, bleached patination.
11. Butt of a small hand axe. Irregular patination from bluish-white to ivory.

Of the 83 flakes collected and excavated, few showed any signs of secondary working, and the types varied from hand axe finishing flakes to crude specimens some five to six inches long. A brown quartzite pointed hammer stone, $3'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ was excavated and a fire-crackled core which was bleached to the ivory white patination already described.

A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

VI. THE MIDDLE AGES, 1100–1400

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

THE PERIOD of the High Middle Ages from the Norman Conquest to the fall of Richard II in 1399 is the first for which we have abundant documentary evidence, and this is reflected in the much greater detail which it is possible to show on the present map. Many features can be indicated and a great many actually named from contemporary records or reasonably inferred to have existed before the end of the period. Where these names have survived down to modern times, the spelling is given in its present form.

The main features marked are the roads, the common wastes, the common open arable fields, and the parochial and manorial boundaries. The areas of wastes and of common fields have been taken from surviving maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, made before the major enclosures, with the addition of areas certainly enclosed between 1400 and 1600/1700. In 1100 the wasteland must have been even more extensive than is shown on the map, but the open arable was probably smaller and extended a shorter distance up the northern slope of the chalk downland. The very small open fields of Mickleham contrast markedly with the extensive common arable stretching from Effingham to Ashtead.

One of the most important features is the large area of ancient enclosures between the waste and the open arable, and in the valley of the Mole. Little Bookham, a small manor in lay hands, was enclosed very early, and so was much of Leatherhead, which appears to have been the county town of Surrey at any rate at the opening of the period (see *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1947, pp. 10–11; cf. Vol. 2, No. 3, 1959, p. 68). The early date of enclosed farms is typical of Surrey, differentiating its regional type of agriculture from the Champion Open Field country of the Midlands, generally described in history books.

The formation of these enclosures must, on the evidence of place-names, have been ancient. For example, Aylyvehagh (later corrupted to Elfare) on the boundary of Mickle-

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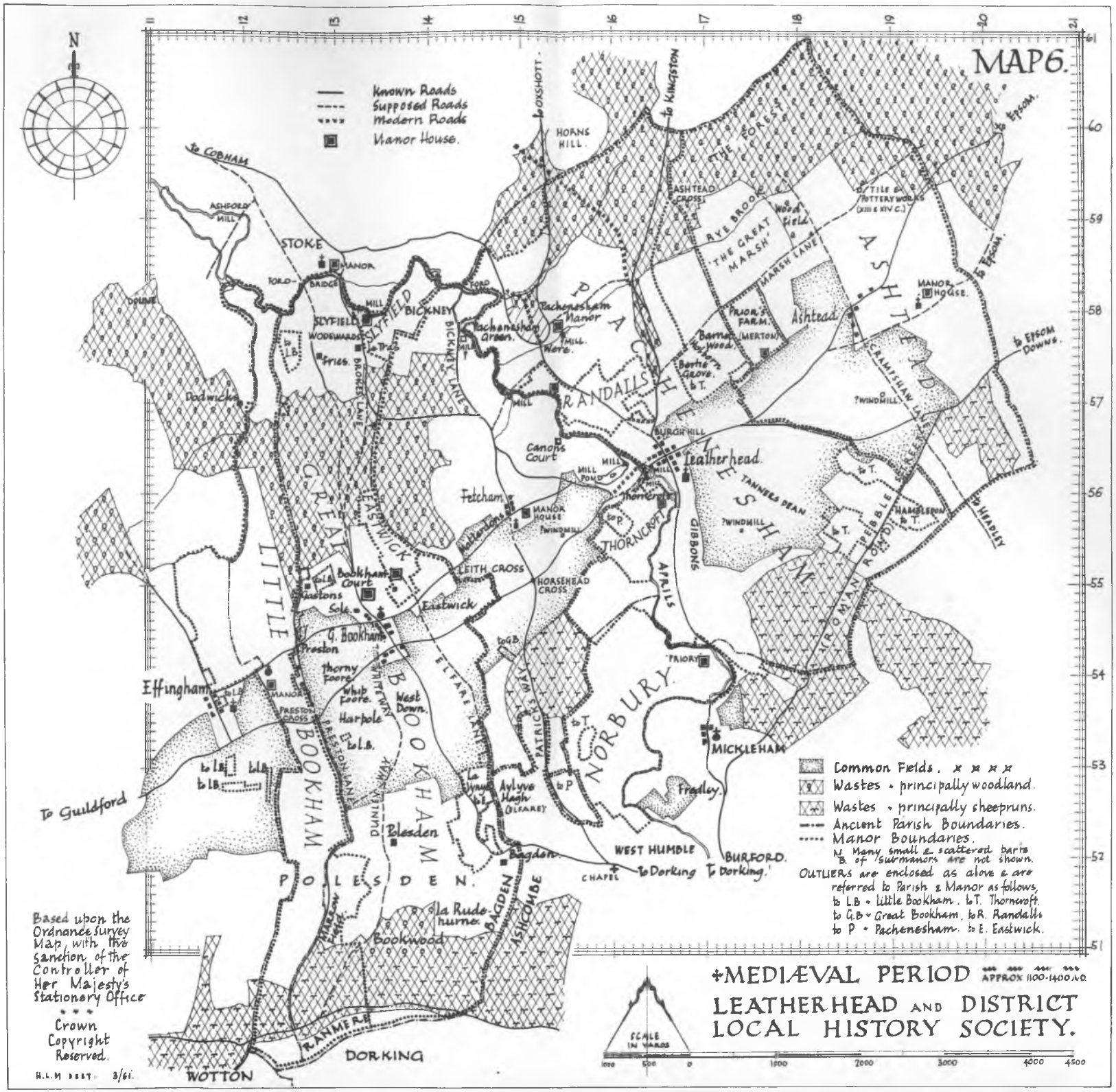

MAP6.
Known Roads
Supposed Roads
Modern Roads
Manor House.
N
HORNS HILL.
THE FOREST
ASHTEAD CROSS
TILE & POTTERY WORKS (XIII & XIV C.)
RYE BROOK
THE GREAT MARSH
MARSH LANE
ASHTEAD
Ashtead
MANOR HOUSE.
PRIOR'S FARM (MERTON)
Barne Wood
Bertie Grove
to EPSOM DOWNS.
to EPSOM.
to COBHAM
ASHFORD MILL
STOKE
MANOR
FORD
BRIDGE
MILL
SLYFIELD
SLYFIELD WOODWARDS
BICKNEY
BICKNEY LANE
Pachenesham Green.
Pachenesham Manor
Pachenesham Mill
Were.
PACHENESHAM
RANDALLS
Dodwicks
BROKES LANE
Canons Court
BURGH HILL
Leatherhead.
TANNERS DEAN
WINDMILL
HAMBLEDON
HEADLEY
Fetcham.
MANOR HOUSE
MILL POND
Thorncroft
GIBBONS
APPLES
GREAT
LITTLE
EASTWICK
Bookham Court
Eastwick
LEITH CROSS
HORSEHEAD CROSS
ROMAN ROAD
PEBBLE
Effingham
MANOR
PRESTON CROSS
G. Bookham
Preston
Thorny Foore
Whip Foore
West Down
Harpole
BOOKHAM COMMON
BOOKHAM
ELSTEAD LANE
PATRICK'S WAY
NORBURY
PRIORY
MICKLEHAM
Aylyve Hagh (ELSTEAD)
Fredley
Polesden
POLESDEN
Bagden
WEST HUMBLE
BURFORD
CHAPEL
to Dorking
to Guildford
Bookwood
la Rude hurne
ASHCOMBE
RANMERE
DORKING
WOTTON
Common Fields.
Wastes - principally woodland.
Wastes - principally sheepruns.
Ancient Parish Boundaries.
Manor Boundaries.
N. Many small & scattered parts of 'surmanors' are not shown.
OUTLIERS are enclosed as above & are referred to Parish & Manor as follows,
to L.B - Little Bookham. to T. Thorncroft.
to G.B - Great Bookham. to R. Randalls
to P - Pachenesham. to E. Eastwick.
Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office
Crown Copyright Reserved.
H.L.M DEBT 3/61.
+MEDIÆVAL PERIOD APPROX 1100-1400 A.D.
LEATHERHEAD AND DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY.
SCALE IN YARDS
1000 500 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 4500

ham, Fetcham, and Great Bookham, was the haw (hagh or haugh) or enclosure of one AEthelgifu, a woman whose personal name is of pre-Conquest form. The adjacent "La Vynye" (Vines or Phenice), implying a vineyard, must have been enclosed in severalty from the time that grapevines were planted there, no doubt on the sheltered southern slope of the hill overlooking Bagden.

The medieval records of the district frequently refer to purprestures, or enclosures from the waste, and the map shows how generally the boundary of the wasteland is bitten away by clearings. In one instance the facts concerning a particular enclosure are known: about 1290 Eustace de Hacche, lord of Pachesham, took in 18 acres of the waste near his manor-house, and diverted the highways that led from Leatherhead to Stoke and Oxshott (*Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1948, p. 8).

Most of the roads shown are mentioned in documents of the period, and some of them even had their own names, such as "Pybylstret" (1358) for the Roman Road on Leatherhead Downs (later Pebble Lane), and Patrick's Way for the ancient north-south route west of the Dorking Gap, passing by West Humble Chapel and Fetcham Church to become Bickney Lane, afterwards fording the Mole and leading to Stoke D'Abernon and Oxshott. The number of roads leading across the Downs from south to north is noteworthy, and reflects the importance of communications between Chertsey Abbey and its scattered possessions, between the various centres of population and the great market and river-port of Kingston, and possibly also the cross-country driving of flocks and herds from the Thames Basin to "colonial" pastures in the Weald.

The five ancient churches of the district are shown, as well as the identifiable manor-houses and sites of both wind- and water-mills. Houses known to have stood on identifiable sites before 1400 are marked, and conventional indications are given of houses at the medieval centres of population in each parish. The early manor-house of Pachesham was abandoned in the second half of the fourteenth century, but most of the manorial sites remained in occupation until modern times. Bookham Court, the old manor-house of Great Bookham, a grange of Chertsey Abbey, was for long leased to tenants and was pulled down in the eighteenth century. The old manor-house of Norbury, on the low-lying ground, is marked as the "Priory" for distinction but this name is due to misunderstanding.

The ancient parish boundaries were identical with those of the early manors, whose lords endowed churches with tithes as far as the limits of their estate or jurisdiction. In the case of Ashtead the process of forming a new parish can be seen at work. The church of Leatherhead, already existing in 1086, had been granted by *c.* 1097 to Colchester Abbey. At that time no reference was made to Ashtead, still part of Leatherhead parish. Between 1107 and 1121 a chapel-of-ease was dedicated at Ashtead, subject to the rector of Leatherhead, and this subordinate position lasted until some time in the thirteenth century. Eventually, between 1201 and 1282, Ashtead emerged as an independent parish, with a rector of its own presented by the lords of the manor (S. A. Moore, Ed.: *Cartularium . . . De Colecestria*, Roxburghe Club, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 18, 67, 73, 78; Vol. II, p. 512). There is at least a presumption that the chapelry and later the parish were made to conform to existing manorial boundaries.

By 1400 some manorial boundaries differed from those of the parishes, and wherever possible both lines are marked. Besides the chief manors there were a number of subordinate or independent lordships of less importance, and some of these have been shown: Thorncroft and Randalls in Leatherhead, Norbury in Mickleham, and Eastwick and Slyfield in Great Bookham. In some cases these manors also included various small and scattered holdings, too confusing to mark on the map.

