PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

VOL. 3 No. 1

1967

SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1967:—

February 23rd	Lecture: "Inland Waterways of the South of England", by L. A. Edwards.
March 31st	Annual General Meeting and General Discussion.
April 13th	Lecture: "History of St. Mary's Church, Stoke D'Abernon", by Rev. J. H. L. Waterson.
May 4th	Lecture: "Kensington", by Capt. M. A. Wilson, R.N.
June 3rd	Visit to Betchworth House.
July 15th	Visit to Farnham Castle.
August 5th	Visit to St. Mary's Church, Stoke D'Abernon.
September 15th	Lecture: "Ireland", by J. G. W. Lewarne.
October 20th	Lecture: "Dorking History and Recent Discoveries", by J. E. N. Walker.
November 21st	Lecture: "Air-Photography and Archaeology", by C. W. Phillips, O.B.E.

Number 10 of Volume 2 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Council Offices on Friday, 31st March, 1967

Attended by S. E. D. Fortescue, Esq., Chairman of the Urban District Council

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1966 were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected as shown below. The Accounts for the year 1966 are printed on page iii of the cover.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1967

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. Tel: Leatherhead 3736)

Hon. Treasurer: W. T. BRISTOW
(Lloyds Bank, Leatherhead)

Hon. Editor: F. B. BENGER
(Duntisbourne, Reigate Road, Leatherhead. Tel: Leatherhead 2711)

Hon. Programme Secretary: MRS. B. HAYNES
(Sans Nom, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead. Tel: Leatherhead 3549)

Committee Members: MRS. I. GARDENER, W. MILLAR, D. F. RENN, F.S.A. (*Co-opted*)

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

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Leatherhead and District Local History Society

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CONTENTS

OCCASIONAL NOTES

ANNIVERSARY

THIS NUMBER of the *Proceedings* marks by its date, 1967, the twenty-first anniversary of the formation of the Society on 5th November, 1946. Divorced from its legal significance as the time when the infant becomes of age, henceforward responsible for actions and debts, majority is mainly a matter of sentiment, and perhaps more so in the case of a society, which is of course responsible for both its acts and its debts from the time of its formation. Yet it can be a useful time to look both backwards and forwards. Our Society was born in an age of austerity (the early numbers of the *Proceedings* bear witness to this), yet an age of enthusiasm. It has survived into an age of affluence (with the conjoint difficulties of high costs which must be a perennial anxiety to the Committee), an age when enthusiasm in many facets of life has lost its sparkle. Despite the prevailing *malaise* of our time we have much for which to be thankful. Our membership grows each year and is now greater than ever before. Our yearly publication is well received not only by this membership but, what is perhaps of equal importance, by learned societies of national significance both here and abroad. We begin, as will be seen in this issue, to attract contributions to our publication from outside our own membership—in other words we are becoming recognised as a worthy medium for the diffusion of a particular kind of knowledge.

All this is heart-warming, yet we should not ignore the difficulties which must be faced ahead. Perhaps the most menacing of these arises directly from the twenty-one years which are here celebrated; for these years are also added to the age of not a few of the personnel mainly responsible for the success of the Society and has brought them from active middle-age to the threshold of riper years. It is therefore of the first importance that no opportunity shall be lost to seek out and enlist the help of qualified persons of younger generations. A visit to the shelves of any large library affords numberless instances of societies whose publications mysteriously ceased at Volume 2, 3, or 4; and it may legitimately be suspected that this cessation was more often caused by the lack of enthusiastic personnel than by the lack of funds. Another rock on which it will be only too easy for this Society to founder is the effect of the inflationary tendencies of our time. There is but one way in which we can avoid this—by increasing the number of our subscribers both within our own area and outside it. We may be reaching a saturation point of membership within our own district, for it must be recognised that never more than a small fraction of the population will be attracted to our studies, and it may well be that to attract outside subscribers we must strive constantly to improve our publication. There is a point, even with the high costs of our time, when each new subscriber can represent an increasing "profit" to the Society; for whether we like the thought or not our finances are governed by the same inexorable laws which decree that if there should be but one customer for a mini-car it might cost him £15,000, and only when there are thousands of buyers can the car be sold for a few hundred pounds. We must also beware to maintain (and if possible enhance) all the standards of our Society, not only in our publication but in our lectures and excursions.

In all this there is no necessity for despondency, but there is a large element of challenge. Let us hope it is one which we can successfully meet.

AN ELIZABETHAN SIXPENCE FOUND AT GREAT BOOKHAM

IN MAY 1967, Mrs. J. G. W. Lewarne was standing on the amenity strip of grass and trees between the present Guildford Road and Bookham Grove House (NGR. TQ 135544) when, glancing down, she noticed at her feet a small shining metal object which when she had picked it up was found to be a sixpence dated 1594, the obverse and reverse of which are here illustrated.

This amenity strip until 1946 formed part of the curtilage of Bookham Grove and, consequent upon the construction of the adjacent Council estate and shops with their accommodation roads and the more recent widening of the Guildford road at this point and the building of a public convenience on the strip, the ground has been considerably disturbed of recent years. But, as may be seen from the plan facing page 21 of Vol. 1, No. 9, of these *Proceedings* and the accompanying article on Bookham Grove, until the first quarter of the 18th century this land formed the corner of Great Bookham High Street and the ancient line of Guildford road, part of it being the site of the Parsonage Barn and part belonging to another parcel.

The coin may well have been originally lost by some traveller on the old road to Guildford and have been moved northwards from its original resting place by the recent disturbance of the site. It would probably be no more than a fancy, though a pleasant one, to envisage that it represented a payment to an Elizabethan rector for the purchase of a sack of tithe corn stacked in his barn.

THE LLOYD MARRIAGE GOBLET, 1803

THIS GOBLET, which was illustrated on page 151 of Vol. 2 of these *Proceedings*, commemorates the wedding on 21st August, 1803, of John Lloyd to Elizabeth, widow of Robert Ragge of Leatherhead. It has been generously presented to the Society by the last remaining member of the family, Mrs. Louise Emily Snook, and will, it may be hoped, in due course form an exhibit in a local museum sponsored by the Society.

THE BIRTH OF A LEGEND

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

LEGENDS are almost bound to appear in any research into local history or, for that matter, into national or world history. Only the fact that local history normally penetrates no further back than historical times frees the local researcher from having to deal also with myths.

It is not easy to define either a myth or a legend. An attempt so to do by Margaret F. Malim[1] was "A myth is a tale invented by primitive people to express the observed facts of nature. For instance the early races had a series of sun myths to express the cycle of the seasons. A legend, on the other hand, is a tale embodying the race-memory of an event that actually occurred in the far past. It may be overlaid with all sorts of apocryphal details but at the core lies a definite concrete event . . .".

While otherwise acceptable, this definition does not seem to the present writer to be adequate. Not every myth, e.g. the birth of Minerva, refers to an observed fact of nature; while the story of Danae and the shower of gold might be thought, perhaps cynically, to come more happily within the definition of a legend. Then, again, the existence of the basic legendary fact may be challenged—as witness the 1966 controversy in *The Times* as to whether the Bayeux Tapestry really showed that King Harold was killed by an arrow in the eye (as, it is imagined, every child is informed), or even wounded by one. It is, of course, the fact that both the arrow wound and final death by a knight's sword is confirmed by the Norman poet, Robert Wace[2] a century later.

The Leatherhead area appears to have no stories which can be described as "myths" and only two which can be called "legends". The writer ignores the book *Leatherhead and its Legends*[3] because it contains nothing mythical and nothing legendary in the sense of a story handed down. It is true that the Rev. S. N. Sedgwick has, in many cases, used actual names and actual events but his correlation of them has had no regard to probability or, in some stories, even possibility. As one instance, the romantic story of Robert Darcy, the Leatherhead yeoman and Joan, the cottar's daughter, with the melodramatic intrusion of the villain, the lord of the manor—outlawed at the crucial moment by King Edward III—is sadly ruined by the now known facts. These are that Robert Darcy and his wife Joan became owners of Pachenesham Manor in 1309, eighteen years before Edward III came to the throne, while John, son of Roger D'Aperdele, was outlawed some sixty years later and many years after Robert had died in 1343. It is fair to say that Robert and Joan were probably* only names in 1900 and their connection with Pachenesham Manor may only have become known generally through the present writer's researches into the lords of that Manor in the 14th and 15th centuries.[4] It is a curious fact, however, that Joan *does* seem to have been of undistinguished parentage.[5]

"Pretty stories" or "wildly imaginative fantasies" form suitable descriptions, according to the reader's taste, of these "legends".

The two legends referred to above are, respectively (a) the story of Judge Jeffreys secretly visiting his dying child at The Mansion, Church Street, in 1688 when he was in attempted flight to the Continent and (b) the story that John Wesley preached his last sermon in February 1791, standing under the cedar tree which then stood in the grounds of Kingston House. This building was demolished in the 1930's and replaced by the present Council Offices—the tree being left in the courtyard of these Offices until 1966 when it had to be taken down.

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*Although the Rev. J. Dallaway, in his work referred to later, does note that Robert Darcie "was lord of Pachenesham".

With regard to (a), it is not known how it originated or any actual fact on which it is based. Its first known appearance is in 1809 in Manning and Bray, Vol. 2, at page 664 where it is stated simply "A large house in the South Street has been called The Mansion house. Lord Chancellor Jefferyes resided in it in 1688 when a daughter of his was buried here on 2nd Dec. as appears by the Register." It will be observed that there is no mention of any secrecy or disguise. Yet, only twelve years later, the Rev. James Dallaway, a scholarly and serious antiquarian, published, 1821, an account of Leatherhead, with etchings made by Mrs. Dallaway of scenes in and from the Vicarage garden, in which he refers to the Judge's visit to The Mansion and adds that the Judge was "concealed here in an underground chamber". Dallaway cites no authority for it other than the mere entry in the Parish Registers of the little girl's burial on 2nd December, 1688, but refers to his account as "this genuine little story". He also describes, at some length, the visit as being evidence of the underlying humanity of the notorious Judge who could, in the midst of his great personal danger, spare a thought to his dying child and risk his own person in paying her a flying and final visit. (Mr. F. B. Benger, to whom the present writer is much indebted for assistance in this part of this Article, has suggested that this *apologia* may have been due to the fact that Mrs. Dallaway was a descendant of the Jeffreys family.)

The story of the secret visit is repeated, some eighty years later, in "*Leatherhead and its Legends*" with the usual baseless additions. The author says therein that "local tradition asserts" that the visit took place and adds that "A secret room is still to be seen in which he took refuge". Had the "underground chamber" (? cellar) by now become a "priesthole"? A Leatherhead guide book, published *c.* 1909, repeats the "legend" with gusto.

Doubt has recently been cast, from an unexpected source, upon the whole story—both as to whether the visit (if made) was to The Mansion or to Thorncroft and as to whether the veneer of melodrama bestowed by its alleged secrecy was more than mere invention.[6]

As a result it must now remain doubtful which was, in fact, the building to which the Judge paid his visit (if any); but—as Mr. F. Bastian has pointed out—it does seem clear that Jeffreys could not have been in flight at the time. As his biographer[15] states, the Judge had sent his family for safety to his brother-in-law's house at Leatherhead in November 1688 and, after his daughter's burial on 2nd December, had returned (assuming that he had visited her there) to his duties in London and actually sat in the Chancery Court on 8th December. He made no attempt to escape until the 11th December and was captured at Wapping on the 12th. It does seem obvious that, if the Judge deemed his family as safe in Leatherhead and (until the King's flight on the night of 10/11th December) himself as (reasonably) safe in London, there could have been no possible need for disguise or secret chambers while—and for over a week after—his sick child was still alive.

Before leaving this legend for awhile, it may be of interest to note that the child's burial was a on a Sunday. Further investigation shows that Sunday burials were not then uncommon. Of the twelve Leatherhead burials recorded between 7th October, 1688, and 2nd June, 1689 (both dates inclusive) three were on a Sunday. Sunday burials also occur in the Fetcham Registers.

The legend of "Wesley's Cedar", as the tree has long been called, is, more clearly, entirely fictitious. A full and authenticated account has been given by Mr. F. B. Benger[7] of Wesley's visit and it is perfectly clear therefrom that the sermon was preached in an upstairs room of Kingston House and not in the open air as the latest story related. Apart from the incontrovertible evidence to the contrary it would be most unlikely that even John Wesley, 87 years old and in obviously failing health, would have preached out of doors in the damp cold of a February day.

By 1904 the legend of the tree consisted of[8] "a local tradition that, as Wesley left on the next morning, calling at Balham on his way to London, the villagers gathered on the

public footpath which then crossed the lawn under the cedar tree and Wesley spoke a few words to them, giving his blessing, and they watched, with uncovered heads, the grand old man out of sight."

Pausing here for a moment, it should be explained that, at the end of the 18th century, the westerly portion of the site of Kingston House consisted of Manor waste land. A previous owner of the site adjoining this waste (No. 85 on the 1782/3 map of the centre of Leatherhead)[9] had been granted a right of "pales on the waste"[10] and, although the particular waste is not specified, it would surely have been that adjoining the grantee's messuage. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the right of enclosure explicit in that grant had passed to the new owner—perhaps with a public footpath across a corner of the enclosed waste being preserved. This would account for the "public footpath".

Apart from the question of the tree itself, which will be dealt with later, there is another point in the above-quoted extract which requires comment. The extract suggests, at least, that Wesley spent the night at Kingston House whereas we know, both from his diary and from the account of his companion, Mr. James Rogers, that he spent the night at the house of a clergyman who, Mr. Benger suggests[11]—in all probability—was the Leatherhead curate, the Rev. Mr. Durnford, whose father (and presumably he himself) lived at Elm Bank House at the foot of Gimcrack Hill. Unless Wesley called again at Kingston House before his return journey he would not have passed that dwelling on the normal route to London which would have been (from Elm Bank) either *via* Little and Great Queen Streets (i.e. to the present traffic lights and up the High Street) and then along Green Lane and "over the Downs" to Epsom or *via* Church Lane and the Turnpike Road (both now constituting Church Road) and thence to Epsom. In these modern days when a journey by car to London is as often made by way of Hook and the Kingston Bypass as *via* Epsom, Morden, Clapham, etc., it is an interesting reflection that there was no turnpike towards Kingston until 1810 or just later and only persons proposing to ride to Kingston and then to proceed by river to, perhaps, Westminster, would have done other than follow the old road through Epsom to "London proper". It seems more likely that the "few words and blessing" were uttered when, at about 4 p.m. according to his diary, Wesley left Kingston House for his night's lodging, and workers coming back from the fields at about that hour in February, would be in time to pay their respects to the famous man as he departed.

This was the situation in 1904, but thirty years later (or less) the story had grown from the "few words and blessing" for the villagers under the cedar tree to the actual sermon having been delivered there. The writer has not been able to trace the origin of this embellishment which, as previously stated, has been clearly proved to be a complete invention.

Yet worse is to come; for when the tree was felled in 1966 a count of the rings at the base of the trunk, made by a member of the U.D.C. staff, did not exceed 180. As Wesley's visit was then 175 years ago it is clear that, even allowing for a few errors in the count—forgivable on the rough surface as left by the fellers—the tree could not have been more than a sapling and neither villagers nor a preacher could have stood in its shelter. Doubt has now been expressed even that a cedar tree could have stood there at all in 1791 apart from the question of its age; partly because it must have been planted on land not part of the then existing freehold curtilage and partly because it is thought that cedar trees did not become fashionable until much later.

With regard to the latter point, attention is drawn to *The Times* of 6th February, 1967, which featured a picture of a very large cedar tree planted in 1646 in the former rectory garden at Childrey, near Wantage, and stated to be the oldest in Britain and perhaps the first ever to be grown here. Further, a valuation of the trees on the Polesden Lacy estate in 1818[12] includes one cedar tree of 75 cubic feet. So it cannot be said that cedar trees

were then unknown in this country or even in this district. The date when the cedars at Badingham College (then Fetcham Park House) were planted is not known but it may well have been a little before or at the turn of the 18/19th centuries when the Hankey family acquired the Fetcham property and appear to have carried out extensive alterations.[13] Incidentally, any conifer more than two feet high at the time of final transplanting would require extreme care and attention and, while claiming no forestry knowledge, the writer's opinion is that the 180 rings make it clear that the tree, however small, was there in 1791.

So we are left with a legend controverted by first-hand evidence that the sermon was preached indoors and with a tree which—if it existed at all—could then have sheltered no one.

How do legends such as these originate and develop? Sometimes, perhaps, by the originator's mere desire to create a sensational story, possibly to earn a few more drinks in the village alehouse. A person who "dines out" on a narrative is almost certain, as time goes on, to embellish it with further flourishes. There is also the well-meaning person who does not take in the story properly (perhaps his mind is inclined to wander) and quite unintentionally repeats it in a garbled version. The writer remembers with horror an occasion in 1949 when, after conducting a respected visitor over the excavations of the medieval manorhouse of Pachenesham (*c.* 1200–1380 A.D.) and explaining its history, the visitor calmly published an account of his visit to "the Saxon villa"; and also another visitor to the same site who persisted in referring to it as "Elizabethan" and, on being gently reminded that this was some centuries out, commented, "Oh, well, it's all about the same time"!

As regards the Judge Jeffreys legend, there seems no reason to deny that his visit was made to whichever of the two houses was then occupied by his brother-in-law. There is no record of any activity on the part of the Judge elsewhere during the days in question. His biographer says of the visit simply that the Judge probably heard of his daughter's illness on the 29th November and that "There is a Surrey legend that Jeffreys arrived secretly at dead of night." A late night journey might well have been imperative if the Judge was to see his daughter alive and the "secrecy" may well have been due to the fact that, consequently, no one outside the house knew of his arrival until the next day or even—with all the tragedy—until the day of the funeral. With his arrest and imprisonment so soon afterwards confusion as to events may well have arisen in an excited little village town and, later, Dallaway in his desire to emphasise the Judge's innate normality of human feelings may, unintentionally, have fostered the "cloak and dagger" aspect of the story.

In the case, however, of the cedar tree there would have been too many witnesses to allow any fictional or mistaken flourishes to obtain circulation during their lifetime. After more than a century the only additions to the real facts were the "Farewell" *under* the tree and, possibly, the actual occasion of the departure from Kingston House. The latter seems to the writer a mild deviation over such a long period but there must have been something more to account for the tree. One possible explanation is that, many years after the event, an actual spectator, in his old age, was pointing out the spot where he stood to watch Wesley leave Kingston House and that spot was then under the branches of the cedar—now tall and widely spreading (whether or not it had actually been there in 1791)—and the listeners might well not have realised that the tree could only have been very tiny at that date and that no one could then have stood, as now they did, under its pleasing umbrage. (It is, however, earnestly to be hoped that this very tentative suggestion for the 1904 legend will not put a *new* legend into circulation!)

