

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT  
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

F.B.B

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT  
LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



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## SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1962:—

February 22nd	Epidiascope projections of historical photographs of Leatherhead, with commentary.
March 22nd	Brains Trust. Chairman, F. B. Benger; Members, J. H. Harvey, F.S.A., Dr. Phyllis Topping, A. T. Ruby, M.B.E., J. G. W. Lewarne.
April 11th	Lecture: "Some Thoughts on the Dark Ages", by C. W. Phillips, O.B.E., F.S.A.
May 19th	Visit to Great Bookham Church for brass rubbing. Leader: Mrs. Haynes.
June 24th	Natural History Ramble on Headley Heath. Leader: Dr. Phyllis Topping.
July 14th	Visit to Museum of Rural Bygones, Wonersh, and Wonersh Church (talk by H. V. Everard).
September 29th	Visit to Rowhurst, Leatherhead, and forge, by courtesy of Mrs. Quinnell.
November 15th	Lecture: "Toadstools", by Dr. Phyllis Topping.
December 1st	Joint Meeting with the Surrey Archaeological Society. Lecture: "The Development of the English Castle 1066-1200 A.D.", by J. K. Knight.

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No. 5 of Vol. 2 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

## Sixteenth Annual General Meeting

*Held at the Council Offices, Leatherhead, on Friday, 22nd March, 1963*

THE REPORT of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 1962 were adopted and approved. Officers of the Society were elected as shown below.

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### OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1963

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

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*Hon. Editor of the Proceedings:* F. B. BENDER

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

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**of the**  
**Leatherhead and District Local History Society**  
**Vol. 2, No. 6**  
**1962**

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## OCCASIONAL NOTES



### LEATHERHEAD BRIDGE

**T**HE WATER-COLOUR DRAWING by John Hassell dated 1823 here reproduced (one of a collection of local drawings by John and Edward Hassell given to the Leatherhead branch of the County Library by the late Charles Stonehill) is of special interest because it depicts the southern side of the bridge as it was before widening took place on that side in the following year, 1824; leaving the bridge as we know it to-day.

It is probable that a bridge existed here from early times; and certainly there was one existing *c.* 1286 when Peter Dryw of Fetcham mortgaged to Merton College the annual rent of a house "at the bridge in the town of Ledderede".<sup>1</sup> In 1362 a licence was

granted to collect money for its repair.<sup>2</sup> The upkeep of the bridge then and for some centuries after appears to have been a joint charge upon the parishes of Leatherhead and Fetcham, and must have been a burden to small communities. The Will of Edmund Tynley, Master of the Revels, dated 1st July, 1610<sup>3</sup> bequeathed £100 for its repair if this had not been carried out by the county authorities, and it is possible that with this bequest the land at Fetcham was bought of which the rent was devoted to the maintenance of the bridge.<sup>4</sup> At the Surrey Quarter Sessions of midsummer 1661 it was reported that "the bridge commonly called Lethered bridge in Lethered, for the use of all the king's subjects with their carriages, carts and horses, has been out of repair . . . ever since 1 June 1661 that the liege people of the king . . . cannot pass by . . . without great peril of their lives . . . The Inhabitants of Lethered and Fetcham ought and have been wont to repair the same whenever necessary".<sup>5</sup> At the Quarter Sessions of April 1665 it was again reported out of repair,<sup>6</sup> being then referred to as a footbridge. On neither occasion were fines levied on the inhabitants, so it may be that work had been discreetly commenced before the Quarter Sessions or that these complaints were deliberately designed to draw attention to the need for the county to take over the maintenance of the bridge. The bridge is referred to as a stone bridge in an indenture between Lady Mary Tryon of Norbury and Richard Dalton of Thorncroft dated 21 October, 1755, designed to divert the footpath along the western bank of the river from Mickleham to Fetcham.<sup>7</sup> At a Leatherhead Vestry meeting, 23 June 1760, it was "Ordered that if any person or persons not belonging to the parishes of Leatherhead and Fetcham are desirous to go over Leatherhead Bridge may have that Liberty on paying 10s. 6d. a year (and finding their own keys) towards the repair of the said Bridge and if they belong to either of the said parishes to pay 5s. (and find their own keys) towards the repair of the same and this Order to stand provided the parish of Fetcham agree to the same provided they lock the said Bridge secure after their passing over the same".<sup>8</sup> It is probable that except when the river was in spate most travellers went through the ford, the eastern entrance to which remained until recent years. There must have been a local sigh of relief when in March 1782 Parliament passed an Act<sup>9</sup> constituting it a county bridge, providing for its widening, and for the sale of the land at Fetcham held for its maintenance, which is said to have been let at the time for no more than 18s. a year.<sup>10</sup> According to Brayley's *Surrey*<sup>11</sup> it was soon after widened to the extent of twenty feet. The general appearance of the brickwork on the northern side is certainly of the second half of the eighteenth century, but architectural experts who have examined the piers and the underside of the arches of the bridge as it exists to-day declare that it exhibits traces of a mediaeval structure.