Surviving Remains

The five parish churches, with the closely adjacent ones of Effingham, Mickleham, and Stoke D'Abernon, are largely of the period, as was the ruined chapel-of-ease at West Humble. No secular buildings remain, with the possible exception of some of the internal timber-framing at Slyfield House, which may incorporate work of the fourteenth century. The earliest timber-framed houses in Ashtead, Leatherhead, and Great Bookham, probably of *c.* 1500–1550, give some idea of the type of those in use by the end of the period. The site of the manor-house of Pachesham in Leatherhead, built *c.* 1200 and enlarged in 1290, then abandoned late in the fourteenth century, has been excavated (interim reports appear in *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1–5, 1947–51).

Medieval work may possibly survive in some of the arches of Leatherhead Bridge, though its present form is due to an extensive rebuilding in 1783 and widening (on the south side) in 1824. A bridge already stood here before 1289, and may have been rebuilt about 1360, when collections of money for its repair were licensed by the Crown. An expert has stated that "part of this bridge is of considerable age . . . some of the arches look as though they once had ribs, although none now remain." (E. Jervoise: *The Ancient Bridges of the South of England*, 1930, p. 27.) Some of the piers have been repaired with tiles but these do *not*, contrary to local tradition, indicate a Roman date for the original bridge.

Both Leatherhead and Great Bookham held weekly markets, and annual fairs. The Bookham market and fair were granted to Chertsey Abbey in 1243, but this may have been the regularization of an existing practice rather than the inauguration of a new one, and this is even more probable in the case of Leatherhead, where the grant is as late as 1331.

Footnote by A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.

Ashtead Tile and Pottery Works, under site of present 14 and 15 Newton Wood Road, found 1939 by S. S. Frere, F.S.A., and excavated by him. Considerable amount of pottery, tiles, and "wasters" of both discovered and ascribed by G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., to about the year A.D. 1300. As noted by Mr. Frere, the site was beside the old highway which was still in use before the construction of the present [turnpike] main road in the 18th century. This was probably the site of the works of Henry le Tylere, as described in the article to be found in Part 6 (page 24) of Volume 1 of the *Proceedings*. of this Society

Mr. Frere's excavations are described in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 58 *et. seq.*

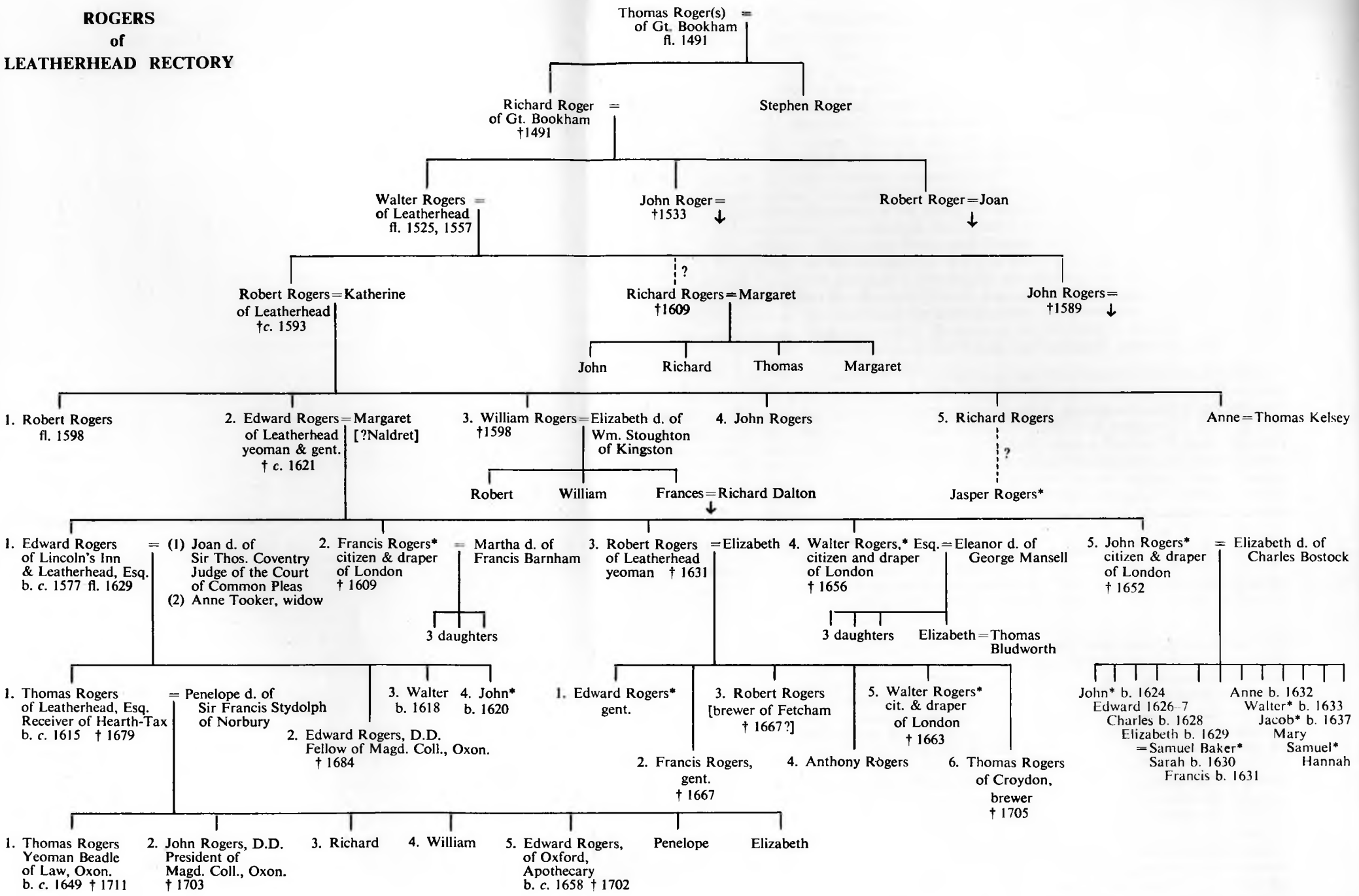
LEATHERHEAD FAMILIES OF THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES

By F. BASTIAN

IV. ROGERS of the RECTORY

IN 1345 the Rectory of Leatherhead was appropriated by Leeds Priory in Kent. This meant that the Priory came into possession of the Rectory House (on the site of Vale Lodge, overlooking the road to Mickleham), of about 80 acres of glebe land (some enclosed near the Rectory House, some in strips scattered throughout the open fields), and of the great tithes (those of grain, corn, hay and wood). To carry out its spiritual responsibilities to the people of Leatherhead, the Priory was to appoint a Vicar, who was to have the small tithes, offerings and bequests to the church, giving him an estimated income of £14 2s. out of a total of £34 13s. 4d.[1] No doubt from the first the new owners found it convenient to lease their property to a lay tenant, though the earliest positive evidence of this dates from 1470. In his will of that year, proved in 1476, John Rympyngden left his lease of Leatherhead Rectory to his son Thomas.[2] ("Item lego Thome filio meo omnes terminos meos ventur' quod habeo in rectoria de leddred p'sent' ex concessione et dimissione prioris et conventus de ledes in com' Kantie".)

ROGERS of LEATHERHEAD RECTORY



*Indicates a connection with the Draper's Company, or the silk trade in London

Though there is no further conclusive evidence about the Rectory until 1584, by which time it had passed into the tenancy of the Rogers family, there can be little doubt that they had already been there for some sixty years at least. Though Rogers did not become a prominent name in mid-Surrey until the close of the Middle Ages—a Robert Rogers of Ewell, *c.* 1460, is the earliest yet traced[3]—by the middle of the 16th century there were a number of flourishing and presumably related families of yeomen and tenant farmers of that name in the area. The earliest Leatherhead reference is in the Lay Subsidy Assessment List of 1525, when WALTER ROGERS, probably a son of Richard Rogers of Great Bookham, was assessed at £40 in goods, the highest anywhere in the neighbourhood except for Thomas Stydolph Esquire, assessed at £48 at Mickleham.[4] Rogers paid nearly a quarter of the tax levied in Leatherhead, and it seems reasonable to assume that he was already the tenant of the Rectory, as we know his descendants were for four generations. If so, it must have been during his tenancy that Leeds Priory was dissolved and the Rectory granted by Henry VIII in 1542 to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester Cathedral. In this instance, the dissolution of the monasteries did not mean a change from ecclesiastical to secular ownership, though in practice, if not legally, the Rectory had been secularized long before. A layman occupied the Rectory House, farmed the glebe lands and collected the tithes. Now one remote landlord had replaced another. In a rental of Thorncroft dating from about 1550 Walter Rogers is called "farmar to Mr. Stiddall", though it is not clear in respect of what.[5] He was still alive in 1557, but was evidently then very old.

ROBERT ROGERS, who certainly held the Rectory, can be assumed to be his son because of the frequency with which the name Walter appears among his descendants. He is first mentioned in 1569 in a "list of armour and weapons lately increased", which contains for Leatherhead the item: "Robert Rodgers—corsletes j".[6] He was assessed in 1570 at £30 in goods, and in 1576 at £35.[7] There also appears in both years a Richard Rogers, assessed at £5 in goods, who was probably his brother; and this marks the beginning of a bewildering proliferation of the family in Leatherhead. By 1576 there was a Robert Rogers junior (£3 in goods) who appears to have been the eldest son of his namesake. When the elder Robert Rogers made his will in 1584 he made only a small bequest to the eldest of his five sons, though without any hint of displeasure, and there is no further trace of the younger Robert in the local records. The main heir was to be the second son, Edward, who was to have the leases of the Rectory and of "Aperlyes".[8] It was in leases rather than in freehold or copyhold lands that the estate mainly consisted. He seems to have relinquished control of most of his property before his death, being assessed in 1593 at 40s. in lands.[9] His will was proved on 4th February, 1593/4.

By this time EDWARD ROGERS had already for some years been playing an active part in the parish. He owned property in his own right at least as early as 1584. At a Court of the Manor of Pachensham and Leatherhead held in 1591 it was "ordered that before the next courte all tenantes shalbe rated for their common of sheepe in the downes accordinge to the quantitye of their common grownde everye man rateablye by the acre and that all the tenauntes are contented that Mr Gardner Mr Sandes Mr Skete and Edward Rogers shall make the same ratement."[10] In 1593, shortly before his father's death, he was assessed at £15 in goods. About this date, though incorporated in a later document, we have a description of the Parsonage House, "beinge a faire Dwellinge house consisting of a Hall a Parlor wainscotted Two Butteries a Cellar a Kitchen and two other necessary low Roomes five Chambers and two Garretts four Barnes a Stable and Granarie & Podder house with a Garden & Orchard adioyninge containinge in the whole by estimacion . . . 2 acres."[11] In 1599 his niece, Mary Naldrett, who was living with the family at Leatherhead, made her will, mentioning "my gowne clothe which is unmade . . . my petticoate clothe unmade . . . my best cambricke neckercher with a gorget thereunto belonginge which is in my chest here at Leatherhead . . . my lute . . .", and, though at death's door herself, helping us to bring to life the bustling household of five sons and two daughters, presided over

by her uncle Edward and aunt Margaret Rogers.[12] In many ways this was the heyday of the Rogers family at Leatherhead, as it was of the yeoman farmer throughout the country. "But for the most part the yeomen are farmers to gentlemen", wrote William Harrison, "and with grazing, frequenting of markets and keeping of servants (not idle servants as gentlemen do, but such as get their own and part of their master's living) so come to great wealth, in so much that many of them are able and do buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and often setting their sons to the schools and to the Universities and to the Inns of Court; or otherwise leaving them sufficient lands whereupon they may live without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen."[13] Or again: "A yeoman is a gentleman in ore, whom the next generation will see refined." The process was already at work in the Rogers family.