The later addition of the sermon, itself, under the tree does not seem capable of rational explanation. Anything from a mere misunderstanding to deliberate hyperbole (a "journalistic effusion" if preferred) may have been the cause. Readers of this Society's *Proceedings*

may remember the late Mr. Ginger's reference[14] to the ecstatic correspondent of the local newspaper who likened the gay appearance of Leatherhead at the Jubilee celebrations of 1897 to Venice at carnival time!

Like most legends, those of the dangerous and secret visit to a dying child and the sermon under the cedar tree make colourful and pleasing stories. It is a great pity that, in the interests of local history, they and any other misconceptions have, when discovered, to be ruthlessly destroyed.

NOTES

1. Article in *Antiquity*, June 1931, p. 217.
2. As quoted by Sir E. S. Creasey in *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* (Simpkin Marshall &c., 42nd Edn., pp. 206 and 211).
3. Written by the Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, one time curate of Leatherhead, published 1900.
4. See this Society's *Proceedings*, 1952, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 15ff.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
6. See *Proceedings*, 1955, Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 30, para. 2, and *ibid.*, 1962, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 183.
7. See *Proceedings*, 1965, Vol. 2, No. 9, pp. 265ff.
8. In a booklet, *The Scene of Wesley's Last Sermon* by the Rev. Arthur Ward, published in 1904 and reprinted 1929.
9. In *Proceedings*, 1963, Vol. 2, No. 7, facing p. 206.
10. *Quit Rents of Manor of Pachenesham & Leatherhead, 1783*; Kingston Record Office, S/C 6/19.
11. See Note 7 above.
12. *Accessions* of this Society, W 112.
13. See *Proceedings*, 1957, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 26/27.
14. See *Proceedings*, 1953, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 13.
15. Montgomery Hyde, *Judge Jeffreys*, 1948.

TWO FETCHAM HOUSES DEPICTED IN OLD PAINTINGS

I. THE COCK INN and COCK GREEN. DOMINIC SERRES, 1759

By L. RUSSELL MUIRHEAD, M.A., F.S.A.

IT IS A FAR CRY from Auch, in Gascony, to Fetcham in Surrey, yet a connection between the two is established in an attractive landscape (lent by H. M. Luther) which was exhibited this summer (1967) at Kenwood in Hampstead, the gallery of the Iveagh Bequest belonging to the Greater London Council, in their exhibition "The Origins of Landscape Painting in England". The painting, entitled "A View of Cock Green" is dated 1759 and signed by Dominic Serres.

The painter is one of that remarkable body of men who have sprung from the strip of country lying in France just north of the Pyrenees. Among its notable natives, chosen at random, are Marshal Bernadotte, founder of the royal house of Sweden; Lord Ligonier, who achieved high rank in the British army; and Marshal Foch, who needs no description —not to mention an inexhaustible succession of first-class Rugby players who have formed, and still form, the backbone of the great French fifteens.

Dominique Serres was born in 1722 in the small cathedral town of Auch in S.W. France, of a well-to-do family who destined the boy for the Church. He, however, saw otherwise, and ran away to sea; starting as an ordinary deck-hand, he became master of a trading vessel. He was captured by the British and brought to England in 1752. With characteristic adaptability he decided to develop his talent for drawing; he evidently found the climate of England to his liking, for he married, englished his first name to Dominic, and soon set up as a "painter of naval pieces". In this work he received encouragement from the naval painter Charles Brooking, and soon afterwards he became friendly with Paul Sandby, the virtual founder of the English School of topographical landscape. Marine painting

THE COCK INN, COCK GREEN, FETCHAM
(now known as Nos. 75 and 77 The Street)
Reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. H. M. Luther

had been in high favour since the days of Charles II; and although many English maritime painters were inspired by the success of Canaletto (who painted for ten years in England) to depict rather riverside scenes and townscapes with water, Dominic Serres did not; he persevered and carved out a fortunate career as a marine painter. He became a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1765, and in 1768 was invited to become a founder member of the Royal Academy of Arts. Being a good linguist he was chosen as librarian of the Academy in 1792, and was appointed Marine Painter to George III.

Many of his marine and seashore paintings are to be seen at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and elsewhere; but this does not account for the entirely un-nautical painting of Cock Green, which is quite uncharacteristic of Dominic. How he came to paint it is a mystery, but a possible explanation lies in his friendship with Sandby, who worked a great deal in the neighbourhood of Richmond and Windsor, neither of which is very far from Leatherhead. Another possibility is that Serres had been commissioned by one or more of the three admirals living locally (Edward Boscawen of Hatchlands, West Horsley, died 1761; Thomas Brodrick of Bookham Grove, died 1769; Sir Francis Geary of Polesden, died 1796) to produce a pictorial record of a naval action in which the patron had been involved. This would obviously require a good deal of consultation

and preliminary sketching to achieve a semblance of veracity. Here is an opportunity for further research.

The actual building shown appears to be the former Cock Inn, represented to-day by a pair of cottages—Yew Tree Cottage and Tea Tree Cottage—in Fetcham Street.[1] The green has disappeared under bricks and mortar; but in 1759 there were only two buildings there; the inn and the lately-demolished Pound Farm. Although much pulled about and rebuilt, the cottages can be almost certainly identified with the building in Dominic's picture; the timber studding is no longer visible outside, but it is there all right, and the disposition of the chimney is correct.

For directing me in the first instance to Cock Green (with which I was hitherto unfamiliar) I am indebted to Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A. (late of Little Bookham) who sketched the cottages in 1943 for the wartime "First Aid for Buildings" scheme.

Title of Cock Inn, as set out in a document at the Surrey Record Office, Ref. S.R.O 19/9/37

24.10.1733 Maner of Fetcham.

At a General Court then held the Homage did present a certain surrender made since the then last court bearing the date 21st June 1733 "that Thomas Faulkner . . . victualler one of the copyholders and customary tenants surrendered to the Lord of the Manor, all that customary messuage or tenement and dwelling house of him the said Thomas Faulkner, sheep barn, outhouses and building and orchards, garden and land.

To the use of the said Thomas Faulkner and Mary his then intended wife being the daughter of John Peter of Fetcham and during the natural lifes and the life of the survivor.

To the use of the said Thomas Faulkner his heirs and assigns forever.

21.10.1743

At a court held the Homage did present that on 30th May in that year Thomas Faulkner and Mary his wife surrendered to the Lord of the Manor

"All that customary messuage together with shop, barn, stable etc.

To the use of John Peters of Chiswick Mdx Gent subject to if Thomas Faulkner and Mary his wife pay to John Peters the sum of £80 with interest at the rate of 4% on 30.5.1744 then void".

9.10.1752

John Peters by his will of this date bequeathed to his brother Thomas Peters £50 and to his four sons £50 apiece unto his sister Mary Faulkner £50 and to her son £50 and unto the daughter of Mary Faulkner £100.

(P.R.O. Cant 9.3.1753)

8.10.1772 Manor of Fetcham

At a Court Baron held it was presented that since the then last court Thomas Faulkner customary tenant died seized of . . . shop, barn, etc.

Thomas Faulkner son admitted.

25.4.1777

Deed poll by Mary Faulkner widow. By will of her brother John Peters left her £50 not paid. Mary Faulkner in consideration of love for her son Thomas Faulkner grants the Cock to Thomas Faulkner.

11.4.1778

Indenture between Thomas Faulkner and Thomas Cooper victualler in consideration of £100. Cooper is lawfully seized.

17.10.1778

Court Baron presented that on 20th February Thomas Faulkner surrendered unto the hands of the Lord of the Manor. The premises before described except the lower end of the orchard as far as within 3 feet from the largest apple tree which should be about 2/3rds down said orchard contains about 12 rods more or less and it was then stumped and marked out.

To use of Thomas Cooper Rent 5d.

At the same court Thomas Cooper surrendered to use of his wife.

20.10.1802

Copy of Court Roll reciting said Thomas Cooper's admission on surrender of Thomas Faulkner at court held 17.10.1778 and also his admissions last therein abstracted to the Chappel House. And that his death was presented 3.10.1800 and the first declaration then made.

At that Court came Henry William Coffin and producing the will of Thomas Cooper prayed to be admitted to the Cock Public House late in occupation of Thomas Faulkner then John Shearing. And also to all the said customary messuage tenement, barn stable gardens and orchard called Chappel House in Fetcham with the appurtenances then used in part as a brewhouse in the occupation of the executors and overseer of said Thomas Cooper and a Public House called or known by the name of the Rising Sun in the occupation of James Waller.

From the Vestry Book of Fetcham Parish

3.9.1809

It was resolved that it should be respectfully represented to the Bench of Magistrates as the opinion of this Vestry founded on long observation and thorough knowledge of the state of the labouring poor of this parish that there are too many public houses in the parish and that as by the death of John Shearing who kept the house by the Sign of the Cock that licence might be suppressed without any injustice or injury. The same should be submitted to the better judgement of the Gentlemen of the Bench.

2.9.1810

The minute of vestry of 3.9. last year recommending the suppression of the licence of the Cock Public House was reconsidered; and, upon representation of Mr. Clark brewer in Leatherhead who attended and stated that his interest would be materially injured by the suppression of the licence immediately. The vestry, tho' still convinced of the propriety and necessity of reducing the number of public houses in the parish have agreed, in consideration of Mr. Clark's representation not to oppose the application for the licence for one year more: but with the express understanding and promise from Mr. Clark that the house shall then cease to be a public house. J. G. W. L.

II. DR. MONRO'S HOUSE, BELL LANE, FETCHAM. WILLIAM ALEXANDER, 1802

By F. J. G. JEFFERISS, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

THIS "REGENCY" STYLE four-bedroomed house standing in its own garden now surrounded by modern "commuters'" dwellings with a new school at one side belongs to the Surrey County Council, is rented to Mr. L. R. Williams, and is now known as Fetcham Cottage.

Recently a water colour drawing of it by William Alexander, librarian of the British Museum until 1816, came into the possession of the Museum showing that the house has changed little since 1802, the date of the drawing, which is entitled "Dr. Monro's Cottage at Fetcham".

Dr. Thomas Monro (1759 to 1833) was physician to the Royal Bethlem Hospital and attended George III in his illness but is better remembered as a patron of the water colour artists of that time. J. M. W. Turner, T. Girtin, J. Varley, P. DeWint and many other young artists were helped by him and came to his London house at Adelphi Terrace between 1795 and 1805 to draw and paint under his direction. He had many close friends also among the water colour artists of his own age especially J. R. Cozens, whom he cared for in his fatal illness, T. Hearne, H. Edridge, W. Alexander, J. Hoppner, and Joseph Farington. The latter kept a diary of great historical interest to the art world, a shortened edition of which has been published.

It seems that Dr. Monro rented Fetcham Cottage from about 1795 to 1804 from a Mr. Hankey, a banker who resided at Fetcham Park. This is deduced from various references from Farington's diary and other pointers. Dr. Monro's father died at the end of 1791 and he was not in a financial position to own a country house until after then as he and his wife had had to live in his father's house in Bedford Square and remained there until 1793 when they moved to 8 Adelphi Terrace. It would have been unlikely for him to take another house immediately. It is not unreasonable therefore to estimate that 1795 would be the probable date of his acquiring the house but there is no evidence to show that he did not have it earlier, though as the house did not appear in the 1791 map of Fetcham (see *Proceedings*, Volume 2, Number 9), it could not have been earlier than that date. The first clue is in Farington's diary on July 15th, 1797, when he says "Hoppner I called

DR. THOMAS MONRO'S HOUSE AT FETCHAM
(now known as Fetcham Cottage, Bell Lane)
Reproduced by permission from the original in the British Museum

on. He was out of town at Dr. Monro's." On April 11th, 1801, he says "Dr. Monro wanted me to come to his house near Leatherhead in July or August next". In July 1803 he describes his visit "to Dr. Monro's at Fetcham" and adds "Dr. Monro's house belongs to Mr. Hanbury (*sic*), a banker, who has a house at Fetcham. He has improved it much but doubts about keeping it after his term is expired." On September 3rd, 1803, he says "Dr. Monro pressed me to go again to Fetcham this autumn." The next clue is in the diary of Dr. Thomas's eldest son, Edward Thomas, which starts in 1806. On July 3rd of that year he says "Papa drew a plan of house. Saw an old house Papa thought of taking." On August 19th he says "From Brighton to Burford Bridge on the stage with Henry [his brother]. Dined there and went to Twickenham in a returning postchaise." The first item suggests that Dr. Monro was looking for another house in 1806 and the second that he no longer had a house at Fetcham or they would have called there while in the neighbourhood. This diary first mentions Dr. Monro's next and final country house at Bushey, Herts., in June 1807. It seems, therefore, that all one can say with certainty is that Dr. Monro parted with Fetcham Cottage after 1803 and before 1806. The dates therefore of Dr. Monro's occupation stated above are approximate.

The following additional extracts from the typescript copy of Farington's complete diary at the British Museum are of interest in connexion with Fetcham Cottage.

"2.7.1803. Fulham. I dined at half past three at Hoppner's and a little before six set off with him in his one Horse Chaise and went to Dr. Monro's at Fetcham a mile beyond Leatherhead in Surrey where we got in three hours after a delightful ride. Hearne is now employed by Mr. Harman and Lord Essex.

3.7.1803. Rose twenty after eight. About twelve Dr. Monro and Edridge in one gig with Hoppner drove to Norbury Park, Mr. Lock's, where we passed some time sitting at different points to view the prospect. We returned by the pleasant village of Bookham where Edridge has lodgings. Dr. Monro and Hoppner took each a glass of the preparation of Senna and Cardomoms which they find great benefit from. Dr. Monro's house belongs to Mr. Hankey, a banker, who has a house at Fetcham. He has improved it much but doubts about keeping it after his term is expired. We dined a little after five and walked in the garden in the evening. Beautiful weather and a fine full moon. At half past eleven we went to bed.

4.7.1803. We went to the top of a high situation which commanded a very fine view of the country, Dorking etc. were features in the landscape. At this place Dr. Monro has a strong desire to build a small house.
We stopped at a hamlet called Abinger, on the grass before a small Alehouse we dined on provisions which we had carried with us."

It seems that his four famous artist friends mentioned above visited Dr. Monro and it is very probable that he took his pupils, Turner, Girtin, and others there to draw. There are certainly drawings of Bookham and Polesden Lacey by J. Varley done, no doubt, when he was staying at Fetcham. It also appears to be established that John Sell Cotman spent the summer of 1799 at Dr. Monro's cottage at Fetcham.[2]

Thus Fetcham Cottage has been associated with many of the most famous water-colour artists of the most important period in the history of this art and therefore should if possible be preserved as a permanent memorial to them.

NOTES

1. Yew Tree Cottage and Tea Tree Cottage are Grade II buildings listed in the Statutory List of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and are Nos. 6470–71 in the Surrey County Council *List of Antiquities*, 5th edition, 1965.
2. "In the summer of 1799—that is to say, in the very first summer after his arrival in London—Cotman took an excursion into Surrey for the purpose of sketching from nature, and in the following year exhibited no fewer than five drawings of Dorking, Guildford, and Leatherhead"—S. C. Kaines Smith, M.A., F.S.A. *Cotman*. 1926, p. 10.

A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

XII. FETCHAM ENCLOSURE AWARD 1813

By J. G. W. LEWARNE

ENCLOSURES of Common Fields and Wastes have been a gradual process over many centuries. In May 1517 commissions were issued to persons to take evidence in various counties about how much land had been enclosed since 1488 and what houses and other buildings had been destroyed. These enquiries were related to the Acts of 1489 which had enjoined the maintenance or restoration of buildings connected with agriculture. This Act had not been effective; another enactment took place in 1515 and Wolsey's commission of 1517 and others similar in 1518 and 1526 resulted in the punishment of certain offenders against the 1515 Act and in the destruction of some enclosing boundaries. But in the main, circumstances were too strong even for Wolsey and Enclosures continued.[1]

Cultivation methods were associated with three fields in cultivated strips around which were the common lands, woodland and waste, and which were open to the use of all villagers. Reference to the 1791 map of Fetcham will serve to show something of the pattern in the parish of Fetcham.[2] It will be observed that parcel 385 is the remains of the Common Downs, parcel 384 the remains of the Common, and the area of the West and East Fields may be detected and small traces of a North Field can be inferred. The 1791 map does not indicate early enclosures and these will be dealt with later.

The generative cause of successive enclosures was to achieve a better use of the land available. Thus during the sixteenth century there was much interest in experiments for improving soil cultivation and introducing new crops. During the first half of this century there was a high demand for English wool, most of which was woven for export to Flanders. The price until the slump of 1551 was high and therefore there was a desire of both landowners and farmers to organise their land into a continuous area around which permanent fencing could be erected to keep animals out and stock in. The solution sought was enclosure of strip fields and grazing. Three methods were used to achieve these ends:—

1. Exchange of strips as between owners thus getting compact units.
2. A landowner getting control of holdings let to tenants who were evicted as customary dues were not paid.
3. A tenant might die and dues payable by son or other person increased to an impossible amount.

These enclosures were a serious evil only when arable land was converted to pasture. The latter needed less labour and the result was vagrancy in many instances.

By the end of the reign of Elizabeth I the demand for wool had reached stability and further enclosures ceased for a time.[3] About half the population in Stuart times possessed land on which they lived, but the eighteenth century carried a very long way the revolution by which the rich became masters of the land. Not until twenty years after the death of Charles I did Parliament pass a General Enclosure Act which facilitated the passing of private bills and between 1760 and 1797 there were no less than 1539 private Enclosure Acts by which the estates of gentry were nicely rounded off, while the yeomen became tenant farmers liable to rack-renting and eviction. "The rich made laws as Members of Parliament and administered them as Justices of the Peace. It thus became impossible for the poor to obtain justice. In many cases commons were enclosed without adequate compensation to those who had rights on them. The position may be summarised admirably in the lines

The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common
But lets the greater villain loose
Who steals the common off the goose.

MAP 12

SCALE OF YARDS

Marginal Markings refer to the National Grid

1813
Parish of Fetcham
Surrey
Enclosure Award Map

Thos. Crawter

Thos. Smallpeice

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

FLSH. dolc. 1967.

Ever since the Stuarts the rich had been getting richer and the poor getting poorer and by the beginning of the twentieth century the process was complete."[4]

On the other hand it must be recognised that the old system did not permit of efficiency in agriculture and even to-day a similar process obtains with increasingly large farm units to take advantage of mechanization. Unfortunately many have suffered as these developments took place.