The eldest son, another EDWARD ROGERS, born about 1577, had been sent to Merton College, Oxford, taking his B.A. in 1597, being elected a Fellow of the College in 1598, and taking his M.A. in 1602/3.[14] About 1604 he became a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, and was soon putting his legal knowledge to practical use by assisting his father in complicated litigation against Richard Levitt, the Vicar of Leatherhead, which began in 1604 with a dispute about tithes and culminated in a series of Star Chamber cases in 1609.[15] There also survives a statement of a case drawn up against Sir Francis Stidolph, lord of the principal manor in Leatherhead, when he was suspected some time between 1603 and 1614 of planning to enclose Leatherhead Downs.[16] After naming four manors with rights of common there, the statement adds: "The parsonage belonginge unto the Deane & Chapter of Rochester which hath formerly had a Courte Leete and a Courte Baron by grante from the Kinge but not used of late." It is true that a small tenement near Leatherhead Bridge (probably The Running Horse) was held in fee farm of the Rectory, but it is difficult to imagine what kind of a court could have been held with only a single tenant. Behind this attempt to claim manorial status for the Rectory we may suspect the hand of the younger Edward Rogers, the only man in Leatherhead, as far as we know, with any legal training. In 1611 he was called to the bar, a distinction which entitled him to style himself Esquire. Soon after this, probably about 1613, he married Joan, one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Coventry, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, who had died in 1606.[17] This was an excellent match for a yeoman's son, but its full significance was to lie in the future.

It was no doubt to keep pace with his son's social progress that Edward Rogers senior about this time adopted a coat of arms: *argent a chevron between three stags statant sable.* There is no record of any grant of arms, and it seems that Rogers simply usurped or adapted those of an existing armigerous family of the same name, perhaps on the strength of some supposed relationship. At all events, when in 1617 he was fined 10s. at the Ashtead Manor Court for "hevan and cuban" on the manorial waste, without permission and against the customs of the manor, he was called Edward Rogers, gentleman. Later in the same year he was fined a total of 80s. for eight separate trespasses with his sheep on Ashtead Common Fields. He was still living in 1621, when he made a purchase of land, but he was dead by 1622, when his son, Edward Rogers, Esq., was assessed at £6 in lands.[18]

On 14th December, 1626, the second Edward Rogers renewed his lease of the Rectory, surrendering a lease made to his father on 28th February, 1599/1600, for the lives of his sons Robert, Walter and John "or the longest liver".[19] The new lease was also for three lives, those of his own sons Edward, Walter, and John. The Dean and Chapter reserved to themselves the patronage of the church, but specifically included the "tithes of corne grayne haye and woode", which had been in dispute some twenty years before, as well as "hedgboote ploughboote carteboote . . . and fyerboote" and such timber as was necessary for the repair of the buildings. Rogers' obligations were to maintain the buildings and the chancel of the parish Church, to deliver every seven years a "terrar and bounder"

of the glebe lands upon parchment, and to pay in two instalments the annual rent which, at £17, seems scarcely an economic one.

Though described in this lease as "of Ledderid", Rogers does not seem to have settled down to "live without labour" as a country gentleman, but to have followed an active career at the bar. He was probably the Edward Rogers who had been appointed Recorder of Guildford in 1618; and in the Register of St. Clements Eastcheap, where two of his sons had been baptised in 1618 and 1620, he was styled "counsellor at law". In the licence granted in 1627 for his second marriage, to Anne Tooker, a widow five years his senior, he was described as "of Lincoln's Inn".[20] In 1628 he was considered for appointment as a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, but asked to be excused. He was again assessed at Leatherhead in 1629,[21] and then we lose track of him, though he may have lived until 1639 when a new Recorder was appointed at Guildford.

We know at least that he lived long enough to see the triumph of his first wife's brother, Thomas Coventry, who had in 1616 become Recorder of the City of London, in 1617 Solicitor-General, in 1621 Attorney-General, and in 1625 Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, a position which he held with great distinction until his death in 1640. Lord Keeper Coventry won golden opinions in a very difficult time. Despite his high position, he was not one of Charles I's confidential advisers, and disliked the policies which he could see were turning the nation against the king; but by concentrating on the judicial side of his duties he kept the goodwill of both court and country. In the course of his discerning portrait of him Clarendon says: "He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom, and understood the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place . . . He knew the temper and disposition and genius of the kingdom most exactly . . . yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state . . . He was a man rather exceedingly liked than passionately loved . . . He died in a season most opportune, and in which a wise man would have prayed to finish his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world."

How closely Edward Rogers was able to keep in touch with his brother-in-law we cannot be sure, but Lord Keeper Coventry found a place in his household for the eldest son, THOMAS ROGERS, who had been born about 1615. From the absence of any record of attendance at either of the Universities it seems that he entered this service when quite young. In 1638, when Coventry purchased the manor of Mitton in Bredon, Worcestershire, Thomas Rogers was a party to the transaction, presumably with a reversionary interest. In a codicil to his will made a few days before his death in 1640 Coventry made bequests to his servants—£200 to be divided between his "inferior servants", seven bequests of £30, one of £40, one of £50, and four of £100.[22] Rogers received the latter sum. More important to him were the contacts he made with Coventry's family, which was destined to form a brialliant political galaxy after the Restoration.

With this background it is not surprising that Rogers, in common with other members of his family, should have been a royalist during the Civil War. Though there is no direct proof that he fought in the King's army, as did his Coventry cousins, this is highly probable in view of the sequel. By 1646 the Rectory had been sequestered, for on 20th May of that year the Committee of Plundered Ministers ordered £50 a year to be paid out of it to increase the maintenance of Thomas Mell, minister of Leatherhead, the vicarage being worth but £40 a year, and Richard Levitt the vicar being over 90 years of age.[23] Mell, who soon afterwards succeeded Levitt, must then have been serving as curate. Petitions from Rogers, on 22nd April and 1st July, 1646, were referred by the Committee for the Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates to the Surrey Committee.[24] There is no record that Rogers ever compounded for his delinquency, but he was certainly again in possession of the Rectory by 1649 when he was described as "the ymediate tennant of the premisses".

He may have owed this to the good offices of Sir Richard Onslow ("the Fox"), the leading man in Surrey during these years, who seems to have played a double game. A pamphlet written in his defence after the Restoration named "Mr. Rogers of Lethered" among the royalists he had aided.[25] An information laid in 1650 stated that during Lord Holland's insurrection of 1648, an incident of the second Civil War, Thomas Rogers of Leatherhead sent a man with a horse and rode himself with the party, but we know of no sequel to this.[26]

In 1649 the Rump of the Long Parliament passed an Act abolishing Deans and Chapters and providing for the sale of their lands to raise £300,000 for "the present supply of the pressing necessities of this commonwealth." Some of the proceeds were to go towards improving the stipends of poor livings. In December 1649 there was made a Survey of Leatherhead Rectory, which estimated the annual value to be £76 in excess of the rent of £17, £58 17s. 4d. of this coming from the tithes, and the rest from the glebe lands.[27] Just how the value of the latter was calculated is uncertain, as the "surveyors" seem to have saved themselves the trouble of a December tramp through the Leatherhead fields by the simple expedient of copying out a terrier taken from the Rochester muniments, adding the formula "now or late" to the names of the owners of abutting lands. Unfortunately the Rogers family seem to have neglected their duty of supplying a terrier every seven years, for by comparison with a surviving terrier of 1599,[28] we can tell that the surveyors used one that was at least 50 years out of date.

In 1650 it was ordered that the rent of £17 was to be reserved for 21 years to be paid to William Robinson, a creditor of the Deanery, after which £10 was to "remain on the tithes", presumably to supplement the vicar's income, while the £7 was to be sold as a reversion. No doubt Thomas Rogers made every effort to purchase this himself, to protect his own interests, and to convert a leasehold with an annual rent of £17 into a freehold subject eventually to annual charge of only £10. If so, this will have added to his difficulties, for after the Restoration confiscated lands were restored to their former owners without compensation for those who had bought them. At some date between 1650 and 1675 the principal interest in the Rectory lease came into the hands of Rogers' Coventry cousins, which suggests that they may have financed some such transaction as this. That he was still in touch with them appears likely from the bequest of a ring value £5 made to "my cosen Thomas Rogers" in the will made by Thomas 2nd Baron Coventry in 1657.[29]

The Survey of 1649 had begun with the description, already quoted, of the Parsonage House as "a faire Dwellinge house", but at the end the surveyors had commented: "Wee finde the Parsonage house something decayed." A further note, apparently dating from 1650, runs: "Parsonage house & other out howses being very ruinous . . . worth p.a. £5, the two acres of land included". How this may have come about can easily be imagined, but it raises the question of where Thomas Rogers was living at this time. His marriage, about 1648, to Penelope, daughter of Sir Francis Stydolph of Norbury,[30] the fact that he was named first when new trustees of Skeete's charity were appointed in 1652,[31] the baptism of his children locally recorded in the earliest surviving Leatherhead Register, dating from 1656: all this suggests that he was established as a leading resident of Leatherhead, and unlikely to be living in an almost derelict house. The explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that his uncle, Walter Rogers, who had made money as a draper in Lombard Street, was in 1649 granted a lease of Thorncroft, from which the Gardiners had probably already removed a few years earlier.[32] It is doubtful whether Walter Rogers actually came himself to live again in Leatherhead—in 1650 he was still "of Lombard Streete", and in his will of 1656 was "of Philpot Lane, parish of St. Dionis Backechurch" —nor does it seem that Walter Rogers' son-in-law, Thomas Bludworth, who eventually came to live at Thorncroft, was there as early as this. It may be conjectured that for several years, in the late 1640s and early 1650s, it was occupied by Thomas Rogers until the Rectory had been again put into a habitable state.

With the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 came the prospect of happier times for Thomas Rogers. One of his cousins, Henry Coventry, "beloved by everybody", was a gentleman of the bedchamber; another, William Coventry, was secretary to the Duke of York and later to the Admiralty; while Ashley Cooper, whose first wife had been a daughter of Lord Keeper Coventry, was also influential at court. What contact Rogers kept with them is uncertain, but we know that he sent his eldest son to Eton,[33] and that at the Heralds' Visitation of Surrey in 1662 he signed his pedigree with a flourish. We may note by the way that he had five sons, continuing the remarkable success of the family in successive generations in producing and rearing sons, a success which must have made it difficult to accumulate an estate appropriate to their new social pretensions. Their estate, which never seems to have included very much freehold or copyhold land, was probably smaller than it had been several generations before, and keeping up with the Coventrys must have been rather a burden. However, an opportunity soon arose for Thomas Rogers to improve his financial position.

In 1662 an Act was passed to compensate the Crown for the loss of its feudal revenue by the introduction of a tax of 2s. a year on every hearth, except for those of the very poor, to be paid in two instalments, at Lady day and Michaelmas. At first the existing machinery of constable, high constable, and sheriff was used for the collection; but as these annual officers were changed each October, long before the Michaelmas collection was complete, all kinds of difficulty arose over the collection of the arrears of this unpopular tax. A revising Act, passed in May 1664, laid down that the Treasury should appoint a permanent Receiver for each County. The poundage, at the rate of 3d. in the £, would in the case of Surrey bring in about £70 a year, but to the ingenious the handling of so much public money, at a time when there was an acute shortage of currency, could be made to yield a much greater advantage. The government was inundated with petitions for Receiverships, and the lucky man in Surrey was Thomas Rogers.[34] No doubt his petition made very interesting reading, but he probably owed his success to the strings he could pull at court.

Thomas Rogers, like his father before him, could now add Esquire to his name, but his triumph was a prelude to disaster. After he had been responsible for only three half-yearly collections, from Michaelmas, 1664 to Michaelmas, 1665, the system of collection was again changed, and the Receivers were replaced by tax-farmers. In June 1667, the Treasury began to be impatient at Rogers' failure to pay in the full amount due from him. His arrears were later estimated at £2077 14s. 9d., about a quarter of the sum which should have passed through his hands, though he was said to be quit on his own account, the debt being on his Receivership of Sheriff's arrears. He was summoned before the Treasury Commissioners, two of whom, as it happened, were his cousins, Sir William Coventry and Lord Ashley. Coventry was certainly not the man to put family tenderness before public duty, and all that Rogers may have gained from this was time to pay. But it was soon clear that he could not pay. Was he a rogue or a fool? Or was he merely unlucky? Perhaps he had used some of his temporary capital to make a quick profit by dealing in commodities which had been destroyed in the Fire of 1666. We know that Sir Thomas Bludworth, his near neighbour and cousin by marriage, lost heavily in this way. The matter dragged on for several years—a weary tale of interviews with the Treasury Commissioners, with their Secretary, Sir George Downing, with the Attorney-General—sometimes alone, sometimes in Company with the Earl of Bridgewater (apparently his principal surety) and their counsel; of petitions; of processes started, but stayed or superceded. It was resolved that his lands should be sold to pay the king, "he to have a lease of 100 acres and no more".[35] In May 1669 it was reported that the High Sheriff of Surrey (ironically, another relative of Rogers, his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Stydolph) had levied £219 19s. 8d. and that a parcel of land of yearly value of £23 4s. 10d. had been seized.

Meanwhile a new character had entered the story, Edward Progers, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II, an old friend of the king and a bad influence on him, who acted as his confidential agent in his private affaires.[36] "Progers of the Bedchamber" appears several times in Pepys' Diary as someone with inside information. On 14th May, 1669, he petitioned that in consideration of £4000 spent by him in building a lodge in the Middle Park, Hampton Court, of which he was Keeper, he might have "a grant of part of what I may recover of Thomas Rogers, receiver for the Fire-Hearth money of Surrey, due to the King as arrears, which is likely to be lost if speedy course is not taken in it." Not even for so firm a royal favourite could seventeenth century bureaucracy take a very speedy course. However, on 6th July, 1670, a warrant was made for a grant to Edward Progers "of a bond of Thomas Rogers and of his eight sureties in £2400 for the execution of the office of the collector of hearth money in Surrey, and also of the lands of the said Rogers, seized for not accounting for the same, and of all moneys due thereon; with power to sue for the same." Rogers had probably ceased to occupy the Rectory by 1673, for he was omitted from the new trustees of Skeete's charity installed in that year.[37] Even so, the grisly business was not quite finished until Michaelmas term, 1675, when Edward Progers Esquire acquired for a nominal consideration of £200, from George Lord Coventry, Baron of Aldeborough, Thomas Rogers senior, Esquire, and Thomas Rogers, junior, gentlemen, their estate in the lease of Leatherhead Rectory.'[38]

Before looking at the fate of the Rogers family, it is worth while to follow a little further the story of the Rectory. Progers was granted new leases in 1693 and 1708,[39] and it was not until 1713 that this singularly unspiritual tenant of the Rectory died, at the age of 96, "of the pain of cutting new teeth." In the previous year he had transferred his lease to Sir James Wishart. In 1718 Aubrey's continuator wrote: "The Impropriate great tithes are farmed from the Church of Rochester by Sir James Wisheart, who sets them out to an Under Tenant at 200 Pounds per Annum, out of which he pays 20*l.* per annum to the Church of Rochester, and 40 Pounds annually to the Vicar, the Reverend Mr. Johnson, who has, besides, the Petty Tithes."[40] Neither Progers nor Wishart lived at the Rectory. It is true that Progers was taxed for 5 hearths in Leatherhead in 1674, but this was probably as a landlord who had not yet installed a tenant. In 1695 George Gyllett paid £5 5s. 4d. Church Rate "for ye parsonage", out of a total of £51 10s. 5d. for the whole parish.[41] As he is later said to be "of Headley" it may be that the Rectory House itself was derelict and empty. Terriers of 1712, 1720, and 1723 are signed "John Rogers, tenant to the parsonage".[42] There can be no particular significance in the re-appearance of this name, though if we could trace his ancestry back we should no doubt find that he came ultimately from the same stock.

It has already been remarked that the Rogers family was remarkably prolific. Some members drifted down the social scale, so that by 1664 there were four of that name, including Robert Rogers "in the Pit", so poor as to be excused the payment of Hearth Tax. But of the younger sons who remained in Leatherhead as yeomen some were quite prosperous—notably Robert Rogers, third son of Edward senior, who died in 1631 leaving lands to his two eldest sons, Edward and Francis (each of whom subsequently styled himself gentleman), as well as £120 each to five younger children.[43] Beer provided several members of the family with a livelihood. Early in the 17th century there was a Leatherhead innkeeper, Richard Rogers, probably the youngest son of Robert, of the Rectory; and in 1636 a John Rogers was named as keeping one of the two chief inns. Robert Rogers, gent, who died in 1667, and who had a brew-house in Fetcham,[44] and Thomas Rogers of Croydon, brewer, who was buried at Leatherhead in 1705, were both probably sons of the Robert Rogers who had died in 1631, and therefore first cousins of Thomas of the Rectory.

But the most flourishing of the Rogers were to be found among those connected with

the family business in drapery and silks in London. Francis Rogers, second son of Edward, senior, was made free of the Drapers' Company in 1602, and when he died, still a young man, in 1609 he made bequests totalling over £2000.[45] He left the lease of his shop, at the sign of Adam and Eve in Lombard Street, "with all impliments cubbards chestes boxes blades and waytes" to his brother Walter, who had almost completed his apprenticeship in the same trade; and Walter took the youngest brother, John, as his apprentice. In 1641 Walter and John were occupying separate premises in Lombard Street. Before his death in 1652 John Rogers was dealing in silks at the Adam and Eve, and he left his business to his son John and his son-in-law Samuel Baker.[46] Three other sons eventually entered the same trade. John Rogers made no secret of his political sympathies, asking to be buried "after the antient and laudable custome of buriale of the Dead used in the time of the late King Charles and his Auncestors." His bequests totalled nearly £3000. Walter Rogers died in 1656, leaving about £2000 in addition to "considerable and competent portions" already given to his four daughters at their marriages.[47] In addition to three younger sons of Leatherhead branches of the family apprenticed in the trade by 1645, Edward, son of Robert Rogers yeoman was described in his uncle Walter's will as "sometime a silkman in London", though he returned to live as a gentleman at Leatherhead. Thomas Rogers, when he was ruined in Charles II's reign, might have hoped to recoup his family's fortunes by getting his own sons into the same business, had not the latter presumably gone up in smoke in 1666.

There was, however, another refuge open to him. His brother Edward, who had been sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1633, had been elected a Fellow of the College in 1637.[48] Deprived as a royalist in 1648, he had in 1660 been restored to his Fellowship, which from 1663 he combined with the Rectory of Holton, near Wheatley, in Oxfordshire, and in 1665 he became a Doctor of Divinity. In 1668, when Thomas Rogers was already in grave difficulties, his two eldest sons, Thomas and John, were in turn admitted to Magdalen College. Only John Rogers took his degree, becoming a B.A. in 1672, and in 1675 he joined his uncle Dr. Edward Rogers as a Fellow. A rival candidate, a Mr. Bowles, had enlisted the support of Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the Secretaries of State; and the latter wrote on his behalf to another Fellow, Thomas Smith, who in the course of a magnificently tactful reply, wrote: "A Mr. Rogers, an M.A. and much Mr. Boles' senior, a person highly accomplished, is his competitor, to whom the greater part of the Society is inclinable out of a just respect for his learning, behaviour, and seniority. He is also very nearly related to Secretary Coventry, being his father's cousin german, who has appeared very early on his behalf."[49] It is clear that Bowles' ace had been trumped.

Thomas Rogers must by this time have migrated with his whole family to Oxford. Edward, another of his sons, became an apothecary there. He himself was buried in Magdalen College Chapel in 1679, as was Dr. Edward Rogers in 1684.[50]

Like his uncle, JOHN ROGERS also suffered deprivation of his Fellowship, in his case when James II in 1687 made his notorious assault on the privileges of the College. He soon regained it, and in 1701 became a Doctor of Divinity, and President of Magdalen College.[51] He died early in 1703, too soon to have made his mark. Many years later, in 1720, Thomas Hearne, the antiquarian, recorded: "Thomas Collins told me to-day that Dr. John Rogers . . . had excelled everyone in the whole University in learning and ability; he was beyond doubt the best theologian, historian, poet and philosopher. He was also outstanding for his gentleness of manner."[52] Though he has left no memorial of his talents, it is pleasant to find that he did not owe his success entirely to his influential relatives.

And what of THOMAS ROGERS, "son & heir", who, if things had gone well, would have been head of the family in Leatherhead? In 1681 we find him with still a little land left there to sell.[53] We next hear of him in 1692, when in competition with a bookseller

and two barbers, he was elected Yeoman Beadle of Law at Oxford;[54] and in this comparatively humble post he served for nearly twenty years, outliving his more illustrious younger brother. On 21st October, 1711, Hearne recorded the death of "Mr. Thomas Rogers (after a long, lingring Distemper) one of our Inferior or Yeoman Beadles."[55] Ten years later Hearne brought him to mind again, at a time when England was threatened with a return of the Plague, and men began to recall the events, and the precautions of 1665: "And I remember that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was Yeoman Beadle, say that when he was that year when the Plague rag'd a School-boy at Eaton, all the Boys of that School were oblig'd to smoak in the School every Morning, & that he was never whip'd so much in his Life as he was one Morning for not smoaking."[56]

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.