At a Vestry held on 3rd July 1803 "it was determined and agreed that a valuation of the Parish of Fetcham should be made by the Commissioners appointed by the Act of Parliament for enclosing the said Parish, viz Daniel Mumford, George Smallpeice, and Thomas Crawter. N. B. Henry Bray is appointed by the said Commissioners and James Dewdney by Mr. H. Ellis to value the Mill in the said Parish now in the occupation of the said H. Ellis.

Present—K. Sherson, Rector, Geo. Richardson, Jos. Nash, Rob. Sherson, Henry Bray, H. Ellis, John Benifold and H. Bailey (for James Lawrell Esq.)"[5]

It is noted that all the persons present were persons of substance. It was not until 1813 that the Award was made. The document comprises ten membranes with accompanying map drawn to a scale of 6 chains=1 inch.

The parcel numbers on the map conform to those used in the 1791 Tithe map (except where plots have been sub-divided)[6] with additional references for the allotments enclosed. The latter are stated to have been made "according to Equity and Good Conscience and without favour or affection, prejudice or partiality to any person or persons whatsoever."

Initially, provisions relating to roads and their repair state:—

(a) Turnpike Road. 30 feet wide between fences.

(b) Public Roads. Grass and herbage to belong to the frontage owners and maintenance shall be a charge on the Inhabitants and Occupiers of land, etc.

(c) Private Carriage Roads.

1. Private Carriage Road or Drift Way — No. 1 Width 30 Feet
2. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, — No. 2 Width 20 Feet
3. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, — No. 3 Width 20 Feet
4. ,, ,, ,, ,, Bridle Road and Footpath — No. 4 Width 16 Feet

for the use of the owner or occupier of the then Rectorial Tithes of the Parish of Fetcham for the time being for ever for the purpose of passing to and from the said lands called Sheepbell Farm and Slifield Farm for the conveyance of Tithes therefrom and for no other purpose whatsoever.

These Private Roads are to be the exclusive property of the owners of the adjoining allotments.

To provide funds to defray the charges and expenses of obtaining and passing the Act and surveying and allotting the lands to be enclosed and making good the roads, etc., certain lands were sold at public auction as follows:—

Date	*Parcel No.*	*Area* A R P	*Purchaser*	*Price*
2.11.1801	358	20	Mrs. Elizabeth Hankey	£540
22.2.1802	Lot 1	7	Thomas Scarvell Esq.	£294
Do.	Lot 2	7	Do.	£294
Do.	Lot 3	7	Do.	£343
Do.	Lot 4	7 2 7	Do.	£262 10s. 0d.
Do.	Lot 5	6 1 33	James Lawrell Esq.	£260
	TOTAL	55 Acres		£1993 10s. 0d.

The Act of 1801 required that particulars of the Award be posted on the Church door to give an opportunity for appeals, but as the preamble states "No dispute or doubt having arisen between the Inhabitants and Proprietors of Lands in the Parish . . ." no objections appear to have been made.

The Award is dated 30.8.1813 and is signed by George Smallpeice, Thomas Crawter, and John Doyley. The results are summarized below:—

To whom allotted	*Parcel*	*Area* A	R	P	*Remarks*
James Lawrell Esq.	411	12	1	26	Freehold. As Lord of Manor in lieu of right in and to soil of all Commons and Wastes.
	413	2	3	35	Freehold.
	396	5	–	15	Freehold. Sold to J. B. Hankey.
Rev. A. K. Sherson and Successors	403	44	3	15	In recompense for Tithes great and small and other dues and payments relating to lands inclosed which four allotments are equal in value to 1/5th of all arable land and 1/8th of grass and greensward to be inclosed. Freehold.
	400	3	2	9	
	401	6	–	11	
	390	27	–	–	
	407	10	–	38	In right of glebe. Freehold.
	391	4	2	8	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
	416	3	2	22	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
Inhabitants of Fetcham	427		3	35	Freehold Public Gravel Pit.
Churchwardens and	442		2	28	Freehold.
Overseers of Poor	399	4	–	10	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
of Fetcham	417	2	2	38	,, ,, ,, ,,
Thomas Atkinson	443	1	1	13	Freehold.
John Akehurst	436		3	13	Copyhold.
John Butcher	429		2	22	Copyhold. Sold to R. Sherson.
John Burgess	441		2	31	Copyhold.
Thomas Cole	428		3	2	Copyhold. Sold to R. Sherson.
Exors of Thos Cooper	426	1	1	14	,, ,, ,, ,,
Miles Denby	431		2	18	,, ,, ,, ,,
Churchwardens and	425	3	2	35	Freehold.
Overseers of Poor of Epsom	394	7	3	34	,,
Sir William Geary	419			32	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
Zachary Goldring	434	1	1	14	Freehold.
Matthew Goodwin	418		3	30	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
John Griffiths	430		2	17	Copyhold. Sold to R. Sherson.
John Barnard Hankey	397	63	–	26	Freehold.
	393	57	3	14	,,
	392	78	2	17	,,
	408	6	3	14	,,
	398 & 398a	3	–	23	,,
	406	2	1	8	,,
	389	76	1	4	,,
	444			5	,,
	438	2	2	26	,,
	440	1	2	36	,,

To whom allotted	*Parcel*	*Area* A	R	P	*Remarks*
John Barnard Hankey	420	18	2	13	Freehold
	424	20	2	25	,,
	423	21	3	31	,,
	422	6	–	28	,,
	433	1	2	36	,,
Maria Highmore	409	2	3	32	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
Robert Sherson	415	2	3	35	,, ,, ,, ,,
James Styles	435		2	21	Freehold. Sold to John Walker.
T'tees of Slifield Estate	412	22	–	11	Freehold. Sold to J. Lawrell.
Elizabeth Withall	414	7	3	6	,, ,, ,, ,,
	405	5	2	3	Freehold
	404	2	3	27	,,
John Walker	437	6	2	11	,,
	439	1	–	17	Copyhold.
	402	10	–	23	Freehold. Sold to Honourable Marmaduke Dawney.
Edward Waterer	395	7	1	1	Copyhold. Sold to James Lawrell.
	410		3	30	Copyhold.
William Wade	432	1	1	25	Freehold. Sold to R. Sherson.

Details of Exchanges subsequently agreed, including certain sales listed in the allotments above:—

1. To James Lawrell. Cottage and Barn etc and parcel of arable land containing 1 acre 2 roods 29 perches in Great Bookham. Also £117 14s. to be paid him by Maria Highmore.
   To Maria Highmore. Enfranchisement of Farm called Roydens Farm 363 to 371 inclusive and allotment 409.
2. To John B. Hankey. Parcel 412 and Meadow Land 345 containing 1 acre 11 perches.
   To T'tees of Slifield Estate. Parcels 94 to 98 inclusive containing together 15 acres 1 rood 25 perches. Also £172 15s. 6d. to be paid by John Barnard Hankey.
3. To James Lawrell. Plots 415 and 416.
   To Rev. A. K. Sherson. Enfranchisement of Copyhold premises of said Rev. A. K. Sherson within the Manors of Fetcham and Cannon Court. Also £58 6s. 3d. to be paid by James Lawrell.
4. To James Lawrell. Plots 399 and 417 and also all the old enclosed lands 257, 259, 260, 372, and 374 with buildings thereon.
   To Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of Fetcham. Perpetual Sum or Annual Rent Charge payable for ever out of the estates of James Lawrell in the parish of Fetcham. Also a cottage for use of the poor. (No amount of the Rent Charge is quoted.)
5. To James Lawrell. Plots 412, 420, 423, and 424. Also plot 236 containing 2 acres 3 roods 12 perches, and £751 0s. 9d. to be paid by J. B. Hankey.
   To John B. Hankey. Enfranchisement of Copyhold Estates belonging to J. B. Hankey in the Parish of Fetcham. Also timber in plot 388, Meadow lands 329, and 330, together with allotment 419 and plot 399.
6. To Rev. A. K. Sherson. Cottages and premises on plots 15, 16, and 17, and allotment 406.
   To John B. Hankey. Plot 251 (Clarks Close. 9 acres 3 roods 18 perches.)
7. To Rev. A. K. Sherson. Plots 4 and 5.
   To J. B. Hankey. Plot 238.

8. To James Lawrell. Allotment 422.
To John B. Hankey. Allotment 396.

In the text of the Award certain plots are termed "old enclosures". Nothing is at present known about these early enclosures but from their position it may be inferred that

Plot 9 belonged to the West Field;

Plots 6 and 40 may have been part of the North Field;

Plots 30, 39, 92, 98, 236, 257, 259, 260, 362, 364, 372, 373, and 374 belonged to the Common.

Plots 156 and 347 were part of the Common Meadows.

Plot 289 was originally part of Monks Green.

Plot 309 was part of Cock Green.

The article accompanying the reproduction of the 1791 Tithe Map of Fetcham will be of interest in fitting these conjectures into the early Common Field pattern of Fetcham.[7]

Thus all the land in Fetcham Parish was enclosed and the stage was set by the concentration of the land into the hands of the few, for the developments which were to take place a century later.

The reproduction of the Enclosure Award Map now published is the work of H. L. Meed, Esq. The Society is once again greatly indebted to him for his accurate and artistic draughtmanship which is such an important contribution.

The thanks of the author are also extended to the Rector and Churchwardens of Fetcham for permission to use the Enclosure Award document.

NOTES

1. S. Reed-Brett, The Tudor Century 1488–1603, Harrap, 1962, p. 62.
2. *Proceedings* of the Society, Volume 2, page 258, *et seq.*
3. The Tudor Century, page 115.
4. Sir Charles Petrie, Scenes of Edwardian Life, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1965.
5. Vestry Minutes, Parish of Fetcham.
6. *Proceedings* of the Society, Volume 2, page 258, *et seq.*
7. *Ibid.*

THE EARLY CHURCH AT GREAT BOOKHAM

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

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

Abacus: flat stone on top of a capital.
Arcade: row of arches.
Capital: carved stone at top of column or pier.
Chamfer: surface made by smoothing off the angle of two faces.
Collar beam: horizontal cross-beam of roof above level of side walls.
Cornice: decorative projection along wall-top.
Face-alternate: quoins set so that their shortest sides are vertical and their longest sides project in alternate directions from the angle.
Herring-bone set: laid diagonally in a zig-zag pattern.
Impost: stone bracket on wall to support arch.
Jamb: side of opening through wall.
Jamb-shaft: thin vertical column flanking an opening.
Keel-moulded: like a ship's keel seen in cross-section.
Knapped: broken to show a flattish surface.
Pier: support for an arch (not round like a column).
Quoin: stones at the angles of a building.
Re-entrant: hollow (as opposed to projecting).
Respond: pier or column built into a wall.
Scalloped: carved in a series of semi-circles.
Spandrel: area between the top of a column or pier and the apexes of the arches springing from it.
Splay: sloping face.
Stiffleaf trefoil: three-lobed leaves arranged in rows.
Stringcourse: continuous horizontal moulding projecting from wall surface.
Trussed rafter: composed of sloping rafters and crossbeams, without longitudinal horizontal purlins or ridge-piece.
Voussoir: wedge-shaped stone forming part of a curved arch.

IN 1913 some of the plaster was removed from the north nave wall of St. Nicolas Church, Great Bookham, revealing two blocked round-headed windows. The discoverer, P. M. Johnston, wrote a detailed account of them in a wider study of the church;[1] with minor corrections, this forms the architectural content of the present guide book.[2] In short, Johnston suggested that the original church covered the area of the present nave (possibly with a short chancel to eastward), and that the tower and chancel arches were cut through its east and west walls. In the twelfth century the south wall was demolished when the aisle was built and an arcade constructed, and later the north wall was pierced when that aisle was added and a tower built against the west wall. So things remained until the erection of the fourteenth century chancel and later extensions.

A fresh look at the fabric raises doubts about this hypothesis, and an alternative interpretation may be put forward. This is not to denigrate Johnston's work: his careful and scholarly paper must form the basis of any future research, but much of the fabric was still ivy-covered in his day, and the study of architectural history has advanced considerably in the last fifty years.

The chancel

The foundation inscription "*hec domus abbate fuerat constructa Johanne de Ruthrwyka decus ob Sancti Nicholai anno milleno triceno bisque viceno primo*" cannot relate to the entire fabric (since obviously earlier work survives in the nave and tower) but had been taken to refer to the chancel, whose window tracery is of a style current in 1341. Below the knapped flint facing of the exterior are rough courses of what Johnston called "re-used Norman stones". But are they re-used, and are they Norman? In the main they consist of roughly squared blocks of white or yellow sandstone, sometimes granitic, laid in rough courses on a square-sectioned plinth of similar blocks (face area about one square foot) with wide mortared joints and levelled up to the quoins. These quoins are enormous pieces of stone (up to 53 inches in maximum dimension and roughly 7 cubic feet in maximum volume), two being of iron-stained pebbly conglomerate (carstone); they were laid in face-alternate fashion, as the detailed drawing (Figs. A, B) shows. None of the blocks now shows the parallel diagonal tooling characteristic of Norman masonry—some are very roughly dressed with irregular pick-marks, and they have been disturbed for the insertion

of the north and south windows. In the east wall the blocks are topped by a few layers of flint below a string-course, above which the angle quoins are made up from odd pieces of stone, including one that appears to have served as a door-pivot support. The chancel walls are about 2 ft. 10 in. thick (including internal plaster) and are not parallel from east to west. No substantial Roman building is known in the vicinity to provide a handy source for the megaliths; the style of the lower masonry could well be Saxon or early Norman.

The western part of the chancel has been considerably altered. The chancel arch (rebuilt in 1846–8) is carried up to a rough low apex at the level of the collar-beams of the trussed-rafter roof. It does not form a gable to the roof, which is of the same height and width throughout nave and chancel. The arches of the nave arcades abutting the chancel have been rebuilt from rough responds, and all is heavily plastered; one or two brick quoins are visible, but a single dressed stone (c) below the pulpit may mark a buttress; it occupies the re-entrant angle between the chancel arch and the buttress carrying the roof cornice above the organ.

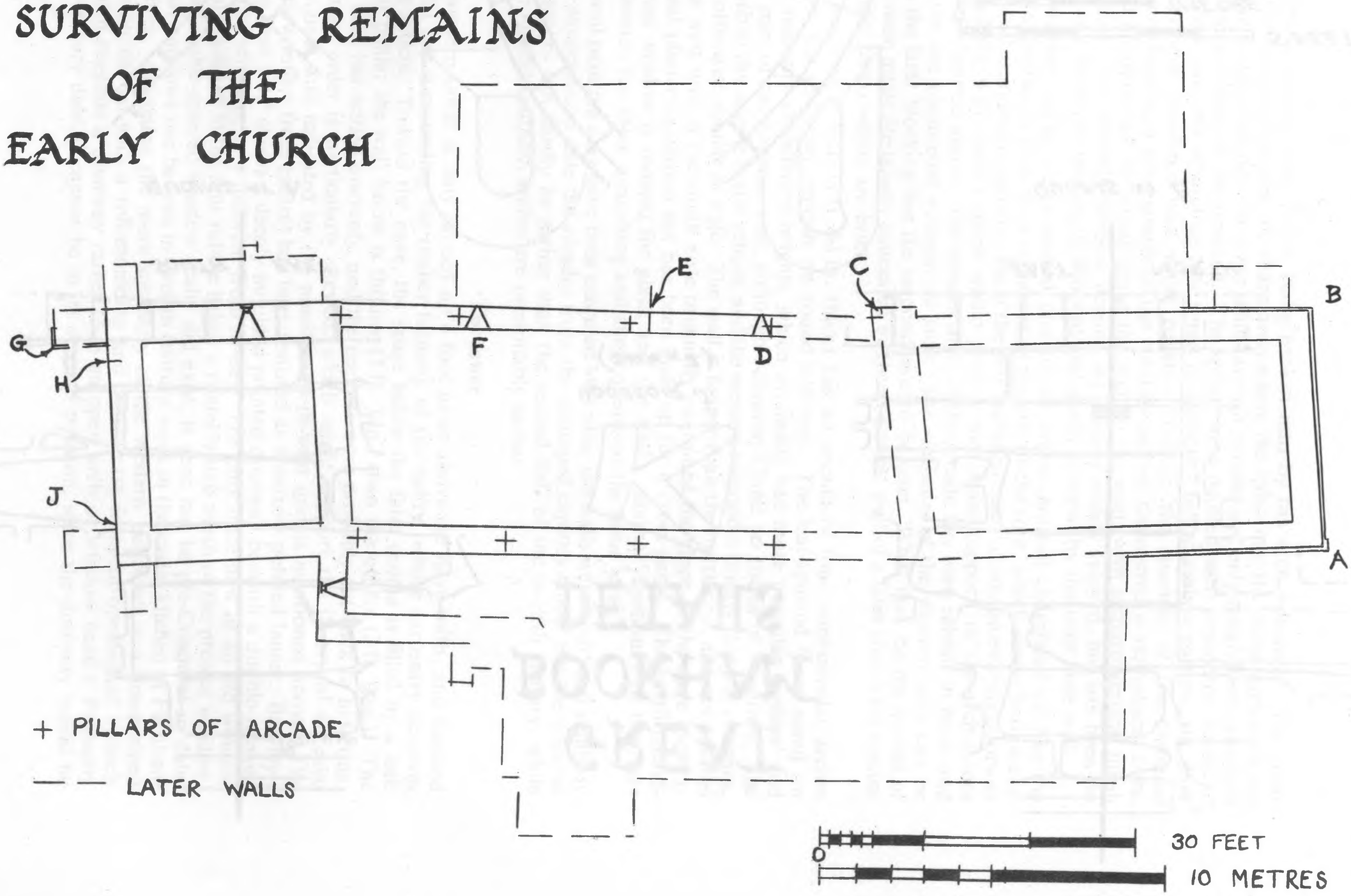
WINDOW D AS FIRST UNCOVERED IN 1913
Reproduced by courtesy of The National Monuments Record

The nave

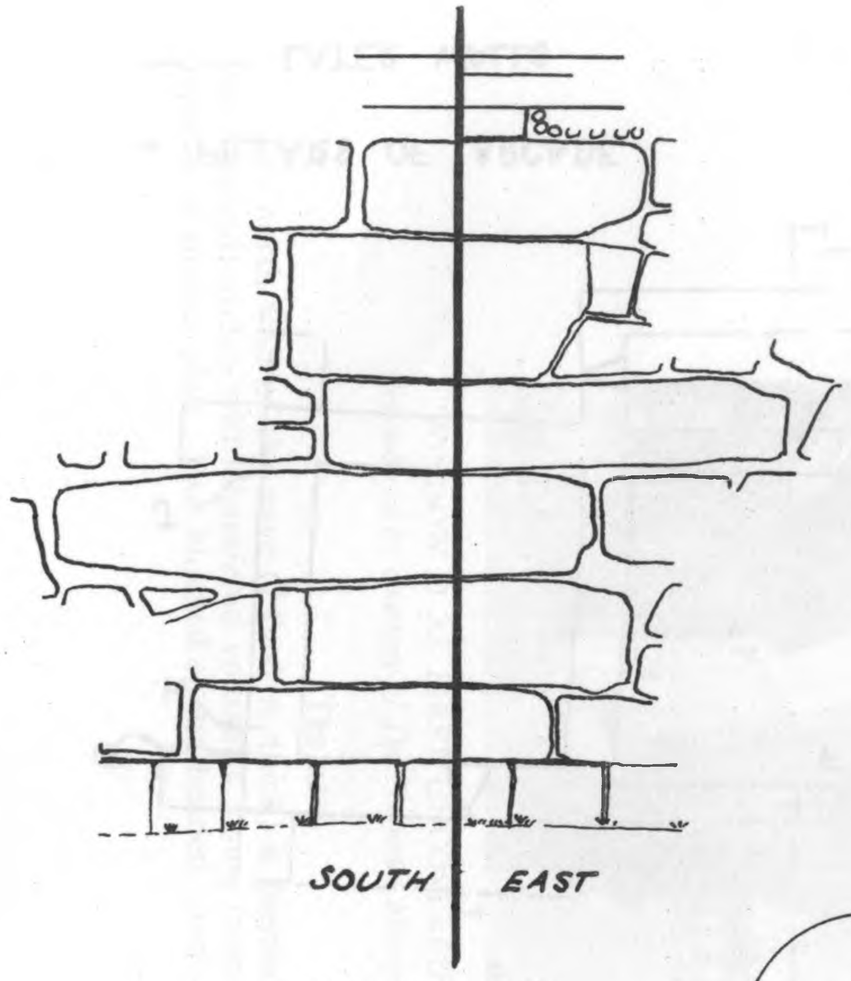
The north wall of the nave (2 ft. 6 in. thick) is pierced by an arcade of four pointed (two-centred) arches with chamfered voussoirs, rising from octagonal piers with scalloped capitals of similar plan. Two blocked round-headed windows were found in the spandrels

GREAT BOOKHAM

SURVIVING REMAINS OF THE EARLY CHURCH

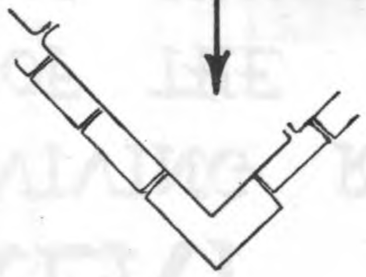


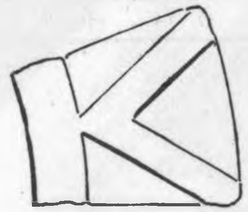
GREAT BOOKHAM DETAILS



SOUTH EAST

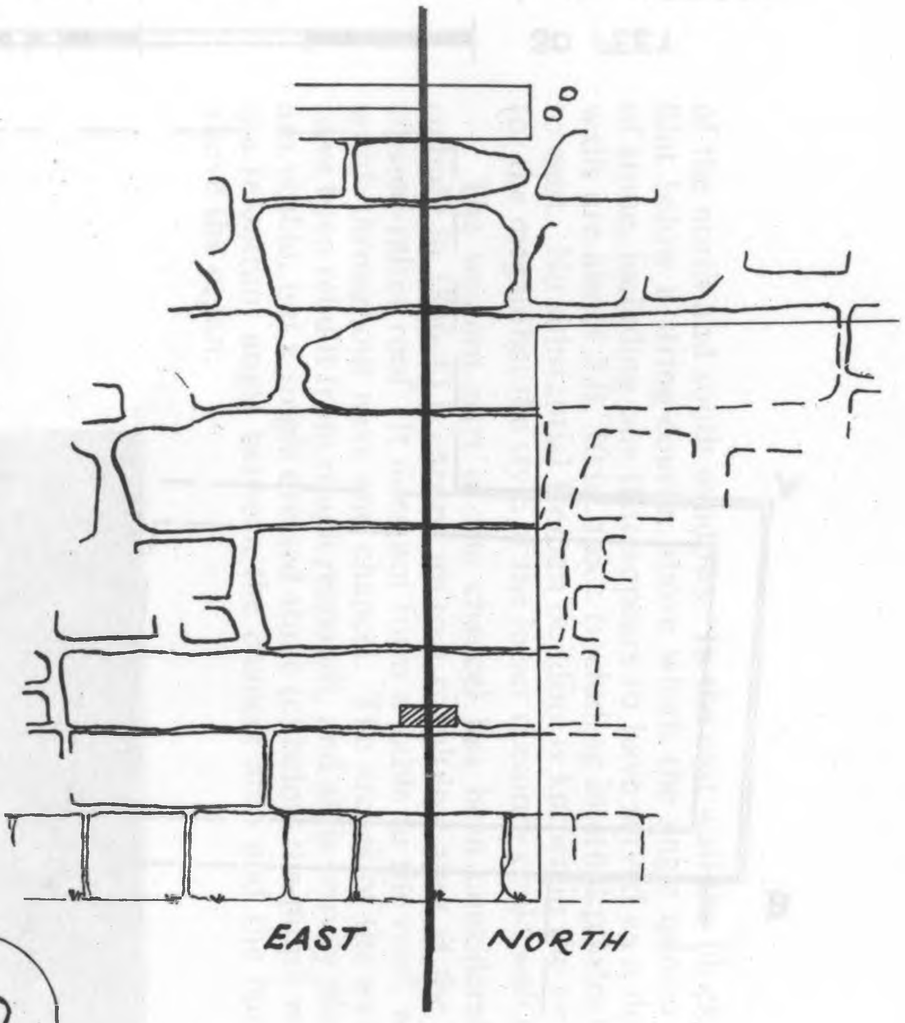
QUOINS AT A





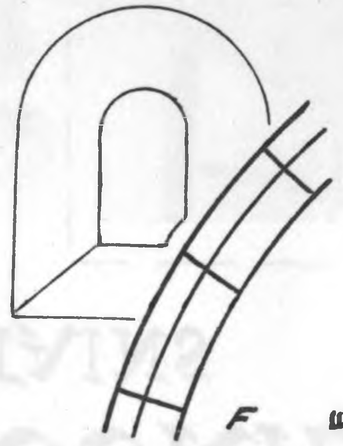
VOUSSOIR J

(Scale x 3)

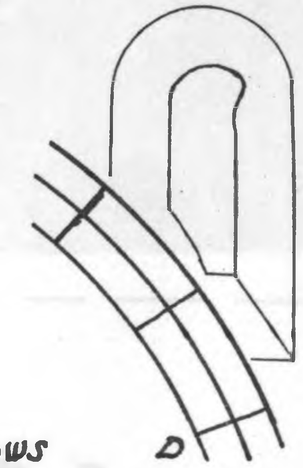


EAST NORTH

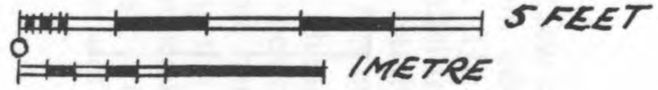
QUOINS AT B



F WINDOWS



D



of the central arches, their jambs being broken into by the arch voussoirs. The more easterly (D) had chalk jambs, the sharp arris where the splay met the outer surface of the wall having a slight chamfer; the outer jambs are not parallel and only rough flints remained in the fractured head of the opening. The splays were painted with concentric bands of white, yellow, and red separating two zones occupied by folded ribbon pattern, the dark red background powdered with white pellets. Through the courtesy of the National Monuments Record, a photograph of the window as first discovered is reproduced here. A painted arcading can be traced above the arch to the west, with a sharp vertical finish at either end. The westerly window beyond (F) is more widely splayed, but has been re-plastered and the outer opening is blocked and partly covered by the later aisle wall.

The eastern angles of the central pier of the arcade are not chamfered off like the others; this flat face (E) has been explained as the site of the font, which seems both architecturally and liturgically unlikely. But if the pier had been inserted into an existing doorway cut through the wall, such a shape would provide maximum support for the arch-stones as they were inserted above. The eastern arch of the arcade has been rebuilt in brick and only retains one chamfered voussoir of stone; the voussoirs of the western arch can be traced in the later blocking but the respond cannot be seen. What may be the quoins of the north-west angle are largely concealed by the abutment wall of a later shed—the quoins of the ladder recess within are brick.

The south nave wall (2 ft. 8½ in. thick) has an arcade of four semi-circular arches rising from the scalloped capitals on round columns. The leaf-spurred bases stand on blocks of masonry of different heights, which originally had more irregular profiles[3] and might be part of the original wall, although Johnston found no traces of windows. The eastern arch of this arcade is also rebuilt, and the western respond is thicker than the columns, although otherwise similar in style. The wall is longer than the north one, and not parallel to it. The west wall of the south aisle originally continued the slope of the nave roof (as the external plastering shows) but has been built up for a cross-gable. The small round-headed west window is rebated for glass, and the aisle's internal junction with the later porch extension has three quasi-long and short quoins at the same level.

The wall painting may have been executed long after the walls were built[4] and similarly it may be dangerous to date the arcades from the scalloped capitals alone[5] but the pointed northern arches can hardly be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, while the plain rounded southern arches are presumably earlier.

The tower

The western tower is only carried up a foot or so above the nave walls, and finished off as a flat top surrounding the timber framing of the belfry, whose carpentry deserves a separate article. Toward the nave, the space below the false ceiling is filled by a lath and plaster gable; the wall below is thinner (3 ft. 3 in.) than the others (3 ft. 9 in.). The tall tower arch has settled unevenly, and the imposts were probably cut back to hide this; the innermost order is particularly skewed, which might support the theory of an even thinner original wall indicated by the possible north-west quoins mentioned above. The north window (offset from centre) has been restored as a narrow pointed lancet. Brayley's view of the west side[6] shows a deeply moulded pointed doorway beneath a double-splayed round-headed window, very different from to-day. The only trace now of an old window is a vertical crack (H) in the flint rubble below a (lintel?) slab north of the present window. Even if the double-splayed window really did exist, it need not be pre-Conquest in date, since similar windows can be seen in twelfth century work in the castle kitchen at Farnham and elsewhere. Adjoining the more southerly of the western buttresses is a fine-grained stone voussoir carved with a roll-moulding and chevron (J), from an opening of 17-inch radius (which suggests a doorway rather than an open arch or window head.) Probably of twelfth century date, it cannot be in its original position, since the doorway would be

very low and would open into the angle of the tower. It was probably re-used for bonding the buttress, like the marble coffin slab (G) inset into the other buttress facing west. Johnston dated the buttresses *c.* 1440 and the tower *c.* 1170–90, but both dates *could* be a century or more too late—the evidence is too slender to be conclusive.

Summary

If the nave and lower part of the chancel are contemporary, the fact that they are the same width, but on slightly different alignments, might suggest that there was intended to be an axial tower, perhaps east of the present chancel arch; if the arch position is original and no tower was intended, then the chancel would normally be inset and narrower than the nave. Alternatively, if the present west tower and the nave were built together, this might explain the lack of a gable between them, but it is rather strange that the intervening wall should be thinner than the others. It is perhaps more likely that the original west wall was partly or wholly demolished when the tower was begun. The walls are comparatively slender and they may have been intended to carry a timber belfry from the beginning, although not necessarily the form we see to-day.

Two separate towers are rather improbable, and the simplest form, of nave and chancel separated by a diaphragm wall, is perhaps the most probable original arrangement. In any event, Saxon influence can be seen in the irregular setting-out, with thin walls not parallel. The face-alternate quoins and square plinth framing the chancel and the rough finish of the painted window (C) support this. As Mr. J. H. Harvey pointed out,[7] the prominent corner siting of the church suggests deliberate (Saxon) planning. Twenty dwellings at *Bocham cum Effingham* are said to have been given to Chertsey abbey in 675 (which suggests a settlement of some size) and there certainly was an *ecclesia* on the abbey's estate at *Bocheham* in 1086.[8] An eleventh century date certainly best suits the architectural evidence of the earliest church, in the present state of our knowledge.

As this article went to press, I discovered R. C. Carpenter's plan (*c.* 1841) for the Incorporated Church Building Society, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. This shows no division between nave and chancel: the pulpit and its steps stood where the north pier of the chancel arch now is, with pews planned to face the pulpit from the rebuilt north aisle. A square pier is shown on the south side, but without any arch mouldings. Any division between nave and chancel of the early church is thus as doubtful as ever. On Carpenter's plan, the west tower doorway is shown with a deeply-cut roll-moulding (as in Brayley's contemporary drawing) with square rebates, quite unlike the present doorway, which must therefore be dated to the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century, as was suggested by Johnston. The fourteenth-century south porch is drawn complete, its north wall being the westward extension of the original narrow south aisle, pierced by a narrow doorway rebated like that of the tower. Two orders of arches are indicated, the outer being rounded and about 3 feet across, which would agree with the size and shape of the voussoir (J) described above.

Other Saxon and Norman churches in the district

Of the eight parish churches within three miles of Leatherhead, only that of Headley lacks architectural features of the eleventh or twelfth century. This is particularly remarkable when one realises that much of the twelfth century work at both Bookhams, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Mickleham, and Stoke D'Abernon represents the enlargement of an earlier church which may or may not have been built before the Norman Conquest. The Saxon period was discussed by our President in Part V of the Cartographical Survey[9] but in view of recent work on Anglo-Saxon architecture[10] it seems worthwhile to reconsider the earliest architectural features of these churches. In general Anglo-Saxon walling is often less than three feet in thickness and disproportionately high in comparison to distance apart. Frequent re-use of Roman building material, while not necessarily Saxon work, is noteworthy.

ASHTEAD Map reference NGR. TQ. 193580

The western part of the south wall of the nave (2 ft. 10 in. thick) is of flint rubble with much Roman tile (used flat, but not properly coursed) embedded in mortar; the south-east quoins are of small face-alternate blocks of greyish sandstone. The north nave wall is of considerable height but is only 2 ft. 6 in. thick, and appears to have had a window of "Fetcham" type (see below); "on the north side, however, an Early lancet has been suffered to remain, and about it are fragments of Roman tiling", says a note made soon after the 1862 alterations, but another writer refers to "a north window in the body of the church, headed by a semi-circular arch of Roman brick, which has been completely removed".[11] The church became a chapel of Leatherhead between 1107 and 1129.[12]

BOOKHAM

Great Bookham (NGR. TQ. 135546) has been dealt with above; Little Bookham (NGR. TQ. 123540) has a blocked south arcade of four semi-circular arches on scalloped capitals, the faces and cones being emphasised by bordering grooves. There are small round-headed windows in the west wall and adjoining part of the north wall. The foundations (2 ft. 7 in. wide) of the narrow south aisle have been excavated;[13] the west face did not align with that of the nave, and the abutments were obscured by a later gutter. The blocking wall contains a pointed lancet window with internal jamb-shafts, and pottery of the thirteenth century was found east of the porch (although its relation to the foundation is not stated).

FETCHAM NGR. TQ. 150556

The nave walls are 2 ft. 6 in. thick and are higher than the nave width; the western quoins (particularly that to the south) contain much Roman tile. The south arcade consists of three chamfered semi-circular arches springing from columns with multi-scalloped capitals. In the spandrel above the more easterly column is a narrow round-headed window whose splay is broken by the voussoirs of the central arch. Both interior and exterior heads and also the inclined exterior jambs are carefully built in Roman tiles.[14]

LEATHERHEAD NGR. TQ. 167562

The western twelve feet of the south wall of the chancel is of roughly squared sandstone with infillings of Roman tile; part is less than three feet thick. The wall containing the chancel arch is not at right angles to the side walls and terminates a foot or so above them without a core between the facings.[15] The arcades of four pointed arches have alternate circular columns and octagonal piers with moulded capitals (except the most north-easterly which has stiff leaf trefoils). The keel-moulded and chamfered orders are distorted on the south side to conform with a bulging wall; the north-west arch is modern, originally having a respond (not a pier) to the east. The *ecclesia de Leret* belonged to the Royal manor of Ewell in 1086.[16]

MICKLEHAM NGR. TQ. 171535

Square western tower with a large restored round-headed window with external jamb-shafts on the north side and smaller round-headed windows at two upper levels (including one just above the nave roofridge with its head cut from a carstone block). The west doorway has a roll-moulded semi-circular arch rising from scalloped capitals and shafts; the voussoirs of the higher inner arch cut into the splays of a blocked opening whose outer face is hidden between the coved ceiling and roof of the porch. During the nineteenth century rebuilding, the north doorway (pointed, with ringed jambshafts) was removed to Fredley and a column with scalloped capitals (probably from the southern arcade) discovered.[17] The *ecclesia de Micleham* is mentioned in Domesday Book.[18]

STOKE D'ABERNON NGR. TQ. 129584

Originally a high, short nave with 2 ft. 5 in. thick walls, with a stilted apse with 1 ft. 10 in. walls. Herringbone-set Roman tile survives in the south apse wall; twelfth century wall paintings and a piscina-capital was found above the later vaulting. The chancel arch had throughstone voussoirs and abaci of Roman cornice stones; a blocked doorway to an upper entrance survives, but the early sundial has fallen. The north arcade consisted of two chamfered pointed arches with round columns between spurred bases and capitals. A Romanesque censer-top was found in the churchyard.[19] Various dates have been proposed for the construction of the church, the *Stoche* of Domesday.[20]

WEST HUMBLE CHAPEL NGR. TQ. 159519

When excavated in 1937–8,[21] the north wall foundations were found to be continuous without an inset chancel as on the south side. The "four quoins with Norman axed tooling" here are now covered with rubble. Thirteenth century pottery overlay some burials south of the chancel, whose east window might have been double-splayed. The western gable shows a high pitch, with high nave walls; the round opening could be of almost any date[22] and the chapel might belong to the other pre-Conquest estate at Mickleham.[23]

NOTES

1. *S.A.C.* XXVII, pp. 103–122. Johnston's original plan still hangs in the church.
2. By the Rev. B. G. Skinner (Leatherhead, 1957).
3. See drawing before restoration, *S.A.C.* V, p. 25.
4. E. W. Tristam, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1944), pp. 36, 100 puts it *c.* 1150 on account of the fabric!
5. J. Bilson, *Le chapiteau à godrons en Angleterre*, Congrès Archéologique, 75 (1908), pp. 634–46.
6. *History of Surrey* IV (1850), p. 475.
7. These *Proceedings* I, 8, p. 11.
8. *Domesday Book* I, f.32.
9. *Proceedings* 2, 3, pp. 69–71.
10. Particularly H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, 1965).
11. *S.A.C.* XIX, pp. 207 and 27.
12. *Proceedings*, 1, 8, p. 20.
13. *Proceedings*, 1, 5, pp. 6–11; 1, 6, p. 11; *S.A.C.* LX, pp. 84–6.
14. *V.C.H. of Surrey* II, p. 446, reproduced in *S.A.C.* XX, pp. 11–13.
15. *Proceedings*, 2, 7, pp. 211–13; 2, 8, pp. 248–9.
16. *Domesday Book*, I, f.30b.
17. *V.C.H.* II, p. 448; III, pp. 306–7. The fragments beside the churchyard path come from a column about 20 inches in diameter.
18. *Domesday Book*, I, f.32a.
19. *S.A.C.* XX, pp. 1–89; XXII, pp. 200–2; XXVI, pp. 121–33.
20. G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* II: *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1925), p. 480 (late 8–9th century; C. A. Ralegh Radford, *Archaeological Journal* CXVIII, pp. 165–74 (7th century); H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* II, pp. 573–5 (7th or 11th century); *Domesday Book*, I, f.35a.
21. *S.A.C.* XLVI, pp. 128–9; XLVII, pp. 1–11.
22. E.g. *Norfolk Archaeology* VIII, pp. 1–9, for Saxon examples.
23. *Domesday Book* I, f.35.