NOTES

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2. P.C.C. 25 Wattys.
3. C. Deedes, *Register or Memorial of Ewell.*
4. P.R.O. E 179/184/150.
5. The Society's Records, W.9.
6. *Surrey Musters*, p. 150.
7. P.R.O. E 179/185/303 and E 179/257/19.
8. Original will, Arch. Sy.
9. *S.A.C.* Vol. XVIII, p. 212.
10. Sy. Record Office, S.C. 59/1/4.
11. *S.A.C.*, Vol. XVII, p. 106.
12. P.C.C. 64 Kidd.
13. W. Harrison, *Description of England* (*c.* 1577).
14. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses.*
15. Dr. A. K. R. Kiralfy, The Star-Chamber Litigation of Vicar Richard Levitt in 1609, in the Society's *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 21–3.
16. Sir H. Lambert, Surrey Manors of Oxford Colleges, *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLI, p. 42.
17. S.R.S., Visit. Sy. (1662).
18. P.R.O. E 179/186/408 and 428.
19. Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Millbank, MS. 105965.
20. Marriage Licences at the Faculty Office (Harl. Soc. Pub.).
21. P.R.O. E 179/186/441.
22. P.C.C. 1 Coventry.
23. Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 681.
24. Committee for the Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates, S.P.20, Vol. II, pp. 281, 408, 521.
25. C. E. Vulliamy, *The Onslow Family*, quoting E. Andrews, *Gratitude in Season, or a Word for Sir Richard Onslow* (1661).
26. Committee for the Advance of Money, S.P.Dom., p. 1222.
27. *S.A.C.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 106–15.
28. Eccl. Comm., MS. 105989: 2/7.
29. P.C.C. 16 Laud.
30. S.R.S. Visit. Sy. (1662).
31. Charity Commissioners, *Report on the Charities in the County of Surrey*, 1839. Skeete's Charity.
32. The Society's Records, W.3. Merton College leases, Nos. 1917–1923.
33. Sir W. Sterry, *Eton College Register*, 1441–1698.
34. S.R.S. *Surrey Hearth Tax, 1664*, Introduction.
35. Cal. S.P.Dom., Cal. Treasury Books, and Cal. Treasury Papers, *passim.*
36. E. Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, Vol. II, p. 205. Pepys' Diary, esp. 22nd Feb. 1663/4.
37. See Note 31.
38. P.R.O. Feet of Fines, Surrey, Michaelmas, 27 Car. II.
39. Eccl. Comm., MS. 105967.
40. Aubrey, *Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 250.
41. The Society's Records, W.1.

42. Eccl. Comm. MS. 105989.
43. P.C.C. 98 St. John.
44. Sy. Record Office, 19/1/23.
45. P.C.C. 43 Dorset.
46. P.C.C. 158 Bowyer.
47. P.C.C. 436 Berkely.
48. Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.*
49. Cal. S.P.Dom., Ch. II, 1675–6, p. 187. Henry Coventry was Secretary of State, 1668–80.
50. A. Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, Vol. iii, p. 92.
51. Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.* A. Clark, *Wood*, Vol. iii, p. 249.
52. T. Hearne, *Collectanea*, Vol. vii, p. 142.
53. P.R.O. Feet of Fines, Surrey, Trinity, 33 Car. II.
54. A. Clarke, *Wood*, Vol. iii, p. 406.
55. T. Hearne, *Collectanea*, Vol. iii, p. 247.
56. *Ibid.*, Vol. vii, 21st January, 1720/1.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FETCHAM LOYALIST

DR. THOMAS TURNER (1591–1672)

By F. B. BENGER

IT IS DIFFICULT for us, living in an age of religious toleration largely accompanied by indifference, to comprehend the fervour which underlay the religious contentions of the seventeenth century; and it is perhaps even more difficult for us to understand the elements of bigotry and intolerance, quite often mixed with a personal saintliness, which were exemplified in both the opposing factions—Anglican and Puritan. The almost communistic desire to impose their beliefs one upon the other led to a fratricidal strife the one good outcome of which was that the English nation learned the wholesome lesson that compromise is essential in public affairs. Viewing such a scene, it is a relief to dwell upon instances of goodwill, rare enough, and Dr. Thomas Turner certainly qualifies to be recorded amongst these.

He was born at Reading in 1591, the son of Thomas Turner of Heckfield in Hampshire, mayor of Reading. Matriculating from St. John's College, Oxford, in June 1610, he graduated B.A. in June 1614 and M.A. in May 1618. He was elected a fellow of the college and took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in July 1624, his doctorate following in April 1633. In 1623 he had been presented by his college to the vicarage of St. Giles's, Oxford, which he relinquished in 1629, when he became prebend of Newington in St. Paul's, London. William Laud, when Bishop of London, showed him much regard and made him his chaplain and licenser. He was also chancellor of the London diocese, and soon after was appointed chaplain-in-ordinary to King Charles, whom he accompanied in 1633 on the Scottish coronation progress. In November 1634 he was instituted Rector of Fetcham and though he had other preferments Fetcham seems to have become his usual place of residence.

At some time before September 1638 he married Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Windebank, principal Secretary of State to Charles I, for in that month John Windebank, the Secretary's third son, wrote to his father from Fetcham (P.R.O. P.2/25, p. 32) stating that his brother (presumably referring to Turner) had been severely ill. A letter from Dr. Turner to Sir Francis Windebank written from Fetcham on July 18th, 1639, mentions some negotiations between Windebank and Sir Francis Stydolf of Norbury regarding the proposed lease of land to Windebank adjoining his house, which seems to suggest that

Windebank may have had a residence in this area. The same letter also contains what we should consider a most improper suggestion that Windebank should use his influence with a judge at the assizes at Dorking to help a nurse employed by Turner's wife in a cause he was to hear (P.R.O. P.2/26, p. 409). There is also a letter dated August 9th, 1641, from Margaret Turner to her brother Thomas Windebank, the eldest son of Secretary Windebank, who had been a cavalry officer in the Scottish campaign of 1638/9 and who was known to his friends as "Signior Tomaso". (P.R.O. P.2/30, p. 80. See *The King's Peace* by C. V. Wedgwood.)

In February 1641/2 Dr. Turner was nominated Dean of Rochester, and in January 1643/4 was constituted Dean of Canterbury; but it is unlikely that he officiated in either office at that time since the county of Kent was in the hands of Parliament. He adhered to the King with great devotion during the war and attended him afterwards at Hampton Court and during Charles's imprisonment at Carisbrooke Castle. He was much harassed and deprived of all his benefices during the parliamentary ascendency and in the time of the Commonwealth; three of his houses were plundered, his books seized, and he himself treated with great indignity. Here let us take up the account of his treatment by John Walker in *Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England in the Grand Rebellion*, printed in 1714. "At his living of Fetcham he was seized (probably in time of service) by a party of horse, for having sent £120 to the King; at which time they took the Common Prayer Book and trode it in the dust before his face; put the surplice upon one of the troopers, tyed round with an orange tawny scarff; and then setting the Doctor on one of their horses, they carried him in this manner prisoner to the White Lion (prison) in Southwark; whilst to his great joy, the profane, ridiculous trooper in the surplice employed the eyes of the mob, and himself passed along the more unobserved. At Fetcham, he was succeeded by one Fisher, a man of very mean character. When he came with the Sheriff's bayliffs to dispossess Dr. Turner, the Doctor's lady was expecting hourly the time of her confinement, which obliged the Doctor to request of Fisher that she might tarry in the house. This common piece of humanity was denied him, but it pleased God that at the restoration, when the Doctor came to take possession of the Rectory again, Fisher's wife was in the very same condition, and he had the confidence to make that very request which himself had formerly denied; to which the Doctor, only first reminding him of that denial, replied 'You shall see I am a Christian. In the name of God let her tarry and welcome'. Some time after his being dispossessed of Fetcham he retired to his estate in Hertfordshire, where his troubles were renewed, and he was summoned before the Committee at Hertford, one P——, a ship carpenter, being in the chair, who charged him with malignancy for attending the King, and praying for him; to which the Doctor answered, that his duty as Chaplain obliged him to the one, and that he never did the other without praying for the Parliament also, and that too by His Majesty's express order. However, his estate was decimated, and he was forced to fly into Wales."

At the Restoration Dr. Turner returned to Fetcham, and entered into possession of the deanery of Canterbury. He is said to have declined a bishopric, "prefering to set out with too little than too much sail". The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he resigned the living of Fetcham soon after, but Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne's *Guide to Fetcham Church* has a list of Fetcham rectors which shows no other incumbent until 1672, the year of Dr. Turner's death, so it seems probable that though he left Fetcham to officiate at Canterbury he continued to hold the living until his decease which took place at Canterbury on October 8th, 1672. He is buried in Canterbury Cathedral, where a mural monument was erected to his memory. He had three sons: Francis Turner, non-juring Bishop of Ely; Thomas Turner, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and William Turner, Archdeacon of Durham. One may give the last word to John Walker—"A great example of humility and Christian simplicity, and of most fervent zeal to the Church."

A SHORT HISTORY OF BOOKHAM, SURREY—Pt. VII

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

THE GREAT REBELLION against Charles I, or the Civil War as it has since been called, is commonly presented as a revolutionary rising of the People against monarchical tyranny, and the Parliamentarians regarded as though they upheld the interests of the ordinary man in town street or country lane. Far otherwise: study of local documents shows that the real revolution in progress led directly to the exploitation of the "little man" by a relatively small number of his wealthier neighbours.

All through the Middle Ages and in many places, including Bookham, for a long time thereafter, England had been a country where a large proportion of the population had a stake in the land or in urban production. Ever since the substitution of money rents for labour services in the thirteenth century, it had been a land of independent small farmers and cottagers, and of "little masters" of the various crafts. The average countryman's son had a good chance of one day owning (even if only as a copyholder) his own house and a few acres of land, the normal apprentice of himself running his own business. It has been seen that at the time of the Survey of 1614 Bookham was still largely inhabited by independent farmers, though there had been some growth of landlordism since the Dissolution of Chertsey Abbey.

Yet at the very time that the Survey was being made a revolution was beginning that in two centuries was almost to extinguish the hold of the little man and transform him into a landless wage-slave; it was also to transform the face of the countryside from a landscape of open fields and commons to one of fenced parks and hedged enclosures, where every village was dominated by one or more overgrown mansions, the "country houses" whose passing is now so widely lamented. These mansions, and their parks and pleasure-grounds, far more than the medieval manor-houses whose places they took, became a parasitic growth upon the national economy.

It was in 1613, the year before the Survey, that there occurred in Bookham the first recorded mortgage of a copyhold. On 4th November John Durden mortgaged his tenement at Eastwick and 14 acres of land for £100 to John Browne, "yoman of his Ma^{ties} Woodyarde," the lord of the manor of Eastwick. Within two years Browne had foreclosed and was in possession. The surviving Court Rolls for Great and Little Bookham during the rest of the century show a total of at least 17 mortgages, of which a few only were paid off; in most cases the mortgagor lost his inheritance, sometimes for lack of less than £10 in ready money. The average transaction involved a house and some 12–15 acres of land, and a debt of about £80 which, with interest, soon mounted to £100.

Often the mortgagees were more prosperous neighbours or local landowners like John Browne, but as time went on townsmen and lawyers appear, complete strangers to the district. In at least one case the newcomer lost his pledge through ignorance of local custom. At the Court of the Manor of Little Bookham held on 18th October, 1655 it was presented that John Atlee, copyholder of Hegden and other lands, had mortgaged them to William Thornebury of London, gent., for £206 to be repaid by 3rd September, 1655. Atlee was unable to pay and Thornebury entered upon the property; but nine years later, at the Court of 7th October, 1664, he was found guilty of committing waste by cutting and selling oaks growing on the land, the custom of the manor being that a tenant might cut oaks only for the repair of his own house. The property was declared forfeit and seized for the Lord of the Manor.

In addition to mortgages, many other transfers of property must have been essentially forced sales, and the land of Bookham fell into fewer and fewer hands. The reasons for this profound change may well be asked. Without attempting to trace the ultimate causes,

it seems that at Bookham the main reason was the inflationary spiral due to a steady drop in the value of money, combined with the demand for added comforts which had transformed the old communal dwelling into a modern house with provision for individual privacy. Almost everyone was tempted to live beyond his means, but the mercantile classes who already had substantial capital were able to profit from their neighbours' difficulties.