A NOTE ON THE OPEN-FIELDS OF FETCHAM AND GREAT BOOKHAM

By A. G. PARTON, *Lecturer in Geography, Kingston College of Technology*

THE SERIES OF ARTICLES in these *Proceedings* entitled, "A Cartographical Survey of the Area" included several maps which portray open field. These maps pose several interesting questions. What was the nature of this open-field land; was it in fact common as well as open? Did it follow the well-known features of the agricultural system found in so many contemporary Midland parishes, or is the origin of the field pattern to be explained in terms of a system more akin to that of Kent?

H. L. Gray, in his book "English Field Systems",[1] attempted to answer these questions. He showed that there was a great variety in the form or pattern of open-fields and in the way in which the fields themselves were organised for farming purposes. Gray considered two of the types of open field which he distinguished to be particularly pertinent to Surrey: the Midland System,[2] where holdings were equally divided between two, three, or more fields of equal size, and the Kentish system,[3] where no grouping of fields was apparent, the holdings being located, "in a bewildering number of field divisions bearing local names and giving little clue as to the husbandry employed".[4] Gray included Surrey with Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex, in an area he called, "The Lower Thames Basin" of which he wrote, ". . . in its field systems this area differed from the Kentish, East Anglian, and Midland districts, but borrowed characteristics from each".[5] What follows is an attempt to state the main problems involved in a consideration of Surrey open-field by reference to two maps of Fetcham and Great Bookham. Figure 1 suggests that the Surrey open-field that remained in 1800 was located either on the alluvial soil or on the dip-slope of the chalk. The open-fields of Fetcham and Great Bookham exemplify the second group, the maps of 1791 and 1804 show them to have been located on the fertile calcareous loam, which William Stevenson in his Report to the Board of Agriculture[6] in 1809 described as the best soil in Surrey. This distribution of open-field also appears to fit the pattern for South-East England as a whole: thus D. Roden[7] found in the Chilterns that open-field arable was located along the Thames terraces and at the foot of the escarpment and dip-slope. In Kent, A. R. H. Baker noted that open-field arable was confined to the lower slopes of the North Downs and the Vale of Holmesdale.

The open-field of Great Bookham and Fetcham was divided into furlongs variously named and of differing sizes; but not grouped into three or more fields of roughly equal size as in a "typical" Midland three-field pattern. In the case of Fetcham the names East and West field might be indicative of the remnants of a three-field system or a variation of it. The evidence of the map is in itself inconclusive as only two fields can be clearly identified, most of which belonged to either Home, Monks, or Cannon Farms, each farm's parcels being more or less contiguous. The map of Great Bookham however, gives no indication of any grouping of the strips beyond the furlong, piece or shot, all of which, according to the Manor Court Rolls lay in "The Common Field". The pattern of open-field depicted on both maps was almost certainly the product of centuries of modification, as piecemeal enclosure, exchange and purchase of land diminished the area of open-field. For example, a volume of plans of the Estate of Sir George Warren,[8] including land in Great Bookham and Fetcham, made in 1777, records a number of exchanges that had been made to consolidate his holdings: one such exchange was of one and a quarter acres of Cannon Farm, Fetcham, for three-quarters of an acre belonging to Edward Nettlefold and lying in Great Carrots Field in the same Parish. However, examination of an early seventeenth century map of Great Bookham,[9] shows that the pattern of furlongs changed little between the early seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries; although modification in detail occurred, thus some furlongs disappeared as small parts of the open-field land

were enclosed. The seventeenth century map of Great Bookham does not suggest any grouping of the furlongs into fields; the field pattern was essentially a "one-field" or, if one regards the many furlongs as fields, a "multifield" pattern.

Turning from the pattern of open-fields to the open-field system, it would be easy to be misled by the Board of Agriculture Reporters James and Malcolm, who wrote of Surrey in 1794: "A similar common field husbandry is practised to other counties, the custom of each manor in the arable fields for the most part was to lay them in three common fields and in so doing they were enabled to pursue a course of wheat, barley or oats, and the third remained fallow".[10]

They went on to say how this system stood in the way of improvement. H. L. Gray recognised that this was false, he said that James and Malcolm were not describing what they saw but what they inferred from what they had seen further up Thames. After examining a number of Manorial surveys, Rentals, Terriers, etc., for various Surrey parishes, he stated that, ". . . the symmetry and uniformity which might be expected under three-field arrangements were thus entirely wanting".[11]

The map of Great Bookham illustrates the point that Gray made. Apart from the absence of field names, the presence of which might have suggested some form of organisation; the uneven distribution of holdings in the open-field precluded any conventional field system. Figure 3 shows five holdings in Great Bookham, none of which were evenly distributed in the open-field; obviously for a three, four, or more field system to work a man's holding had, of necessity to be fairly equally divided between the units, especially when a fallow formed part of the rotation. In a three-field system, if a man's holding was concentrated in one or two of the three common fields, when the fallow course came round his harvest might be extremely small. It is interesting to see that of the five holdings shown, three belonged to farms most of the land of which was held in severalty; thus any system practised in the open-field would have affected them little. With regard to the open-field of Fetcham, since most of it was divided between three farms in 1791, there is little scope for conjecture; it would be interesting to discover what the distribution of open-field was two hundred or more years before this date, when signs of the system practised might be discernible.

A. R. H. Baker, referring to Kent, distinguishes between "common-field land", land cultivated in common and "open-field land", subdivided into unenclosed parcels, of which he only finds evidence of the latter; perhaps this distinction is also relevant to the study of the pre-Enclosure landscape of Surrey. The field patterns and systems of Great Bookham and Fetcham remain a problem: were they a development of the Midland system, or as I believe a hybrid produced by a marriage of features of the Kentish and Midland types, in which the influence of the former was more important? The solution will lie in a detailed study of earlier sources of information than the two maps presented here: Manorial surveys, Terriers, Court Rolls, Estate Plans and records and other local material. The problem is surely worthy of further study at the detailed level of the parish; for only at this level is a satisfactory answer likely to be forthcoming.

NOTES

1. H. L. Gray, English Field Systems, Harvard, 1915.
2. For a useful discussion of this type, see F. G. Emmison, Types of open-field parishes in the Midlands, Historical Association Pamphlet No. 108, 1937.
3. See A. R. H. Baker, The Field Systems of Kent. Unpublished University of London, Ph.D., 1959.
4. H. L. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 281, para. 1.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 355, para. 2.
6. William Stevenson, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Surrey, London, 1809.
7. D. Roden, Studies in Chiltern Field Systems. Unpublished University of London, Ph.D., 1965.
8. Plans of the Estate of Sir George Warren lying in Fetcham, Cobham, etc., 1777. Minet Library, M.I. 49.
9. The Manor of Great Bookham, Surrey Record Office, Ph. 295.
10. William James and James Malcolm, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Surrey, 1794, p. 45.
11. H. L. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 362, para. 1.

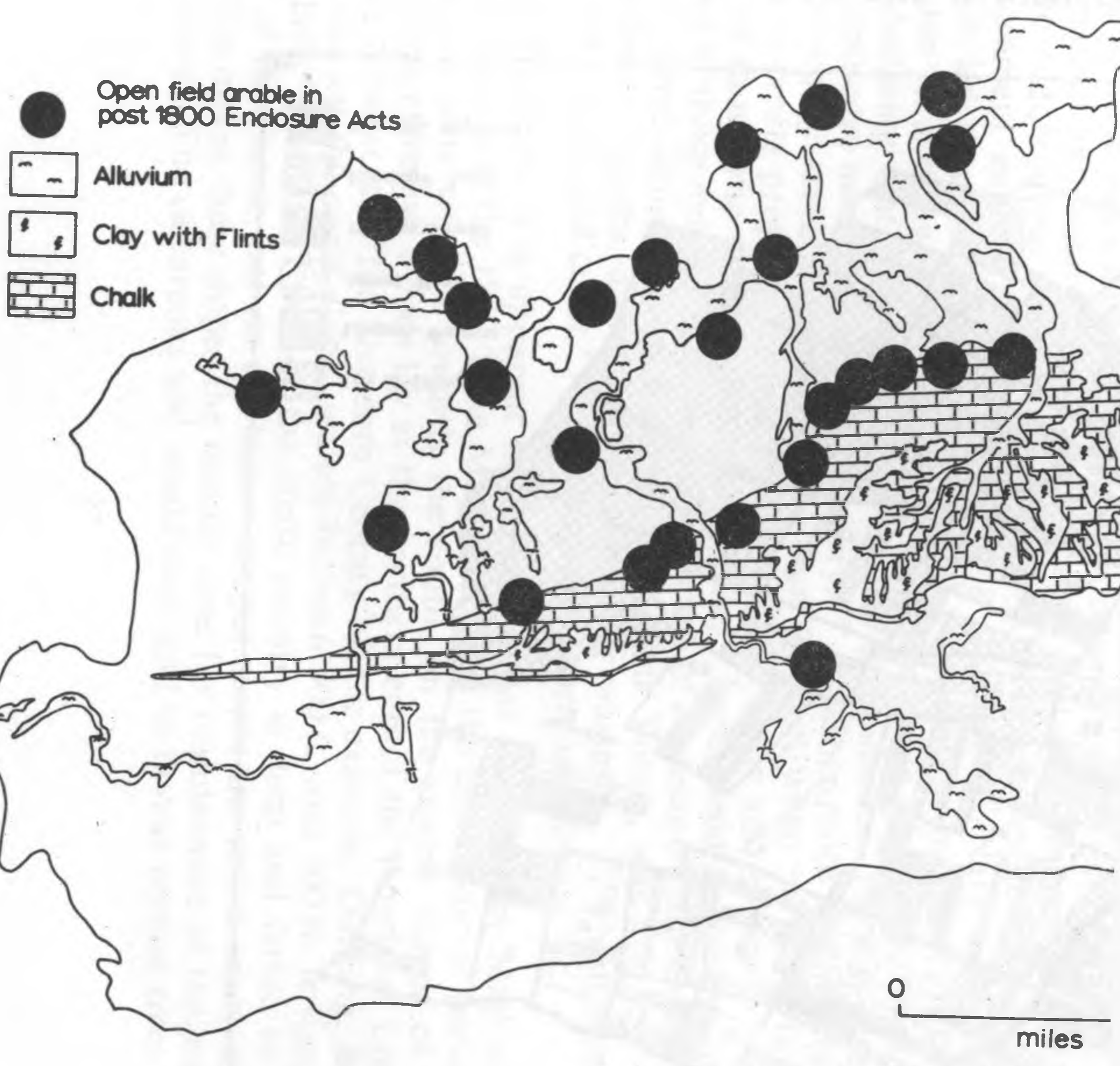


Figure 1. OPEN-FIELD ARABLE IN POST 1800 ENCLOSURE ACTS FOR THE COUNTY OF SURREY

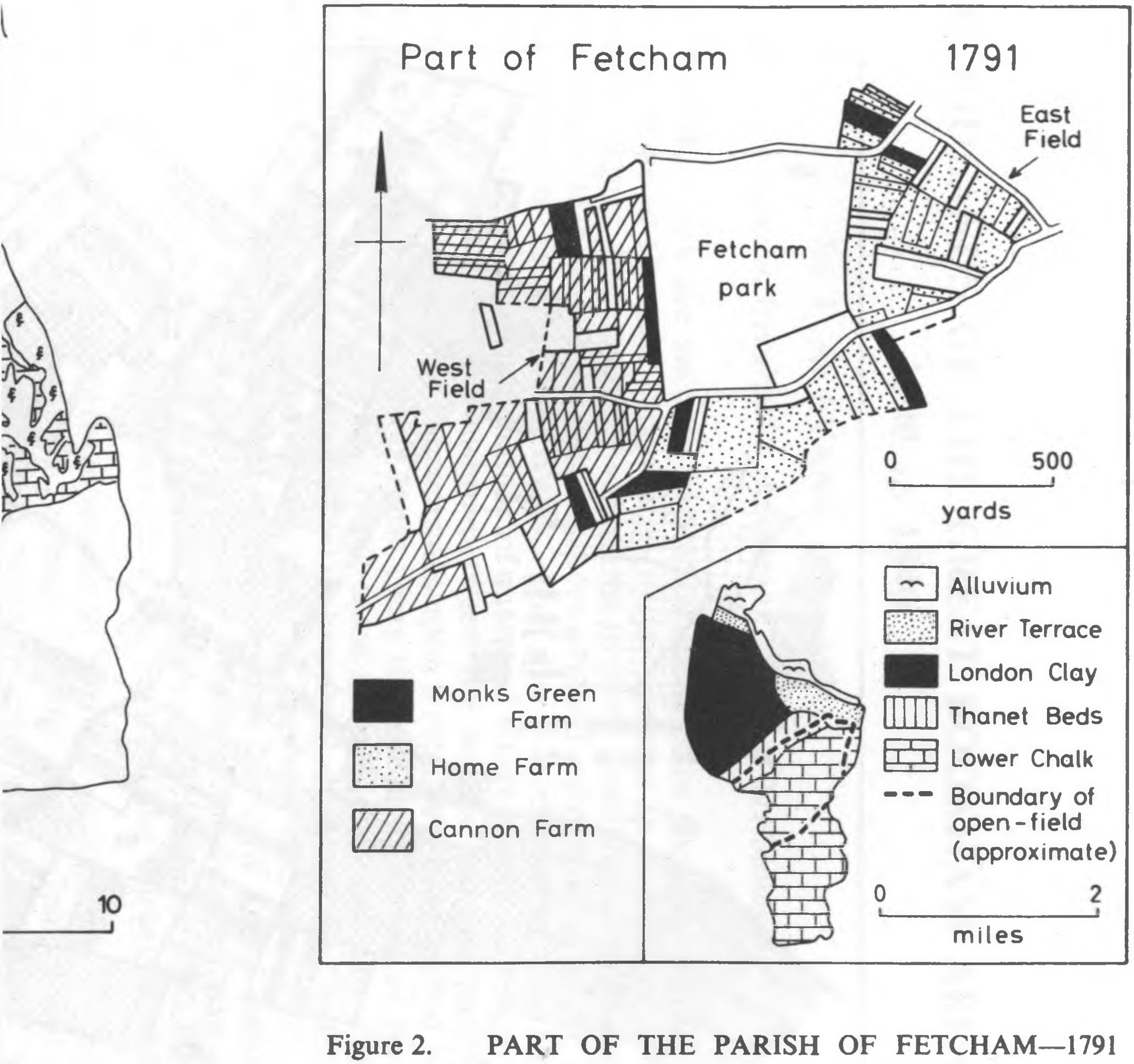


Figure 2. PART OF THE PARISH OF FETCHAM—1791

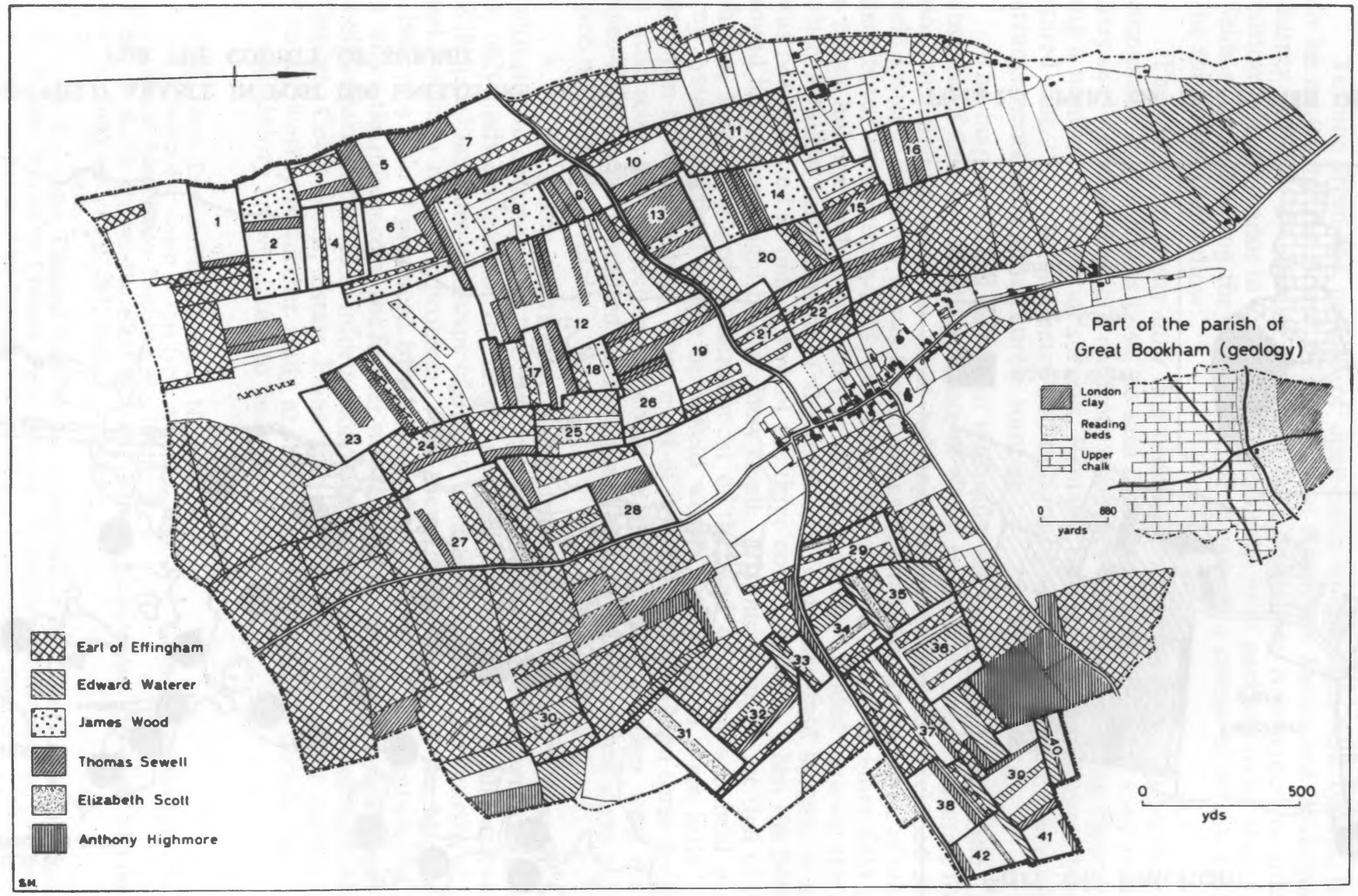


Figure 3. PART OF THE PARISH OF GREAT BOOKHAM—1804
Based on a map in the Surrey Record Office, with permission

THE WOODLANDS OF THE GREAT BOOKHAM AREA 1790 to 1840

By J. A. EVANS, B.A., M.A.

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THE WOODLANDS, which are such an important element in giving character to the rural landscape, have in the past experienced major changes in economic and social significance and this, in turn, has produced variations in their distribution and form. The history of these changes in Great Bookham has been studied as part of a larger project in the woodland history of England and Wales. The area was chosen at random, with the aim of determining the sources and nature of material which might be available for a general survey of the changing relationship between the woods and the parish communities of the past. The present article concentrates upon a relatively brief period between about 1790 and 1840, because it was during these years that the distribution of Bookham woods became largely as it is to-day, while at the same time, the ancient importance of woodland in the local economy was maintained. The beginning of this period was marked on the national scale, by the presentation to Parliament, between 1787 and 1793, of the "Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the State and Condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown",[1] while at the local level an important survey map and reference book were produced for Great Bookham in 1797–98.[2] The end of the period was marked by the production of the Parish Tithe Survey in 1839.

By the late Eighteenth Century, private woods in Surrey consisted mainly of hardwood species and were the much modified remnants of the once extensive indigenous forests. They supplied the greater part of the material required for rural and general purposes and as there was a demand for small wood and for oak bark for tanning purposes, coppices remained important. There was a general revival of interest in woods from this time until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. This development was partly a reflection of the Government concern about the growing shortage of Navy and other maritime timber, which led to considerable planting and regeneration in the Royal Forests, and was partly due to a renewed interest in the aesthetic value of woods. In 1791 William Gilpin was declaring that, "Perhaps of all species of landscape, there is none, which so universally captivates mankind, as forest scenery."[3] A rather more commercial expression of the contemporary attitude came from William Cobbett when he wrote in 1825: "The inducements to create property by tree planting are so many and so powerful, that to the greater part of those who possess the means, little, I hope, need be said to urge them to the employing of those means."[4] However, in an age of enclosure and increasing efficiency in agriculture, some influential opinion, led by Arthur Young, was against ". . . a long catalogue of forests, heaths, downs, chases and other wastes . . .", which they wanted to bring under cultivation and cover ". . . with turnips, corn and clover."[5]

In Great Bookham, it is apparent from the Thomas Clay Survey Map of 1617,[6] the 1797–8 Parish Plan, and the 1839 Tithe Map, that from the late medieval period forward, the major woods were situated towards the south, on the steeper slopes of the Upper Chalk. Some less extensive woods lay at the northern end of the Parish on London Clay. The continuity from at least the Sixteenth Century of, for example, Dorking, Bagden, and Freehold woods, on the chalk slopes mainly between 300 ft. and 500 ft. is significant (see map). The dark "Rendzina" soil of the chalk country is deep and fertile in the lower, central parts of the Parish, but on the higher steeper slopes the soil is relatively thin and less fertile. This makes these slopes the natural zone for maintenance of the major woods in Great Bookham. The calcareous soil would also tend to favour certain trees, especially

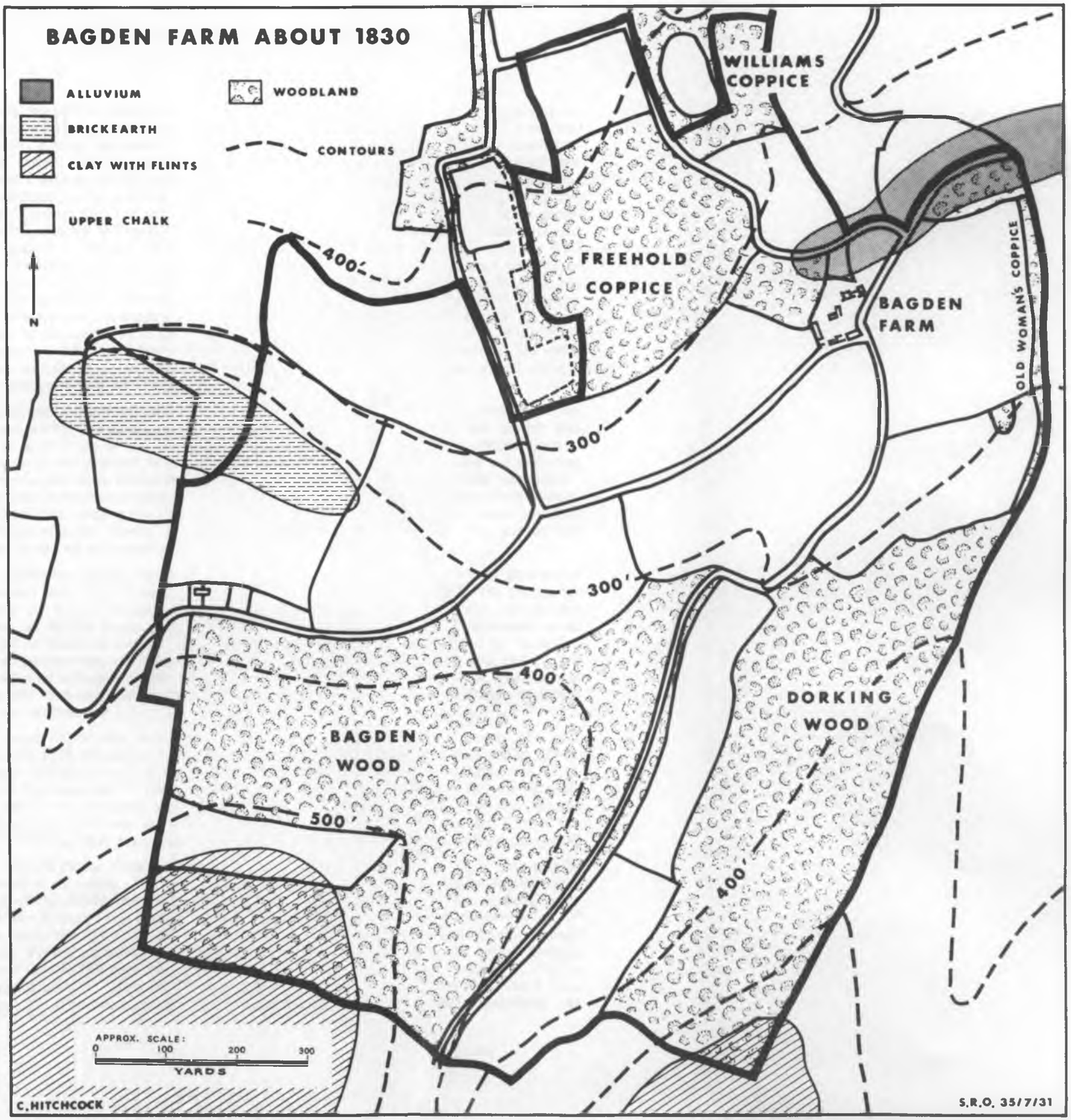
the Beech and Ash. The southern chalk plateau at above 500 ft. is generally, however, capped by a superficial deposit of "Clay with Flints", which produces an acid surface soil passing at various depths to a calcareous sub-soil. Under these conditions more mixed woodland will occur, including Beech, Oak, Birch, Ash, and Elm. On the London Clay, the rather heavy and at times damp and cold soil favours Oak, Alder, Birch, and Elm, with Willows tending to predominate in the wettest areas.

A number of sources have provided historical material relating to the Great Bookham woods. Fragmentary information can be found in the Manorial Court Rolls and Minute Books, while deeds, terriers, and wills are frequently useful. Estate Accounts are very scarce for this Parish, but extracts from two account books have been made available by Sir Bryan Bonsor. The major surveys with their maps and reference books have proved invaluable. In this connection, use has been made of a survey reference book newly deposited at the Surrey Record Office.[7] This book is entitled "Reference to the Sketch of Great Bookham 1796", but from a watermark date of 1813, it is clear that the volume was produced no earlier than this year. The land areas indicated do not exactly accord with the figures given in the Reference Book for the 1797–8 Great Bookham Survey.[8] The information given regarding proprietors and occupiers has been compared with Land Tax Assessments and from this it would appear that the new Reference Book applies to conditions in 1800–1801. For example, Mrs. Laurell is given as occupier of Eastwick House and Park and the Assessments indicate that she was occupier only during 1800–1801. It would therefore appear, that despite bearing the date 1796, this reference book was produced at about 1813, the figures probably being an 1800–1801 modification of those quoted in the 1797–8 Parish Survey.

The accompanying table of statistics has been calculated from parish survey reference books. It gives some indication of the changing extent and nature of the woodlands. The distinctions made between Woods (High Woods), Coppice Woods, Shaw and Hedgerow, have frequently had to depend upon name evidence alone, and for this reason it is essential that the figures quoted should be treated with great caution. There are anomalies associated with the 1800–1801 figures, which can partly be explained by close study of the survey reference books.

There was an overall increase of 3.9% in the total woodland area of the Parish (1A) between 1797 and 1839, and this despite a considerable reduction in the amount of hedgerow. Between the same dates, the area of woods (2B) appears to have increased by 9% and the coppice woods area by 5%. The 1800–1801 figures for woods and coppice woods are not compatible with the other surveys, as much land was given as "wood" or "shaw" which in 1797 and 1839 was classed as coppice. A closer analysis of the woodland areas in the 1797 and 1839 surveys shows that a remarkably high proportion of the Parish's woods and coppice woods was located on Bagden Farm (map)—47.2% in the former year and 43.3% in the latter.

The high woods, as distinct from coppices, formed the most extensive type of woodland in Great Bookham throughout the period of study. There is some evidence regarding actual tree species making up these woods. In 1818 there were 2021 timber trees on the Polesden Estate,[9] the most numerous being Beech (59%), Oak (15.3%), Ash (10.6%), Elm (6.8%), Larch and Fir together (3.9%). The woods on Bagden Farm appear to have been of a very similar character in their composition. A lease of the farm[10] dated 1800 mentions Oak, Ash, Elm, Beech, Fir, Chestnut, and Yew. The Polesden and Bagden woods were typical in their composition, of the Surrey chalk country. In contrast, records for the Slyfield Estate, situated mainly on the London Clay area, mention only the Oak, Elm, and Alder by name. A survey of timber trees on the Slyfield lands in 1791, indicated that 57.8% were Oak and 42.2% Elm.[11]


BAGDEN FARM ABOUT 1830
ALLUVIUM
BRICKEARTH
CLAY WITH FLINTS
UPPER CHALK
WOODLAND
CONTOURS
N
WILLIAMS COPPICE
FREEHOLD COPPICE
BAGDEN FARM
OLD WOMAN'S COPPICE
400'
300'
300'
400'
BAGDEN WOOD
500'
DORKING WOOD
400'
APPROX. SCALE:
0 100 200 300
YARDS
C. HITCHCOCK
S.R.O. 35/7/31

Woods, as well as being of commercial value to a landowner, could potentially be used to enhance the beauty of his estate and to provide cover for his game. At Polesden, for example, during the early Nineteenth Century, coniferous woods were established beside the house, and the surrounding park was improved by the development of tree clumps and avenues, notably along the main approach road from the south. The game rights continued to be jealously preserved throughout the whole period. During the Eighteenth Century the Earl of Effingham, as Lord of the Manor, maintained a game-keeper with authority to "hunt, hawk, fish and fowl, the hares, partridges, pheasants and all other game . . ."[12] and with the equally important duty of discouraging those who were "not lawfully qualified to take and kill the same". The landowners were well aware that their game rights were valuable and made sure that they were set out in legal terms. For example, when James Wood leased Bagden Farm to William James in 1800, although he kept the woodland management under his own control, he allowed the tenant "to hunt, course, set, shoot, and fowl in and upon the fields and wood grounds . . ."[13] When Yew Trees Farm was advertised for sale in 1805, the brochure gave prominence to the sport in the area as follows: "The premises stand on a delightful eminence and would make a very desirable residence for a sportsman."[14]

Timber and underwood remained valuable products from the woods, throughout the period, and during the Eighteenth Century the felling of very profitable oak timber was retained as a privilege of the Manorial Lord unless a tenant obtained a special licence. It was generally the practice, to keep a heavy growth of underwood around the maturing timber trees for as long as the shade factor would permit.[15] Replacements for the "standards" or timber trees were encouraged to develop from the strongest of the undergrowth shoots. One result of this crowding was that the trees grew tall and straight, with few lower branches and therefore with few "knees" (angle timber) suitable for ship building. This meant that the timber produced was mainly used for local rural requirements.

The extensive, hillside woods on Bagden Farm appear to have been very productive of timber and bark. As a result, they were kept in hand, and managed by the proprietor rather than the tenant occupier. Even the "housebote" wood for the tenant, was set out by the owner. By the terms of the lease it was ensured that the owners' labourers could have access to work the woods. The tenant, on the other hand, was obliged to "save and preserve all timber trees and trees of Oak, Ash, Elm, Beech, Fir, Ches(t)nut and Yew . . .",[16] but was allowed sufficient timber for the general needs of farm upkeep. The tenant could also keep the "lop and top" from any fellings he made, but the very profitable bark was to go to the proprietor.

The same importance was given to the timber trees in the other woods of Great Bookham. In 1818, the timber trees standing on the Polesden Estate were valued at £2949, which sum was equal to 29.5% of the purchase price paid by Joseph Bonsor to C. B. Sheridan in the same year.[17] The sixty acres of underwood on the estate was also a valuable resource and it was estimated in 1824 that it had increased in value by £5 per acre, due to growth during the previous six years. Even on the small estate of Bookham Grove, the trees were very carefully managed, apparently for both economic and aesthetic reasons.[18]

The Slyfield Estate of the Shortrudge Trust was also subject, after 1817, to very careful management of its woods. The main woodland interests of the Trust were in the Hertfordshire part of the estate, especially at Harmers Green. The leases for the Slyfield farms reserve to the Trustees, full control of the "woods, Alders, pollards and other trees . . .".[19] However, under the terms laid down for the Trust, financial benefits went to Exeter College and certain Vicars, including the incumbent at Great Bookham. In 1817 Exeter College complained that in the past the Vicars had "caused large quantities of timber . . . to be felled and cut down . . . for very large sums of money."[20] Certainly, by this time it does not appear that there were many timber trees left on these estate farms in Bookham. As

early as 1791 the Slyfield Estate had contained only 45 timber trees, most of which were probably in hedgerows, and by 1817 it was stated that "the timber which has at any time been growing on the said estates in the County of Surrey, has not been sufficient to do such repairs there, as from time to time have been necessary."[21] It would appear that by the early Nineteenth Century, most of the woodland on this estate, was coppice wood.

In the south of England, especially on the chalk areas near London, coppice woods were particularly important. They were sometimes found as areas of pure coppice, entirely made up of young sapling growth, mainly springing from parent stools. More frequently, the coppice formed a general undergrowth with "standards" or timber trees allowed to develop at intervals. Certain of the stronger saplings, known as "Tellers" were left uncut to replace the "standards" in due course. The coppice trees were principally Oak, Ash, Hazel, Chestnut, Birch and Alder, and the saplings when cut had many uses, including poles, hurdles, stakes, hoops and faggots. Many sections of hedgerows were coppiced and were then usually called "shaws". From the table of statistics it can be seen that in the 1800–1801 figures, a considerable part of the coppice wood appears in the hedgerow column (3) because it was loosely designated as "shaw".

It is probably true that most of the Great Bookham woods carried undergrowth that was coppiced. In 1818, the Polesden Estate contained 63 acres of woodland, but it is also known that at this same time, there was about 60 acres of productive underwood.[22] The inference is clearly, that virtually all the woods were periodically cut for their underwood.

In areas where the farms were mainly pastoral, a large amount of small wood was essential for the upkeep of fences and hurdles. On Yew Trees Farm, concerned mainly with sheep, the evidence from maps and deeds, strongly suggests that the woodland was entirely coppice and shaw. At Bagden, in contrast, the woodland management gives an excellent example of "coppice with standards". By the terms of lease, the tenant had to give the owner fourteen days notice before cutting any coppice area. The owner would then select the saplings which were to be left standing, working on the principle that the standards already present and the developing tellers should not together exceed forty per acre. Because of its value it was a common practice to over cut coppice wood, but at Bagden it was laid down that cutting could only take place "at seasonable times in the year and not under ten years growth . . .".[23] The tenant was also obliged to make good the fences and ditches, and so protect the coppices from the destructive browsing of animals, and maintain a well drained surface soil.

It has been noted, that by the Nineteenth Century the Slyfield Estate was much depleted in its timber trees. In an attempt to combat this situation, a woodland management scheme was introduced in 1817, by which "upon every fall of underwood, where the timber is scanty, 160 saplings of Oak, if so many can be found growing from the seed, or of Ash in failure of Oak, shall be left on each acre . . .".[24] In later cuttings of the coppice wood, this number was to be reduced so that eventually at least 60 trees per acre would stand for timber. From a valuation of Lower Slyfield Farm, made in 1791, it appears that the annual value of coppice land was then 12 shillings per acre, while arable fields were valued at just under 16 shillings per acre. This relationship in value, would appear to have been broadly maintained during the first decade of the Nineteenth Century, for Stevenson gives an annual rent value for both coppice and corn land, of from 12 shillings to 16 shillings per acre.[25]

Two further trends, affecting the character of Great Bookham's woodland can be seen from the table of statistics. Firstly, the 1839 figures, show a marked reduction in the area of hedgerow and shaw. The explanation for this can be found in the Survey Reference Book of 1800–1801, in which pencil additions have been made showing some of the changes that took place before 1839. Approximately 17 acres of hedge row and shaw are indicated

as having been "grubbed up", in the general alterations produced by the 1820 Enclosure Act and the associated "improvements" in farming.