Not only the merchants benefited. The older nobility and gentry were for a time, until they too ran through their patrimony, able to increase their estates and their relative wealth. At Bookham the subordinate manor of Eastwick was bought in 1627 from Browne's widow by Sir Francis Howard. After succeeding to the barony of Howard of Effingham in 1681 the family also acquired more than half the houses in the hamlet of Eastwick and turned their sites into a park. Other estates: Little Bookham Manor, Polesden, the now vanished Hill Place near the Mole, and Bookham Grove, followed suit in turning large areas of productive land into pleasure grounds, and for two hundred years Bookham became typical of rural England under a squirearchy.

Little survives, apart from monuments in Great Bookham Church, of seventeenth-century Bookham. Much has been swept away or altered beyond recognition. The mansion of the Howards at Eastwick has gone, and likewise the new Polesden of 1631.* Few of the smaller houses are distinctively of the century, though there is reason to suspect that The Tyrrells may have been rebuilt by the Francis Terrell or Terrill, of Leatherhead, maltster, who in 1665 bought the house with an orchard and 10 acres of land for £110. By far the most distinguished survivor is the remnant of Slyfield House which, though it certainly incorporates parts of the earlier mansion, belongs architecturally to two main periods of work in *c.* 1620–40 and *c.* 1660–65 (the added eastern wing with its giant order of pilasters), while the panelling of the dining room probably belongs to Dr. Shortrudge's occupancy just after 1700. The old great hall, with half of the courtyard ranges, was destroyed in 1743–44.†

A number of surviving trees may have begun their growth between 1600 and 1700, and one certainly did—the great elm at the south-west corner of Great Bookham churchyard, planted in 1627 by Ralph Hilder the churchwarden—as the first Register Book records. But, apart from the much older yew at Little Bookham, there can be few earlier than 1700, though about that time many trees still alive must have been planted in the newly formed Eastwick Park.

It is in the second quarter of the century that the extant parish registers begin for both Great and Little Bookham. They await detailed study, but it may be said that they contain few marginalia or comments other than a rare identification with a particular house or entries such as "Sr. Fras. Howard, Lord of the manner of Great Bookham, was buryed the tenth day of July anno domini 1651", or "Lance eillard duelake (i.e., Lancelot du Lake) Pridchard of the parish of Rygait and Margrett Ponder of the parish of Horsham is Susix Married by the Vertue of a Licence Aprell ye 26th 1698." The end of an old family is recorded in "1647 Edmond Slyfeild Esq: was Buried the first day of December."

The parish books for Great Bookham begin to record the names of churchwardens, overseers of the poor and, from 1649, surveyors of highways, while the Court Rolls similarly name the constable, headboroughs (for the tithings of Bookham, Eastwick and Woodwards), taster of bread and ale, and pinder or pound-keeper. While the last two offices were commonly held for a number of years in succession, the other manorial officers were appointed for a single year. Of the parish officers, the Vicar's warden generally functioned for two years, the surveyors occasionally for two, and the overseers often for two or more.

*See F. B. Benger in *Proceedings*, Leatherhead & Dist. Local History Soc., Vol. 1, No. 9, 1955, pp. 25–29.
†Surrey Record Office, Slyfield Chest, Accounts of Trustees.

At times the People's warden might be re-elected for a second term, but this was exceptional. It was extremely rare for the same man to hold manorial and parochial office simultaneously, though Henry Sheires was both headborough of Northend (the earlier "Woodwards"), and People's warden in 1683–84, and in 1695–96 John Peter, People's warden in this and the next year, was also constable, and William Heath, an overseer, headborough for Eastwick. Heath had been an overseer in 1664, 1665, 1668, 1669, and 1683, churchwarden in 1678 and 1679, and surveyor in 1692; John Peter had served as headborough of Bookham in 1680–1 and 1688–9, as surveyor in 1692, and was to be an overseer in 1699, surveyor again in 1700. Several other villagers took an unduly heavy share of public duties, probably in return for financial compensation from wealthier neighbours unwilling to serve. On the other hand Sir George Shiers, baronet, actually served as Vicar's warden in 1685. A sidelight upon literacy is thrown by the entry for the election of Thomas Wood of Yewtrees the younger as churchwarden at Easter 1633, when (Sir) Francis Howard and four others signed, while 13 parishioners made their marks, all different and in no case a mere cross; in one case (Henrie Ellis) the mark consists of the initials linked as a monogram.

The size of Bookham towards the end of the century is shown by the Hearth Tax assessments: that of 1664 shows 65 persons chargeable in Great Bookham and 20 not, while Little Bookham had 16 and 5, implying a total of 106 houses in the two parishes. Sir Charles Howard (at Eastwick) and Mrs. Anne Rowse (Polesden) had 12 hearths each, but Mrs. Mary Sheires (Slyfield) had 17 and the Vicarage 4; out of the grand total of 106 houses, 44 had but a single hearth, 30 had two each, 10 had three and 13 had four; at Little Bookham the largest house, with five hearths, was that occupied by the Rector, Mr. Hindle (James Hindle or Henlay, 1641–70). That over 40% of the houses in Bookham had but a single hearth, and nearly a quarter belonged to householders too poor to be charged tax, to some extent bears out the impression given by the surveys and other documents, of a community still largely medieval and comprising a high proportion of "little men".

ASHTEAD AND ITS HISTORY—Pt. XII

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

(*a*). *Lady Diana* (*Howard*) *Feilding of Ashtead and Duke Street, Westminster.*

LADY DIANA is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the people to be encountered in studying the history of Ashtead, and it is difficult, in the space of one brief article, to give an adequately full account of her life and activities.

It is unfortunate that we have no "Memoires" or "Journal" kept by her, and it is in consequence from such letters, account books and the writings of others as survive, that the story of her life has had to be pieced together.

She was a daughter of Francis, Lord Newport, who later (1694) was created Earl of Bradford.

We do not know the exact year of her birth, but it seems likely that it was about 1650. Her father inherited the peerage (which his father, Richard Newport, had obtained during the Civil War) when the latter died in 1651. Francis, like his father, was also an ardent Royalist, and was rewarded on the restoration in 1660, by being made a Lord Lieutenant, Comptroller of the Household, Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Household, but in 1687, James II deprived him of all these offices; as one writer states, "an apt commentary on James's political crassness."


Mr Thomas Howards
Lady A 1690
at Arundel
near Ipswich
61

He supported the Seven Bishops and was restored to office by William III. In 1694, he was created Earl of Bradford. He died in 1708, the last survivor of the Long Parliament of 1640.

In 1642 he had married Lady Diana Russell, daughter of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford. They had three sons and four daughters, of whom Diana, apparently named after her mother, was, it seems, the eldest.

Of her three sisters, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Anne, the first married Sir Henry Littleton, Bart., and, on his death, Edward Harvey, Esq., of Coombe, in Surrey. (There are frequent mentions of "my sister Harvey" in Lady Diana's accounts, and once she obtained a dairy-maid from her, for Ashtead, but found her no good and discharged her soon after.)

Catherine married Henry, 4th Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who died, without issue, in 1691.

Of Lady Diana's three brothers, the eldest, Richard, inherited his father's title, while the next, Thomas, became Lord Torrington (Baron Torrington of Torrington, County Devon) in 1716, and died without any heir two years later.

Her third brother, Francis, died unmarried, as did her youngest sister, Anne.

Lady Diana's father lived at Twickenham ("Twittnum" as, following the manner in which it used to be pronounced, Lady Diana usually wrote it) and she used to visit him fairly frequently, both from Ashtead and Duke Street, up to his death in 1708, at the age of 88.

("Sept. 21, 1708. Pd. the coach-man for the coach horses going to Twittnum with me to see my Fa.—2.s 8d.," is an entry at the date of his last illness.)

In 1683, Lady Diana Newport, as she then was, married Sir Robert Howard's only son, Thomas, who was then aged 32. Brief mention of this, of her children, of her husband's death in 1701, and of her second marriage (to the Hon. William Feilding, younger son of the Earl of Denbigh) has already been made earlier in this series, but, thanks to a detailed study of her account books and to certain letters and documents (many in the Public Library at Birmingham) so much additional information has now been obtained that some repetition may, perhaps, be excused.

Lady Diana's detailed accounts, covering her first husband's last illness and death, and the account of the funeral, as it can be all visualized from the very detailed list of items, as well as from the undertaker's bills, has all been dealt with previously (Vol. 2, pp. 91–93) in these *Proceedings*.

After Thomas Howard's death, as well as taking over his work of checking all the weekly estate accounts, the payments to outdoor and indoor staffs, including the Cellar book (which she checked each week and from the date when he became ill), she had now to surrender his town residence in St. Stephen's Court, Westminster, since he held it only by reason of his position as a Teller of the Exchequer. (St. Stephen's Court, the site now covered by Government offices, lay between Whitehall and the River—on the north side of the present Westminster Bridge Road.)

With her own friends at Court and in Society, and her relations living in London (her daughter, Diana, married to young Lord Dudley and Ward, but left a widow by his death shortly after their marriage, was living in a house at Knightsbridge), she set about obtaining a new residence as soon as possible.

She was allowed to retain the St. Stephen's Court house for a year, continuing to pay the rent of £20 per quarter to Lord Jersey for its use. She also paid £1 per annum for "Window Tax and Scavenger" (the dustman, presumably) and evidently had to get it fully done up before vacating it, which she did in December 1702.

It evidently, like the house which she next rented, had a small garden, for in January of that year she paid "the London Gardner for 5 days work in the Garden" the sum of ten shillings.

Of the house, which she then rented, and finally bought, we know a great deal, for all the items of her expenditure on it and finally (1721) of her rebuilding it (incorporating the site of the adjoining house, which she bought and likewise pulled down) are to be found in the nine surviving volumes of her accounts, the bulk of the entries being in her own handwriting (and her own delightful phonetic spelling!—"jackalet" for chocolate; "cheney coops and sarsears" for china cups and saucers; "sir john" for surgeon, etc.), and they give a complete picture of the furnishings and upkeep of a town house at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as life in general in those days.

The house was situated at the north end of Duke Street, Westminster, a street, no longer in existence, now covered by part of the India Office of 1870.

It was so situated at the end of the road, that two sides (the north and west) fronted on St. James' Park, the Park coming right up to the house walls. The basement of the house was level with the Park, and had a door giving directly into it, while at the front, the first floor opened on to the street (Duke Street having been raised about eight feet above the Park level).*

The house belonged to Sir John Jermain until Lady Diana bought it in 1705 for £1200, having rented it for the three previous years for £56 16s. 6d. per annum. It had a small paved terrace, made into a formal garden with clipped shrubs ("*laurestinus*" is mentioned) in tubs and boxes of plants, with two stone seats. The Ashtead gardener made occasional visits to see to the plants, which he may have brought up with him, though plants (both flowers and vegetable seedlings) were frequently bought in London, by Lady Diana "for Ashted."

It is interesting to note that Lady Diana, during her tenancy, before, as far as we know, there was any final decision to buy the house, had three marble fireplaces specially made and fixed in the main rooms.†

This is of interest in showing that such fireplaces were regarded, apparently, as "tenant's fixtures", so that there need not have been anything out of the way in Sarah, Duchess of Churchill's taking the fireplaces away with her when she had, on her husband's fall from office, to leave her apartments (in 1710) and it need not, as often represented, have been done in a fit of rage, but because they actually belonged to her, though of her anger at being turned out there can be no doubt.