The second important trend, was the additional woodland produced by planting, prior to 1839. The general plantation movement had its origins soon after John Evelyn published his famous discourse "Silva" in 1664. In Great Bookham the Eighteenth Century plantations were of small scale and produced no major changes in woodland distribution. By the early Nineteenth Century the increasing profits on timber and the dictates of fashion in estate adornment, produced an increasing interest in planting, which was to last for most of the century. In 1818, Joseph Bonsor, the new owner of Polesden, immediately set about improving his estate, and £800 was spent on "new plantations, garden orchards and planting trees in every vacancy".[26] By 1825 approximately 10,000 trees per year were being planted on the estate. The 1839 Tithe Map shows that almost half the recent plantation area had been established on the Polesden Estate, the remainder being on the Slyfield, Eastwick and Bookham Grove Estates. The trees planted during the Nineteenth Century included conifers such as the European Larch and Scots Pine together with native deciduous species. The new species enriched the scenic effects of the woods and by 1839 both Polesden House and Slyfield House were flanked by conifer plantations.

In addition to the privately owned and managed woodlands, the parish contained two areas of common waste, which in part contained very poor woodland or scrub. Ranmore Common (Upper Common) and Great Bookham Common (Lower Common) were the manorial wastes, upon which the commoners might pasture certain animals and also obtain branch wood for "house-bote", "hedge-bote", and "fire-bote". Under conditions of browsing and trampling, regeneration of woodland by young seedlings was extremely difficult. Many areas of Royal Forest were reduced to open heathland by this same process. During the Eighteenth Century the commons were very heavily used and individuals, including Sir John Evelyn of Wotton,[27] tended to over graze the land by pasturing more animals than their manorial holdings would allow. The 1797–98 parish map shows that by this time the better drained parts of both commons contained an open, scrub woodland. It would appear that these conditions were not very different from those described in the 1614–17 survey, when Great Bookham Common contained "Some small Tymber trees but of no value except it be for fewell . . ."[28]

There had been little change in the distribution of the common woods by 1839. It does appear, however, from the Tithe survey that the trees had been able to develop, and on Ranmore in particular, most of the common wood was given identical map representation as the adjacent private woods on Bagden Farm. The changes inherent to the age of Parliamentary enclosure had ended much of the old relationship between parish and common. There was less dependence on the common pasture and less need to cut the common woods.

By 1839 an essentially modern pattern of woodland distribution, was apparent in Great Bookham. With increasing imports of cheap foreign timber, and influenced by changes in agricultural practice and in the taxation of land, the woods were gradually to become quiet as the century progressed.

Acknowledgement is made to Sir Bryan Bonsor, Bt., Mr. J. H. Harvey, and Mr. F. B. Benger for their interest and help; to the Staff of the Surrey Record Office, and Mr. I. F. Blomfield of The National Trust for advice and assistance; to Mrs. C. Hitchcock for drawing the map, and to the Central Research Fund of London University.

GREAT BOOKHAM WOODLAND STATISTICS, 1797 to 1839

	1797–8		1800–01		1839	
	A R P	%	*A R P*	%	*A R P*	%
1. (a) Total area of all woodland	258 1 26		252 1 2		268 3 23	
1. (b) The above as percentage of total parish area		7.9		7.7		8.3
2. (a) Total woods and coppice woods	213 3 21	82.9	191 3 19	76.2	230 0 23	85.5
2. (b) Area of woods and percentage of 2. (a)	133 1 29	62.4	156 1 34	81.5	145 1 21	63.0
2. (c) Area of coppice wood and percentage of 2. (a)	80 1 32	37.6	35 1 25	18.5	84 3 2	37.0
3. Area of hedge row and Shaw and percentage of 1. (a)	44 2 5	17.1	60 1 23	23.8	28 3 13	10.8
4. Area of Plantations and percentage of 1. (a)	—	—	—	—	9 3 27	3.7

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11. S.R.O. 65/3/70.
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14. S.R.O. 34/7/1.
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16. *Op. cit.*, 35/7/3.
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18. S.R.O. 34/2/158.
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20. S.R.O. 65/5/117.
21. *Ibid.*
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23. *Op. cit.* 35/7/3.
24. S.R.O. 65/4/64.
25. W. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND ADVOWSON OF ST. MARY AND ST. NICHOLAS, LEATHERHEAD

By the late G. H. SMITH

Chapter VII

MONUMENTS

THE CHURCH possesses a considerable number of monuments, some of which are a valuable illustration of the design, lettering, and craftsmanship of their period, and a few are of more than local interest. Those who collect epitaphs will find some which will repay study. Of course, if one took their description of departed worthies literally, Leatherhead, like most parishes, must have been blessed with many wonderful people, but probably the writer of his friend's character may have somewhat idealised him. A cynic might feel inclined to regard the population with some suspicion, when he found a local magnate possessed of many virtues, finally described as "an honest man".

It is a matter of surprise, that, apart from the brasses mentioned below, no pre-Reformation monuments exist. In this respect Leatherhead is not alone in Surrey churches, for the Victoria County History notes their absence at Godalming, and, in a note Mr. P. M. Johnston says "This is owing to the fact that the lords of the hundreds and manors were absentees." With great respect to Mr. Johnston's opinion, the present writer considers this cannot altogether explain the absence of these monuments at Leatherhead, as one of the objects of building a manorial chapel was to provide a burial place for the donor and his descendants, and moreover the parish priest was often commemorated by, at least, a brass. Perhaps the "modernisation" of 1701–2 may be a more adequate reason.

BRASSES

The oldest memorial in the church are two slips of brass, found during the excavation of the anchorites' cell or vestry. They were part of a border inscription of a stone slab, in Lombardic lettering, of about 1320, and possibly belonged to a monument broken up when the vestry was destroyed. Mr. Johnston believed one piece bears the name of [MAR]GRETE and the other NRE (contraction for NOSTRE) SEIG[NEUR]. The inscription, in Norman-French, may have related to a person, or family, or may have a reference to St. Margaret. To whom the inscription relates we are unlikely ever to know. Margaret does not appear to have been a common name in Leatherhead at this period as far as can be ascertained, but Robert Darcey, who held the manor of Pachesham and died in 1343, left a daughter, Margaret, the wife of Sir John Argentine who held the manor in 1347, and died in 1382–3. The lettering is preserved in a glass case near the north door.

There is a mutilated brass of a civilian, *c.* 1470, on the west wall of the north aisle.

Aubrey, writing in 1719, records a brass inscription to Maud Hamilton, wife of Thomas-at-Hull, who died in 1410, which is now lost, and he also mentions the remains of a stone before the altar stripped of its brass.

There is a brass on the east respond of the south aisle to Robert Gardener, with the following inscription by Thomas Churchyard, Court Poet in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Here ffryndly Robertt Gardnar lyes, well borne of ryghtt good race,
Who sarvd in cowrtt wyth credytt styll, in worthi rowlm and place;
Cheef Sargantt of the Seller longe, whear he dyd duetty shoe,
Wyth good regard to all degrees, as ffar as powre myghtt goe.
He past hys youth in sutch good ffraem, he cam to aeged years;
And thearby porchaest honest naem, as by reportt apeers
A ffrynd whear any cawse he ffound, and corttes un to all.

Off myrry moode and pleasantt spetch, howe ever happ dyd ffall
Ffowr chyldern for to ffornysh fforth, the table rownd he had,
Wyth sober wyeff, moest matren lyk, to mak a man ffull glad.
Prepared to dye longe ear his day, whych argues gratt good mynd;
And told us in the other world whatt hoep he had to ffynd.
We leave hyme whear he loekтt to be our Lord receyve hys spreet
Wyth peace and rest in Habram's brest, whear we att leynth may meett.

Qd. Churchyard.

He departed owte of this transetory worlde
the X daye of November, Anno dni 1571
being then of the age of LXXIII yeres.

As given in the Harleian Society's "Visitations of Surrey, 1530–75 and 1623", over the inscription is his shield of arms: Sa., a chevron between three bugle horns stringed arg., on a pile in chief or. a couvered cup gu. all within a bordure of the third charged with eight crescents of the fourth. Mantell arg. and sa. Crest, out of a coronet or a goat's head sa. horned and bearded of the first.

Above the brass is fixed the helmet borne at the funeral.

LEDGER STONES

There are a considerable number of ledger stones in the church, but many have been removed from their place in the floor over the grave, and fixed against the wall of the tower. If only for their fine lettering these memorials are worthy of more attention than they usually receive. The following are the most important. In the floor of the chancel: To "Richard Dalton Esq^re^ Sergeant of His Maj^es^ Wine Cellar, who died 4th October 1681 in his 65th year". Above are his arms, which Manning and Bray give as: Arg. 3 lozenges gu. each charged with a saltire of the field. Crest, a ram's head issuant from a ducal coronet. There is also a stone to his wife, Mary, who died in 1691, in her 70th year, and to his son, also Richard, who died in 1731 in his 85th year.

There is a stone to "Lowde Cordell Esq., one of the Pages of his Majestys Bedchamber, who departed this Life March the twelfth 1685 in the thirty sixth year of his age." His arms are a chevron engrailed between three leopard's faces. Crest, a wyvern. Another stone commemorates his daughter Mary, who died in her 11th year in 1681.

The remaining stone in the chancel is to Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Peter Whitcomb of Braxted, Essex, and wife of the Hon. Thomas Padget, "Brigadier Generall of His Majesty's Forces and Groom of the Bed Chamber. She dyed on the 15th of Feb. 1740. Her Husband survived her but two months and died at Mahon in the Island of Minorca. Where he was Burried with all the Military Hon^r^ due to His Rank." The Hon. Thomas Paget was grandson of William, 5th Baron Paget, and purchased the manor of Parva Pachesham, or Randalls, in 1736. Manning and Bray give his arms as: Arg. on a cross engrailed sa. 5 lions passant of the field, between 4 eagles displayed of the second. On an escutcheon of pretence, paly of 6 or and sa. 3 eagles displayed counterchanged.

On the east wall of the porch is a stone with very beautiful lettering: "In Memory of Mrs. Diana Turnor, Grandaughter of Cecil Earl of Salisbury and Relict of John Turnor Esq^re^ of Stoke Rochford in Lincolnshire. Who departed this life March the 7th 1736 Aged 72 years." The arms are: Ermine, on a cross arg. four mill-rinds sa. Turnor, impaling, barry of 10 arg. and az. over 6 escutcheons sa. 3, 2, and 1, each charged with a lion rampant of the first, Salisbury. Robert 1st Earl of Salisbury, was the second surviving son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth. Mrs. Turnor was a relative of the Dacres, who lived in the fine timber-framed house, now pulled down, near the church, and was staying with them at the time of her death and at her

request was buried in the porch, where her chair used to stand during service time, she being an invalid.

WALL MONUMENTS

On the north wall of the chancel, near the east end, is a marble monument with naval and military trophies, and a ship of the line in full sail, to Admiral Sir James Wishart, who died in 1723, aged 64. There is a long inscription, in Latin, composed by his brother, William Wishart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, setting forth the Admiral's services and honours. The arms are: Arg. three piles gu. Crest, an eagle displayed issuant or. The Wisharts were successively lessees of the Rectory (Vale Lodge).

On the south wall of the chancel is a marble monument to Richard Dalton and his son, and on the wall of the south aisle is a pathetic tablet to the three sons of Richard Dalton, the grandson of the first Richard Dalton.

Amongst the other memorials of note are those of Lieut-General Humphrey Gore, his son, Henry Gore, and Dame Catherine Thompson, widow of Sir John Thompson, Lord Mayor of London. There is also a tablet to the memory of Robert Laxton, Vicar of the parish, with an epitaph composed by David Garrick. The Vestry had the incredible meanness to charge the widow five shillings for permission to erect this and a tablet to her mother.

In the south aisle there is a cartouche to Dame Elizabeth Eaton, widow of Sir Peter Eaton Kt. and mother of Dame Catherine Thomspon, whose arms are: Or a fret az. Eaton, impaling per chevron crenelle arg. and az. 3 mullets pierced counterchanged, Cheaseman.

There are two extra-mural 18th century memorials on the wall of the south aisle, one of which deserves quoting: "Near this place lies the body of George Aikenhead. A North Britton, Surgeon Apothecary. Who for Probity, Skill in his profession, good will to all men and profound knowledge of all Liberal Arts and Sciences joyn'd with extream modesty, was dear to all ranks. Death snatched from the earth upon the 7th of October 1726 in ye 26 year of his age."

CHAPTER VIII

FURNITURE, BOOKS, ETC.

CHESTS

The oldest piece of furniture the church possesses is the oak chest standing near the pulpit. It is about 5 feet 8 inches long, 1 foot 5 inches wide and now 2 feet high, and divided internally into two unequal compartments. Made with rough planks, it is bound with iron straps. The age of the chest is difficult to decide, as the only ornament on the woodwork is a slight pattern on the angles, and the remains of a chamfered ogee form to the right foot. Mr. Johnston, whose special study of the subject made him a leading authority, has given a detailed description of the chest, and particularly of its ironwork, in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 181, and came to the conclusion that the chest dates from the beginning of the 13th century. No doubt it was a depository for books and vestments of the church and valuables of the parishioners, for in the middle ages theft from a church was a very serious crime, for which the penalty of flaying alive might be enacted.[1]

There is another chest, covered with skin from which nearly all the hair has worn off, and studded with nails, dated 1663, which is known as the "Slyfield chest". It is a fine piece of carpentry, probably made locally, and fitted with three locks, two of which have secret

action, now out of use. There is no doubt it belonged to Robert Shiers of Slyfield House in Great Bookham parish. It came with the Shiers property to Dr. Shortrudge and upon his death to his Trustees, who provide a large proportion of the endowment of the Vicarage. The chest contains many hundreds of documents dating from 1520 to 1878.[2] There are accounts, receipts, acknowledgements of debts, leases, conveyances, wills, and legal papers. Some relate to lands in Fetcham and Great Bookham, others to property in Kent, Herts., Essex, Lincolnshire, Worcestershire, London, and Pembrokeshire. Perhaps the most interesting is a licence from King Charles I, 1627/8, for the sale of property in Hertfordshire which was subject to some feudal charge, and is sealed with the Great Seal of England, and a photostat has been obtained from the Letters Patent in the Public Record Office relating to the licence.

Chandelier

Over the font hangs a very handsome brass chandelier, which was purchased by subscription in 1763. It now has two tiers of five branches, but originally there were double this number.

Lectern

The brass eagle lectern, made by Mayer and Co. of Munich, was given to the church in 1886.

Sanctuary Chair

The chair in the sanctuary is a very fine piece of late 17th or early 18th century furniture, and probably came from some mansion, but there does not appear to be any record of its gift to the church.

Altar Plate

The church possesses a silver cup of 1661, of secular origin, presented by the Rev. James Dallaway. The Vestry in 1704 "ordered that the old communion plate belonging to the church of Lethered shall be exchanged towards the buying of a new sett for the said church"; there is, therefore, no old plate remaining. There are, however, two pewter alms plates, bought by the parish in 1711, for 3 shillings the pair.

Organ

Brayley and Britton record that "an organ was purchased, by subscription, in 1830, and erected in a gallery in the west end, with sittings for the children of the Sunday Schools: the cost being £140." In 1843 this organ was replaced by a larger instrument "built by Snetzler; and the stops, particularly the trumpet, for purity and richness of tone, are not surpassed by any made during the present century. It has short octaves; and the keys are black, except the chromatic, which are white, inlaid with a central black slip." The keyboard of this instrument is still preserved. This organ was enlarged and improved by Walker & Son in 1873, when it was removed to its present loft, and has since been added to on several occasions, and is now a very fine instrument.

Bells

When the Inventory of Church Goods was taken in 1549 there were 4 bells in the steeple, 3 of these were seized by the Commissioners, leaving only one for the use of the church. This bell was inscribed "*Ora pro nobis Sancta Maria*". By 1792 there was a ring of six bells, on the 4th of which was cast "Wilhelmus Carter me fecit 1611", the ancient bell being the 5th of the ring. The Vestry then "ordered that the old bells be taken down and recast into a peal of 8 bells with the additional metal as is wanting to make the complete peal." These bells were cast by T. Mears. It is not clear what happened to these bells but three were recast in 1877. The present bells and their inscriptions are as follows:—

No. 1. Cast by John Warner & Sons, London
In Deo Gloriam
A T M
1877

No. 2. Cast by John Warner & Sons, London
In Memory of his dear wife Elizabeth
Two treble bells were given by
Arthur T. Miller
1877

No. 3. T. Mears of London Fecit 1816.

No. 4. } Recast by John Warner & Sons
No. 5. } London 1877.
No. 6. }

No. 7. } Same as No. 3.
No. 8. }

No. 9. Mears and Steinbank, 1924.

No. 10. Richard Ellis. Thomas Billing.
Churchwardens, 1816.
T. Mears of London Fecit.

The diameter of the treble bell is 28¼ inches and that of the tenor bell 49½ inches with a weight of 19 hundredweights and twelve pounds.

REGISTERS

In the year 1538 an order was issued to the clergy by "I. Thomas lorde Cromwell, lorde privie seal, Vicegerent within this realm", under a commission from Henry VIII, requiring them to "kepe one boke or registere wherein ye shall write the day and yere of every weddyng, christenyng and buryeng made within yor parish for youer tyme . . . and shall there insert every person's name that shal be so wedded christened or buried." This order of "Thomas lorde Cromwell" was not, however, welcomed, as the people suspected it as means of taxation and the ordinary parish priest was not too exact in his entries. Further injunctions and orders were issued from time to time and Canon 70 of 1603 made the churchwardens responsible with the parson for the proper keeping of the registers, and a copy was to be sent to the bishop of the diocese every year. A new form of register came into force in 1812 and civil registration commenced in the middle of 1837, after which date copies of all entries of marriages were to be sent annually to the District Registrar.

Parish registers are of great value for genealogical and historical purposes and are often cited in legal cases; it is therefore of importance that all registers before the year 1840 should be printed, or at least transcripts made, in case the original documents are lost or destroyed.

The Leatherhead Registers now existing date from 1656 but there are a few entries of baptisms in 1623, 1626, 1647, and 1649 copied into the book of 1656. These registers have now been transcribed up to 1840, after which date copies of birth, marriage and death certificates can be seen at Somerset House.

Many parish registers contain interesting notes of national and local events, but the Leatherhead books are singularly free from any such remarks. In 1834–6 several of the brides in the marriage register are described as "single woman" instead of the usual "spinster", possibly a freak of the curate.

These extracts from the registers may be of interest:—

Burial Register 1688. The daughter of my Lord Chancellor Jeffreys was burried 2nd December.

Marriage Register 1709. Richard Drake of the parish of Ashtead married Deborah Duck of this parish. January 16th.

1720. Thomas Shortrudge of the parish of Halesworth in the County of Suffolk, Clerk, and Mrs. Jessie Michell of this parish were married August 24th. [His brother, Dr. Shortrudge, left a large endowment to this parish, as well as those of Great Bookham, Effingham, and Shalford.]

VESTRY BOOKS, ETC.

The Vestry Minute Books, twelve in all, are complete from 1694. The earliest of these books was recovered from a private house, a few years ago, and handsomely bound by a parishioner. One of the other books is marked on the outside 1760–1768, in error for 1760–1778. There are also three books of Overseers accounts, 1749–68, 1773–90, and 1790–1810, the first of these has also a Poor Rate Assessment. There is a Report of an Assessment Committee 1819, and a Bell Ringer's Book, 1808–1877. Bound up with the first of the Minute Books are the Churchwardens' accounts for the years 1695–1738, except for 1701–3 and 1710. Unfortunately most of the other Churchwardens' accounts are lost, having been kept on loose sheets of paper. The Minute books contain a considerable number of Overseers' accounts dealing with administration of the Poor Law and similar matters which had to be approved annually by the Justices. There is also a Minute Book of the Leatherhead Parochial Committee 1873–93.

The Vestry Books are very clearly written, for which the Parish Clerk was paid £2 per annum in 1730, but omit much information that would be most interesting to us now; still they contain some items relating to the repairs and alterations to the church (very meagre), Poor Law, Highways, Maintenance of the Bridge, the Cage or Village Lock-up, the Building of the House of Industry or Workhouse, which was sold in 1838, and the formation of the Fire Brigade. It will be a surprise to many Leatherhead inhabitants to know that on September 30th, 1835, the Vestry resolved that a "Legal Lunatic Assylum should be provided"; how the resolution was carried out we don't know, as no further mention of the subject occurs.

It may, perhaps, be useful to give some extracts from these old books as they illustrate conditions of local life long since passed away.

1723 January. "Pd. to 17 Sailors and 16 Slaves that came out of Turkey 0. 3. 6". 15th December. "Whereas Mary Pucknold hath a swelling in her legg, it is ordered that Dr. Aikenhead should take care of it, and the Parishioners will satisfy him."

1726 "Pd Edwd Marshall for taking care of the Pulpit Cloath and Cushoon 0. 5. 0". "Pd at Swan at a Vestry 0. 1. 6".

1731 "Pd. Mr. Hollins for West's Boys Head 0. 5. 0".

1732–3 "Pd. for a Letter from Horns Church in Essex and Expenses sending an Answer 0. 1. 3".

1733 "Pd. for Beer for the Man in the Cage 0. 1. 6".

1734 "Gave to a fforrein Prince by Mr. Ballard's order 0. 5. 0".

1754 April 19th. "Edward Harlon agrees to continue Mark Noble as a servant, gratis, for 2 years, and to find him all necessaries during the said term in sickness and in health and to leave him in good repair, being put into the same."

1772 September 22nd. "Also ordered by the above gentleman that every Officer pass^{g} their acc^{ts} to bring 2 Bottles wine."

1792 April 1st. "At a Vestry this Day holden it was agreed by the Churchwarden and Overseers and Inhabitants hereunder named has agreed to allow for a Base Viol for the use of the Choir of Singers the said Parish Church of Leatherhead and the same to be left to Mr. Benjamen Simmons to gett in the best Manner he can for the Use of the said Parish Choir."

1795 April 2nd. "At a Vestry this day duly holden pursuant to notice given on Tuesday last it was Ordered and agreed by the Parishioners then present that the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Parish of Leatherhead, Fetcham, and Effingham, do provide and get Two Men for his Majesty's Service, to go as Ordinary Seamen. And that the said Churchwardens and Overseers do get the said Men in the best and Raisonable Manner they can and that the aforesaid Churchwardens and Overseers are to be allowed all reasonable charges attending the same."

"John Ragge and David Windsor volunteered to serve and were paid 6 guineas each."

May 3rd. "At a Vestry this Day Duly holden it was ordered that the Expenses of Easter Monday now next ensuing and at all times hereafter by the Inhabitants then Present That the Expenses of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Parish do not exceed the Sum of One Guinea for the settling the Parish Business on that Day."

1796 June 17th. "Agreed by the Inhabitants present at Vestry that in case of actual Invasion they were ready to assist govrm^{t} with Waggons, carts and horses and proper persons to conduct the same, to the utmost of what may be found in the s^{d} Parish."

1805 March 24th. "At a Vestry this day duly holden for the purpose of making a Rate and Assessment on the Inhabitants of the Parish of Leatherhead in the County of Surrey to pay the Penalty of forty-four Pound one shilling and eight pence assessed on the said Parish in not having raised the Men for the Permanent Additional Force of the Realm it is agreed to exempt wholly from the said Assessment all Persons the Value of whose House in their Occupation taken separately and Distinctly shall be Rated to the Poor at a less sum that five Pounds pr. year Except Proprietors who pay other Rates and Whereas all persons serving in any Volunteer or Yeomanry Corps and all persons serving personally or by Substitute in the Militia are exempt by Act of Parliament from the said Assessment to the amount of twenty Pounds or any less sum it is ordered that the said Rate shall be made at fourpence halfpenny in the Pound or any sum as near as can possibly be computed to Amount to the said sum of forty four Pound one shilling and eight pence."

1805 April 7th. "Received of Robert Ladbroke Esq^{re} by the hands of Richard Boulton Esq^{re} the sum of twelve Pounds ten shillings for the use of the Poor of this Parish of Leatherhead being the moiety of twenty five Pounds for the Conviction of Thomas Cole carrier before the said Rob^{t} Ladbroke Esq. for purchasing five Hares contrary to the Statute."

[A penalty for poaching.]

1841 "Mr. John Doval elected Headborough.

Mr. James Marks appointed Beadle at £5 per annum and coat and hat once in 3 years.

Mr. Nicholson appointed organist at £5 per annum."

1844 January 18th. "The Cage was ordered to be made more convenient for the reception of persons confined therein. That the Constable to exact the sum of 1^{s}/6^{d} in addition to the present charge from every out parish Constable bringing any person to be confined in the Cage."

In 1851 there was a poll for the appointment of "Parochial" Churchwarden resulting in 48 votes for Mr. Tomlin and 42 for Mr. Barton.

In 1866 the poll for churchwarden gave Mr. Pyke 104 votes against 70 for Mr. Roy.

Amongst the Surrey Wills published by the Surrey Record Society, the following taken from the Spage Register are of considerable interest.

Thomas Puke of Ledderhede

3 Oct. 1485. To be buried in the churchyard of St. Mary. To the high altar of the said church for tithes forgot 12d. To the church of Winchester [the Cathedral] 4d. To the light of the Cross 4d. [i.e. the light before the rood]. To the repair of the light of St. Mary of Ledderhed 4d. [Probably the lamp before the image of St. Mary]. To William Wales 2 calves. To John Cotthow, clerk [the Vicar], for his labour 3s. 4d. For the repair of the bridge of Ledderhed 4d. Residue to Agnes my wife, etc.

Ranolde Burner of Lederhede

6 Oct. 1485. "In Dei nomine Amen. The VI day of October in the yer of our lorde Gode MCCCCLXXXV I Ranold Burner of Lederhede In my hole mynde have made my Wyll in this Wyse. Fyste I bequeth my soul to all myghty gode, to our lady Seynt Mary and to all the Seyntes in heaven, my body to be berede in the churche yerde of Lederhede. Item. To the hye Awter of Lederhede for all forgetyn synnys and tythys iiii yoyn schyp [four young sheep]. Item. To the rode lyght a busshell of berly [barley]. To our lady lyghte a busshell of berly. To our moder churche [Winchester Cathedral] a busshell berly. To Sir John Cotthow preste of Lederhede V hold grottes [? 5 whole groats = Is. 8d.] and a quarter of berly to pray for me. Item. To evere on of my chylder XXs. Residew of all my gods I gyfe to Ales my wyff and John my son, whom I orden myne executors, and they to dispose for my soule and all crystyn as they wyll answer afor allmyghty gode."

Ric Monter.

1 Sep. 1488. "In Dei nomine Amen—the first day of September in the yere of our lord god MCCCCLXXXVIII. I Ric Monter in my hole mynde beyng, has ordenett my testament on this wise: ffirst I will my soul to Allmyghty God, our Lady Seynt Marie, and my body to be buried in the chirchyerd at Ledirhed. Also I bewith to the high auter for all necligent titheregges viiid. Item to our moder cherch vid. Item to the rode light a shepe [sheep]. Item to our lady light a candilstik, the price vs. Item to John Stynt my best gown. Item to John my son all my shope gere. The residue of all my goods, I gif Johan my wif and John Ware, the which I ordeine to be myne executours to dispose for my souls and all crystyn and I will that the said John Ware have for his labor viiid. The Supervisor of this will my gostly fader Sir John Cotthow, Vicar of Lederhede, to se that my will be performed and my dettes paide and he to have iiis iiiid. for his labor."

Joan Monter, widow of Ledred.

12 Dec. 1489. "[In the] name of God Amen. A° Dmi. MCCCCLXXXIX. I Jone Monter, Widow of Ledred of hole mynde, make my testament in this wise: ffirst I bequeth my soule to Allmighty God, and to his moder our lady Seynt Mary and to all his seynts and my body to be beried in the chirch yerd of Ledred. Also I bequeth to the high awter vid. Also to the moder cherch iiiid. Also to the Rood Lyght vid. Also to the cross for to mayntene the taper, a quarter of malt. Also I gyve John my brother a litill cawdron and ii peyr of shetes and a brodcloth and a gown. Also I gyve to my suster, Elizabeth, my best girdyll. Also I gyve to Johan my cosyn, my odyr kyrtyll and my litill gyrdyll. Also I gyve to Margerete Holton my best kyrtill and a napron. Also I gyve to Elisabeth Wike a smok and a napron. Also my dettes paide I will that John my sonne have the Residew of all my goodes, and if it hapyn John my sonne dye w^t^ in age I will that my goodes be sold and doon for the welth of Richard Monter's soule, my husband and for my soule and all cristyn soulis and all this godes to be at the disposicion of John Ware and John Stynt, which I make my executours. Dat XII die Debris."

Book of Homilies

In a glass case near the north door is a handsomely bound Book of Homilies (Oxford) 1683, formerly chained but with the chain now loose. On the binding are the names of the Churchwardens and the date 1708. It was thought that the book was presented by them, Messrs. Akehurst and Dacres, but in the Churchwardens' accounts for 1707 occurs the item: "18th April p^{d} M^{r} Bonwick for a Church Bible, Com^{m} Prayer Book and Book of Homilys 003. 06. 00." The Homilies were intended to be read in place of a sermon by those clergymen who were not licenced to preach.

Book of Common Prayer

In another case is a Book of Common Prayer (London) 1669, in sumptuous contemporary binding, stamped with the arms of Montague—an esquire, as the arms show. Mr. Malden has suggested the following as at least a possible, perhaps probable, theory of how it came to the church.

"In 1669, Ralph Montague went as Ambassador to Paris. He was afterwards Duke of Montague, but in 1669 he was Ralph Montague, Esq. He had a Chaplain attached to his Embassy, and therefore, no doubt, a Bible and Prayer Book for services in his chapel. One of his 'attachés', as we should call them—pages they were then called—was a young man named George Carpenter. He afterwards became a distinguished soldier, and was created Lord Carpenter. His son [George, 2nd Baron Carpenter] bought Randalls [in 1753], and lived there, as did his son [George, 3rd Baron Carpenter, created in 1761 Earl of Tyrconnel, who sold Randalls in 1782]. It is possible that one of these two owners of Randalls gave to the church a Prayer Book which George Carpenter had acquired as a memento of his attachéship in Paris."

May we add a further suggestion to Mr. Malden's theory? The Registers record the baptism on September 22nd, 1758, of "Henry, son of the R^{t} Hon^{ble} the Lord and Lady Carpenter." Perhaps the Prayer Book was presented to the church to mark this event.

NOTES
(added by the Editor)

1. The form of this chest, long and comparatively narrow, indicates quite clearly that its original purpose was to contain the priestly vestments. These vestments in mediaeval England were of great richness and beauty even in obscure country parishes, and were known throughout Europe for their embroidery, often in gold and silver thread, called *Opus Anglicanum*, which by its stiffness would inhibit folding and require the vestments to be laid out at full length.
2. The Shortrudge papers were deposited in the Surrey Record Office by the Parochial Church Council after Mr. Smith had written this account, he himself being largely responsible for arranging the deposit.

FURTHER OCCASIONAL NOTES

THE POUND AT ASHTEAD

IT APPEARS that the site of the pound has been changed on several occasions—most recently about 1903 when *New Road* (now *The Marld*) was constructed. Then it was moved some yards as it was in the way of the road. (*Vide* J. E. Smith's "Ashtead Past and Present" in *Ashtead Parish Magazine* for 1903.) J. E. Smith states: "There is no mention in the Parish Registers (of the pound) and no other Parish records to which reference can be made." He is clearly wrong in his statement that it was once at the "junction of *Rectory Lane* with the main road"; but it was at the corner of *Park Lane* where it joins the main road, as here, where the Alms House stands, as shown by the Lawrence map of 1638, was a large piece of land forming part of the road and with the village "lock-up" on it and, it can be presumed, the stocks, whipping-post, and the pound. No doubt when the alms-house was built here (the original building of 1736 erected by the Howards) a new pound was erected on the land opposite, and it was this one that had to be moved about 1903. It had to be at a site where it could be supervised, so that no unauthorised person could release the stray cattle or horses put in it, as, since it was a simple post and rail structure, could easily be done, as shown by the following earlier entries in the Court Rolls of the Manor:—

(i) 23rd September, 1546—Court Baron of King Henry VIII, then owner of Ashtead Manor.

The Homage Jury present on oath that Richard Stephens has broken the pound ("parcus" in the Latin version) of our said Lord the King situated there, allowing the escape of his cattle against (etc. . . .).

(ii) 14th December, 1576—18th year of Queen Elizabeth.

"*Parcus*" (in English "the Pound") is in decay and it is stated that the Lord of the Manor ought to repair it, wherefor it is granted that the Bailiff assign timber for the repair of the same under the supervision of the Homage Jury.

A. W. G. LOWTHER.

ADDER'S TONGUE FERN, *OPHIOGLOSSUM VULGATUM*. LINN.

THE DRAWING on the back cover was made from specimens of this rare fern in 1923, when it was growing at the bottom of the old chalk-pit in my ground at Ashtead. It formed a single patch, under shrubs, and was noted there for a number of years (until 1959), but has now been obliterated by the onset of ivy which has spread so extensively and has destroyed a number of other plants that used to grow in the pit. Fortunately I retained and dried some specimens, which have kept well and give a good idea of this unusual little fern.

Of it the Rev. T. N. Hart Smith-Pearse wrote in 1917 (*A Flora of Epsom and its neighbourhood*, page 102), "Rare. Once found near Ewell in 1909, and a few plants grow near Burford Bridge, seen in 1910–11. Several on Reigate Heath in June 1915."

A. W. G. LOWTHER.

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1966

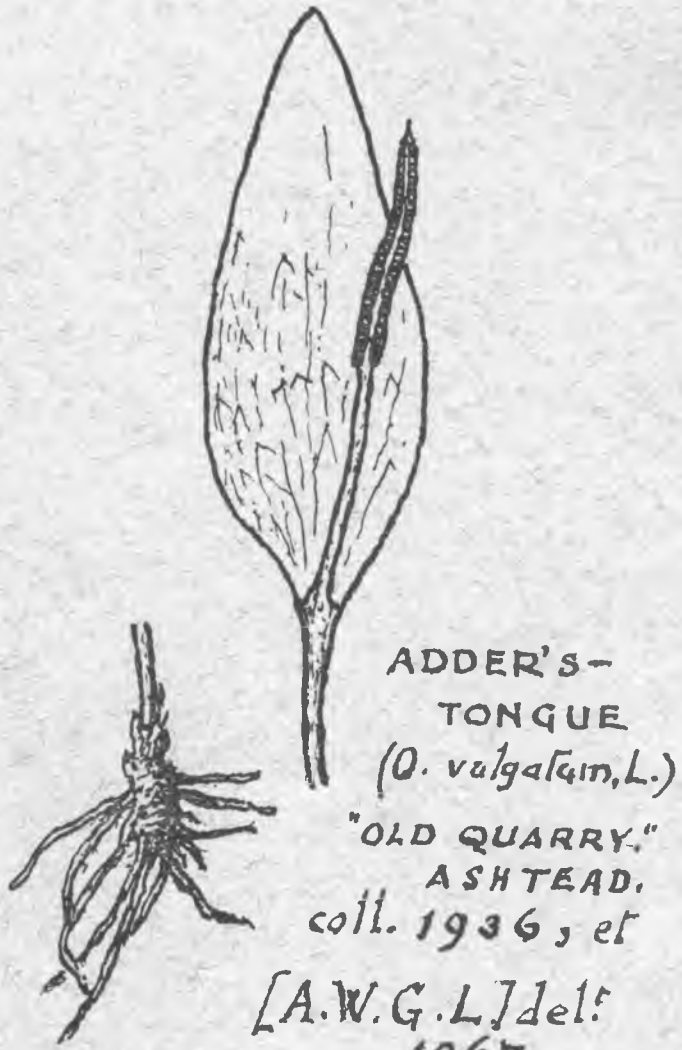
1965 £ s. d.	RECEIPTS	£ s. d.	*1966* £ s. d.
	Bank Balances as at 31.12.1965:—		
133 18 5	Midland Bank Ltd.	163 6 8	
87 12 1	Surrey Trustee Savings Bank ..	90 12 7	
			253 19 3
99 9 6	Subscriptions		109 11 6
	Grants:—		
25 0 0	Surrey County Council	25 0 0	
15 0 0	Leatherhead U.D.C.	15 0 0	
			40 0 0
	Donations:—		
20 7 0	General	7 16 6	
4 4 0	Lecture Fees	— — —	
			7 16 6
26 7 8	Sale of *Proceedings* and Binding Cases		19 15 7
3 0 6	Bank Interest		3 3 6
			£434 6 4

1965 £ s. d.	PAYMENTS	£ s. d.	*1966* £ s. d.
131 0 0	Printing of *Proceedings*		144 10 0
5 1 5	General Printing		14 17 9
18 14 6	Postages, Stationery, and Sundry Disbursements		12 13 6
	Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:—		
1 0 0	Surrey Record Society	2 0 0	
1 0 0	Council for British Archaeology ..	1 10 0	
1 1 0	Field Studies Council	1 1 0	
			4 11 0
3 3 0	Visits and Meetings		4 15 0
	Bank Balances as at 31.12.1966:—		
163 6 8	Midland Bank Ltd.	159 3 0	
90 12 7	Surrey Trustee Savings Bank ..	93 16 1	
			252 19 1
			£434 6 4

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 correct.

A. H. KIRKBY,
Honorary Auditor.

W. T. BRISTOW,
Honorary Treasurer.



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