After her marriage to Mr. Feilding (1707) her property was, for rates (as shown by the Westminster Rate Books) transferred to her husband, though in actual fact, the rates, as all other expenses in connection with her properties (at Ashtead, Westminster, and Castle Rising in Norfolk), were paid by her, including her husband's electioneering expenses, when he was returned, as one of the two members for Lady Diana's "Rotten Borough" of Castle Rising a constituency, which was formerly represented by Samuel Pepys (1673), Sir Robert Howard (1678 and 1688), and Thomas Howard (in 1685 and 1700).

Before Lady Diana re-married and required one of the Castle Rising seats for her new husband, Mr. Feilding, there was an amusing clash between her and Robert Walpole,‡

*Lady Diana's house, which she left by Will to the Earl of Berkshire, together with all her other property, including Ashtead, remained with that family until the death of the Dowager Countess of Suffolk in 1830, when the house was sold and the State Paper Office, designed by Sir John Soane, erected on the site. Fortunately Sir John had a series of plans made, with notes, before the house was demolished.

†This work, costing £14 12s., was carried out by the famous mason, William Stanton, who made the memorial to Thomas Howard and his son in Ashtead Church.

‡Vol. I, p. 57, footnote 1; and pp. 99 and 100.

which is well described by the historian, J. H. Plumb (in his book "Sir Robert Walpole." He is, however, mistaken in attributing the incident to "Thomas Howard's *daughter* Lady Diana Feilding" when he should have written "*widow*".)

Having learnt that Walpole was scheming to secure both the Castle Rising seats (since he himself, by arrangement with the Howards, occupied one of them) by securing the other for a friend of his, Lady Diana wrote to him, as follows: "I have received a letter from Mr. Dillman, my steward at Rising, who intimates as if a new interest was setting up against mine. You was pleased in yours to tell me you would readily agree with any whom I should recommend, therefore I desire the favour of you to satisfye your friends by the first post that I have recommended a relation of Mr. Howard's and a fit person to serve the burrough, lest any opposition should be made and you will oblige . . ." Dated 17 April, 1701.

Walpole capitulated, but Lady Diana was taking no risks, and as Plumb writes, "cautious woman as she was, sent down 14 voters from Surrey (i.e. Ashtead) under the charge of her bailiff, a show of strength, which infuriated Walpole's supporters. For the next two elections Walpole accepted Lady Diana's nominees without question."

To be able to vote at Castle Rising, a "burgage borough", holding property there was essential for the voter. Hence the existence (somewhat of a puzzle until the above manoeuvre came to light) of certain documents conveying small holdings at Castle Rising, and for a brief period, to certain Ashtead tenants of Lady Diana's, mostly farmers. Clearly they were some of the 14 who were secretly conveyed there to vote!

On a later occasion, the election of 1713, when Mr. Feilding was one of the candidates for re-election, Lady Diana went with him to Castle Rising, and her accounts covering all payments both for the election and for the journey there from Duke Street are of considerable interest.

On that occasion travelling and election costs amounted to £180. Apparently the Election dinner was held and paid for jointly by the candidates for both seats, as in 1705 Lady Diana received £22 10s. from Colonel Horatio Walpole "for his share of the last Election dinner."

(*b*). *Some eminent people connected with Ashtead.*

This may seem to be somewhat of a "scrapbook" contribution in this account of Ashtead, but it is due partly to the diverse nature of the material which I, and those working with me, have been able to collect together and file under this heading.

It concerns the fleeting appearances of a large number of persons, some few of whom were residents here, but others only momentarily concerned with either Ashtead or with Ashtead people. Two only of the fifty or more persons in this category about whom information has been got together, can be dealt with in this instalment.

First, one whose tercentenary (for he was born, it is believed, in 1659) was celebrated recently, the eminent musician and composer, Henry Purcell (1659–1695). His having composed the music for some of Sir Robert Howard's verses and songs is well known, and likewise the music to the operatic version of *The Indian Queen*, a play which Sir Robert wrote in collaboration with his brother-in-law, John Dryden.

Paget (on page 55 of his book *Ashtead and its Howard Possessions*) states that Sir Robert acquired some renown as a song-writer, though "more, probably was owing to the composer of the music than to the words which accompanied it."

/95 What appears not to be known and, in fact, is only apparent from the Howard account books, is that up to his death in 16~~59~~, Purcell was giving music lessons to Miss Diana

Howard, Sir Robert's grand-daughter. (She married Lord Dudley and Ward in 1703, and died in 1709, aged 23.)

The entries in the accounts, written by her father, Thomas Howard (who apparently always referred to her as "Miss") include the following:—

"1694/5. Feb. 12. Pd. Mr. Purcell, for one months teaching Miss, 2 guineas— 2li. 6s. 0d."

Whether it was the spinett or harpsichord or even the organ that she was being taught to play by Purcell is not clear, since we have the following entries showing that she was learning to play all these instruments:—

"1693. July 27. Pd. Mr. Player for tuning Misses Spinett.....10s. 0d."

and in 1696, after Purcell's death:—

"March 24. Pd. ye Harpsicall [*sic*] Master for one month.....2 0 0."

while in 1701 we have:—

"Dec. 1. Given to Miss for the tuning her Organ.....1 1 6."

and in the same year:—

"Dec. 31. Given to Miss for Tuning her spinneitt.....2 6d."

There is nothing to show whether these lessons took place in London or at Ashtead, but the former seems most likely and presumably at the Howard's Westminster house in St. Stephen's Court, and which Thomas Howard occupied by virtue of his being one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer (a post clearly obtained for him by his father, Sir Robert, who was Auditor of the Exchequer).

As Purcell lived in Westminster (in Bowling Alley East) and was organist of Westminster Abbey from 1680, the lessons were probably in London.

The last entry concerning them is:—

"1695. April 19. Pd. Mr. Purcell in full.....2 10 0."

There is one final reference, written by Lady Diana Howard in 1703, after the death of her husband and before her second marriage (that to Mr. Feilding). It reads:—

"1703. 13 Nov. Given to Mrs. Purcell's maid.....5s. 0d."

This is clearly a gratuity (Lady Diana always wrote "given" instead of "paid" where a "tip" is concerned) but there is no clue as to the occasion of it, though it may indicate that Lady Diana called on Mrs. Purcell, when such a tip to the Staff was customary.

More directly connected with Ashtead was one Mr. Thomas Tyers, intimate friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson and who died, in 1787, at "his house at Ashtead." He was, as Mr. Benger has reminded me, the "Tom Restless" of Johnson's 47th "Idler", and also the author of some amusing pages of biography. He derived his fortune from the Gardens at Vauxhall, which was founded by his father, and the following note about him by Boswell (*Johnson*, Vol. 3, pp. 309 and 310 of the 1823 edition) is of interest: "Johnson once observed to me 'Tom Tyers described me the best: Sir (said he) you are like a ghost; you never speak until you are spoken to!' The gentleman whom he thus familiarly mentioned was Mr. Thomas Tyers, son of Mr. Jonathan Tyers, the founder of that excellent place of publick amusement, *Vauxhall Gardens*, which must ever be an estate to its proprietor, as it is peculiarly adapted to the taste of the English nation; there being a mixture of curious show,—gay exhibition,—musick, vocal and instrumental, not too refined for the general ear:—for all which only a shilling is paid [a footnote states that it was raised to 2s. in 1792 on which Boswell comments "I cannot approve of this"] and, though last not least, good eating and drinking for those who choose to purchase that regale. Mr. Thomas

Tyers was bred to the law, but, having a handsome fortune, vivacity of temper, and eccentricity of mind, he could not confine himself to the regularity of practice. He therefore ran about the world with a pleasant carelessness, amusing everybody by his desultory conversation. He abounded in anecdote, but was not sufficiently attentive to accuracy. I therefore cannot venture to avail myself much of a biographical sketch of Johnson, which he published being one among the various persons ambitious of appending their names to that of my illustrious friend."

"That sketch is, however, an entertaining little collection of fragments. (Boswell was clearly annoyed at anyone else, other than himself, writing about Dr. Johnson!) Those which he published of Pope and Addison are of higher merit; but his fame must chiefly rest upon his *Political Conferences*, in which he introduces several eminent persons delivering their sentiments in the way of a dialogue, and discovers a considerable store of learning, various knowledge, and discernment of character. This much may I be allowed to say of a man who was exceedingly obliging to me, and who lived with Dr. Johnson in as easy a manner as almost any of his very numerous acquaintances."

From Lowndes' *Bibliographical Dictionary* we have a list of his writings which appeared in print from 1780–84, and the information that he was a member of the Inner Temple. He had a brother Johnathan, who managed the Vauxhall Gardens and who, by Thomas' Will (of 1785, proved in 1787) inherited most of his property, including "My Freehold estate called 'White's Grounds' near Bermondsey St., Southwark, and my share of the copy-hold estate at Vauxhall, my estate at Ashted in Surrey and all residue to my brother Johnathan Tyers, my sister Mrs. Wood and my sister Mrs. Rogers for their lives and those of their survivors."

He left a year's wages and £100 to his manservant, James Bloss, of whom, in the Register of burials of the Parish Church for 1787, we have the entry of this burial ("James Bloss, servant of the late Mr. Tyers") entered under August 2nd.

We do not know for certain which of the Ashtead properties belonged to him. It may have been *Ashtead Lodge*, which seems to have been built in the first half of the eighteenth century—a date on a lead pump tank in the basement is 1765, but seems to be later than the date of the building itself—but perhaps he owned the timber building (now forming part of a garage property and shorn of its classical porch, and with its roof and timbers falling into decay from complete and utter neglect) which once, with stables and outbuildings stood in its own grounds of over ten acres on the north-west side of the main road to Leatherhead. V. Wyburd's map of Ashtead dated 1801.

The unusually spacious and well-built cellars and the Colonial "clap-board" style of its construction, as well as the fact that it would have been ample accommodation as a bachelor's residence, make it the most likely of the possible candidates for Tom Tyers' Ashtead dwelling.

Whether it was so or not, and further research may yet clear up this uncertainty, it is very lamentable that such a once fine building has been allowed to fall into decay and ruin.

(*c*). *Two small bills of 1706*

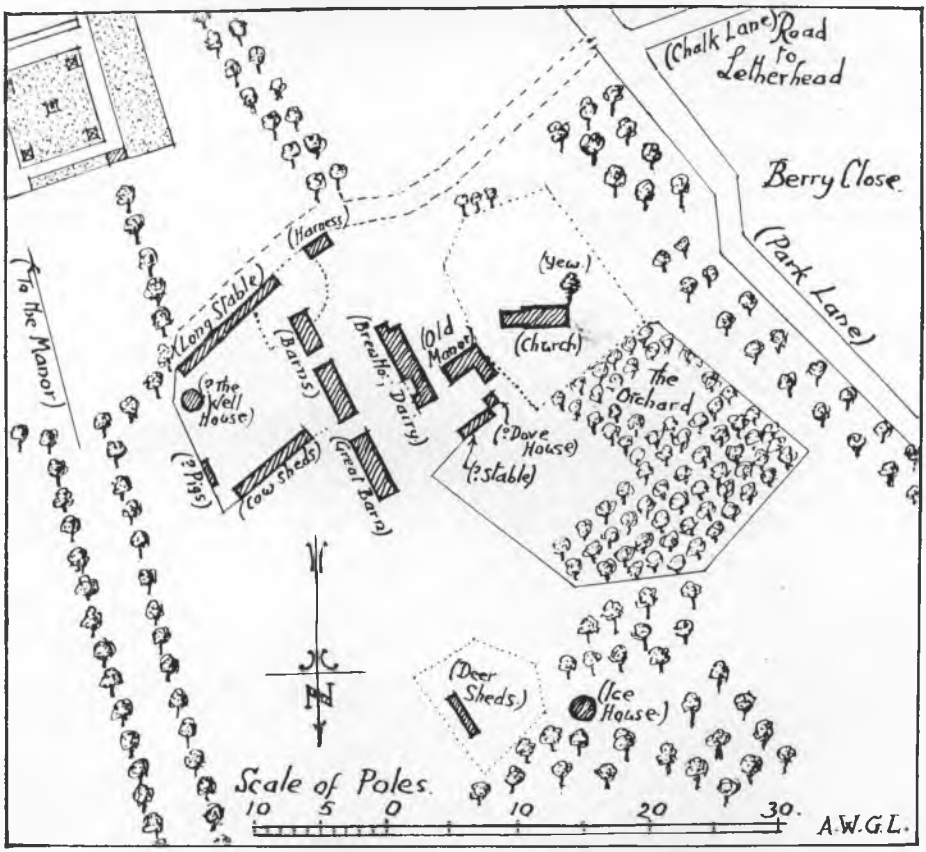
By some curious chance, two of the actual bills for work done at Ashtead Manor in the year 1706 have been preserved. Presumably, like the many others that once existed, they should have been destroyed after their totals had been entered in the account books kept by Lady Diana Feilding, who had only lately re-married (I have no record of the actual date or place of marriage) after the death of her former husband Thomas Howard.

These bills came to light, inserted loosely in the pages of one of the books, when they were deposited in Guildford Muniment Room, and were catalogued by the Archivist, Dr. E. M. Dance.

Both bills are small and brief, but of considerable interest. The one concerns the cost of repairs to the old Manor-house, i.e. the small, medieval or Tudor, dwelling which once stood close to the East end of the Parish Church, and which was only demolished in 1790. The other is for various works within the Park and Garden, and the small dairy which, with a brewery, stables, cowsheds, barns and a well-house, formed a small number of buildings grouped around a yard to the east of the original Manor-house.

Parts of the Dairy, with its brick floor and drain for washing-down, and with a pit to take ice-blocks (from the nearby ice-house) to keep the building cool in summer months, were exposed in 1955 and partially explored when the School Pavilion was erected.

A surviving plan, made about 1706, enables one to identify the buildings in this group with some certainty (even though they are not named upon it) from the names mentioned ("Long Stables", "Grain Barn", etc.) in the accounts.



PART OF A MAP, OF ABOUT 1706, SHOWING "HOME FARM", ETC.

One of the bills is that of "John Arrow the Younger" as it is endorsed, and since it is "signed" with a very untidy cross, which is stated to be his mark, it is clear that he could not write. The Arrow family, mainly tenant-farmers and "husbandmen", or farm labourers, can be traced back into the sixteenth century, but seem never to have owned any land or to have been copy-hold tenants, except of some land in the Common Fields of Ashtead. They are not mentioned as serving on any of the Manor Courts. In 1696 and probably, earlier, they occupied a house and land as tenants of one Paul Halley (or Healy as it is written in the Manor Rent Roll of 1707) who owned the freehold of it, paying one shilling a year freehold rent to the lord of the Manor.

It is described as being "near Bernard's Lane" (the present *Harriot's Lane*) so that it probably once formed part of "Little Ashtead Manor" (or "Prior's Farm" as it was called, belonging, as it did before the Reformation, to Merton Priory).

If the Arrow ancestors were husbandmen working for "Prior's Farm" it would explain why there are no persons of that name entered in the surviving "Pannage Lists" (i.e. those paying for their pigs feeding on the lord's land) the latest being that for 1499.

No records for "Little Ashtead Manor" appear to have survived.

The family seems to have died out with the burial of "John Arrow, husbandman", in 1748, while on July 22nd, 1716 was buried "John Arrow, Senex" with the note "he was accidentally drowned in a ditch" added to the entry in the Register of Burials. Probably he was the "father" in the final item of this bill, and his normal work was cleaning out ponds and ditches.

The bill headed "John Arrow's bill" is receipted at the foot with his mark, the date 3rd Jan. 1706, and the words "Recd. the Contents in full of all demands by me". It reads:—

	s.	d.
"9 days helping the Gardiner	11	1
6 days at the fish ponds	7	–
1 day cleaning ye Pigeon house	1	2
½ day housing ye boards		7
1 day cutting wood for the house	1	2
Getting the bees	1	6
½ day cutting wood		6
Carrying up 7 brewings of beer	3	6
	1 6	6
his father 6 days at the fish ponds	7	–
	1 13	6"

Presumably the fish ponds were those, now filled in, which existed at the north end of the Park. The present pond is always referred to as the "Island Pond", or the "Great Pond".

The Pigeon-House is referred to in the accounts on many occasions and it appears likely that it was the circular building which stood, as the map of about this date shows, in the centre of the Dairy-farm yard, adjoining the early Manor-house.

It is likely to have been contemporary with the original (medieval) Manor-house, and, like it, to have been built of flint masonry* with some Tudor brickwork and with a

*Part of the western end wall of the Manor-house appears to survive, incorporated in the flint wall bounding the Churchyard to the east of the Church.

tiled, conical roof. Forming a single tower, about 20 feet in diameter, its only opening, apart from the doorway, would be a series of small apertures in the upper part for the birds to enter and depart. Inside, it would have had a central post with, pivoting around it, a ladder from which all the nesting holes (which were ranged round at all levels) could be reached. Though the pigeon's eggs were of importance, the droppings, with their valuable mineral fertilizer content, were more so, and one of the chief reasons for the maintenance of pigeon-houses at this date.

One shilling and twopence seems to have been the standard rate of pay for one day's cleaning out the Pigeon-house, for we have several such entries in following years. (It apparently did not, as it might to-day, qualify for a higher rate on account of being work of an exceptionally dirty nature!)

In 1711, and again in 1715, the Pigeon-house had to be repaired, and this work was carried out by one Richard Wallis who did most of the estate building and repair work at this time.

The sixth item in the bill, viz. "Getting the bees", is of interest, if somewhat vague, as we have few items in the manor accounts about "bee-keeping" or "honey", though it must have been an important item in the economy of the period. Probably, as elsewhere and to a much later date, bee-keeping was mainly in the hands of the cottagers, who would rely on it for part of their livelihood. (See Miss Jekyll's *Old West Surrey* for interesting material and illustrations of cottage bee-keeping.)

Even if they kept bees at the manor farm, the Feildings also bought honey elsewhere, for on October 16th, 1712 they paid fourteen shillings for honey (an unspecified quantity) bought at Headley.

Presumably "carrying up 7 brewings of beer" entailed transporting the barrels of beer from the brewhouse mentioned above to the cellars of the new Manor-house, which was on the site of, and to the same dimensions as, the present early XIXth century building. It is even possible that the original cellars, or some part of them, were retained and incorporated in the present structure (which was built by Samuel J. Wyatt, to the design of Bonomi, an Italian architect, in 1790/1) but of this I have no actual knowledge.

The "brewhouse", like the adjacent barns and grain store, seems to have been mainly of timber construction, and there are several entries for planks and rails for its repair in the account books. It is possible that bottling of the home brewed Cyder was carried out here though the wine that was bottled, after receipt in barrels, was certainly so treated in the cellars of the house.

There are in the accounts, items for large numbers of bottles and corks. (The neck and upper part of a bottle of, from its form, about 1700 in date, was found amongst the debris of the Dairy building during the brief exploration of 1955, before the Sports Pavilion was built.)

It may be of interest to consider the contents of the Cellar of a country house of this period, and, preserved in the manor Cellar Book we have a full list of the contents of the cellar as it was during Thomas Howard's lifetime. It was first compiled on the 24th of January, 1701, and the entries to each section (written at the head of different pages and leaving space for consumption to be entered up) are as follows:—

"*White Wine*, 13 dozen & 6 quarts
Common Clarett, 2 dozen & 2 quarts
Hancocks Clarett, 1 dozen & 1 quart

Lucinea, 7 pints
Second Sack, 2 doz. & 2 quarts
Best Sack, 11 pints
Red Sack, 3 quarts
Burgundy, 2 flasks
Mr. Moroises Sack, 6 pints
Frontineak, 2 pints
Medera Wine, 11 quarts
Rack, 5 quarts
Brandy, 3 quarts
Strong Bere, 2 pip(e)s & 4 hogsheads
Nottingham Ale, 1 little tub
1 Hogshead of White Wine
3 dozen bottles of *Cyder*
Lincoln Ale, 2 dozen bottles
Mum, 11 quarts, 1 pint
1 Barrel of *Veriuce* (=vinegar)
1 Little Tub of *Small Ale*"

(Also listed in the Cellar are: 3 small tubs—empty, 1 Tap Tub, 1 Pare [*sic*] Tarriers, and 1 Brass Cock.)

Listed as being "In the Small Bere Cellar" we have: 3 Barells, 1 Kinderkin of Cyder; 22 Barells of Small Bere; 55 Empty Barells; 3 Tubs; 1 Little Tub of my (?Thomas Howard's) Small Bere; 4 Brass Cocks and 4 Stands.

Probably quite a modestly stocked cellar for those days, but fresh supplies were always being sent down from London as the accounts show.

The other bill is probably for money due to Richard Wallis and in his own handwriting, but there is no signature to it.

It reads:—

"*My Ladie Fieldings Bill novem ye 5-1706 at the Old House*

My man 2 dayes and a half mending the tileing and plastering	0	5	0
Simon 2 dayes and a half	0	3	4
3 Hundred of nails	0	0	6
30 H(e)art Lath(s)	0	0	7
A peck of hare (hair)	0	0	3
sum —	0	9	8"

This bill, apart from showing the price of certain materials at this date, tells us that the old Manor-house was roofed with tiles and not slated, as was the roof of its successor which Sir Robert Howard built in 1683. This accords with the findings of early roof-tiles (in no way different from those which Sir Eustace de Hacche used for his Manor-house at *Pachenesham* in 1290) close to the site of the early house in 1955.

It is a great pity that "The Old House", whose site has never been put to any other use, did not survive down to the present day. It is to be hoped that its site will, one day, be the scene of archaeological excavations.

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year ended 30th September, 1960

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance brought forward at 1st October, 1959		24 3 1
Subscriptions:—		
150 @ 10/- (including nine paid previous year)	75 0 0	
1 @ 7/6	7 6	
1 @ 1/-	1 0	
In arrear: 1 @ 10/-	10 0	
In advance: 6 @ 10/-	3 0 0	
		78 18 6
Grants:—		
Leatherhead U.D.C.	10 0 0	
Surrey County Council	15 0 0	
		25 0 0
Donations		4 7 6
Sale of *Proceedings* and Binding Cases		21 19 0
Visits and Meetings:—		
Receipts	17 18 0	
Expenses	15 11 0	
		2 7 0
		£156 15 1

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing of *Proceedings*, 1959		99 9 0
General Printing		12 12 0
Postages, Stationery, and Sundry Disbursements		13 16 3
Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:—		
South Eastern Union of Scientific Societies (2 years)	1 5 0	
Surrey Record Society	1 0 0	
Field Studies Council	1 1 0	
		3 6 0
Balance at Midland Bank Limited, carried forward to next Account (including 6 subscriptions amounting to £3 paid in advance)		27 11 10
		£156 15 1

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.

3rd November, 1960.

(*Signed*) A. H. KIRKBY,
Honorary Auditor.

(*Signed*) S. E. D. FORTESCUE,
Honorary Treasurer.

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