#### ITINERANT PAUPERS IN LEATHERHEAD, 1819

**T**HE PROBLEM OF PAUPERISM, which had begun to be a national one during the second half of the eighteenth century largely due to the enclosure of copyhold and common lands, was accentuated by the economic changes consequent upon the Napoleonic Wars, and it presented a difficult situation for the Overseers of the Poor whose anxiety, naturally, was that their funds should be used for the relief of the poor and indigent of their own parishes and that they should not be saddled with the maintenance of paupers from other districts. At a Leatherhead Vestry held 1st November, 1818, the Poor Rate was fixed at the unprecedentedly high figure of five shillings in the pound, and on March 7th of the following year this resolution was passed at a Vestry meeting:—<sup>12</sup>

"Ordered at a Vestry that six persons with staves be placed at each entrance to this village under the direction of the Churchwardens and Overseers in order to prevent paupers from Cogging."

The Oxford Dictionary definition of the verb *cog* is to fraudulently control the way dice fall. Whether at the time in question it had also the current meaning of a pauper

coming into a district to become a charge on the poor rate, or whether the dictionary definition was being made the pretext for keeping out these itinerant poor is now difficult to establish, but this Vestry resolution gives a vivid impression of the lengths to which humane men (including Rev. James Dallaway the then Vicar) were prepared to go to meet the effects of a national problem in their district.

#### NOTES

1. Merton College Deed No. 638.
2. Pat. 35 Edward III, pt. II, m. 24. "Pro Reparatione Pontis de Lederhed."
3. P.C.C. Wingfield 110. *Proceedings*, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 21.
4. V.C.H. *Surrey*. III, 294.
5. Surrey Quarter Sessions Records, 1659/61. S.C.C. 1934, p. 185.
6. *Ibid.* 1663/66. *Surrey Record Society*, 1938, p. 235.
7. Surrey Record Office, 3/93.
8. Vestry Minute Books, Leatherhead Church Chest.
9. 22 George III, cap. 17.
10. Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, II, p. 666.
11. Brayley, *Surrey*, IV, p. 433.
12. Vestry Minute Books, Leatherhead Church Chest.

## THE IRON AGE AND ROMAN OCCUPATION SITE AT PARK LANE, ASHTEAD

(Map Ref. 193577)

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

### I. THE IRON AGE

**T**HE IRON AGE and Roman occupation site which was found in 1930 in the grounds of the house "Inward Shaw", then lately constructed, was the subject of two notes which appeared in volumes of the Surrey Archaeological Collections.<sup>1</sup> These notes were of the briefest, the first describing a pit<sup>2</sup> which was then excavated and which contained a loose filling of Roman and Iron Age material, comprising pottery and animal bones mixed with charcoal and soil and with loose chalk filling at the bottom. With the description of this pit and of some of the pottery found in it, some Roman pottery and a brooch found nearby was published and showed that occupation had continued into late-Roman times and that it had been extensive and concentrated especially from about 70 to 170 A.D.; but some *Claudian* pottery and pieces of fourth century colour-coated ware amongst it suggested some occupation throughout the Roman period. Much of this pottery was found in the foot or so depth of soil overlying the undisturbed chalk subsoil. These pieces were made available by Mr. A. R. Cotton, F.S.A., the owner of the site at that time.

The other note figured seven pieces of Iron Age pottery found in one of pits located and cleared by Mr. Cotton at a later date during further work in making a lawn and forming the garden. Some of these are republished here for the benefit of those to whom the earlier note is not readily available.

Recently, and some 25 years after the original find, several boxes of the pottery found were kindly made available to me by Mr. Cotton and, after examination, this is now being published for the first time.<sup>3</sup>

One of the interesting features of this small group of pottery is the diversity of styles of the different vessels composing it. For instance, there is the piece No. 12, which is

from a vessel of "All Cannings Cross" type, as found on a farm at that place in Wiltshire, and having a peculiar type of decoration.<sup>18</sup> This is formed of incised lines and areas covered with "punctured dots", and the pot (or pots, if No. 23 is from a similar pot) so decorated are foreign to this site and must have been obtained, possibly by trade, from some more distant site.

Several of the other Iron Age sites that have been found in Surrey have similarly had a surprisingly wide variety of types of cooking-pots, store-jars, bowls and other domestic vessels. That at *Hawk's Hill*, Leatherhead,<sup>4</sup> is most to the fore at present owing to the excavations being carried out by Mr. Hastings, but those at *Ewell*<sup>5</sup> and *Wisley*<sup>6</sup> are equally remarkable, as also that at *West Clandon*, excavated by Mr. Frere in 1941, and published by him in Vol. 101 of the *Archaeological Journal*.

Whereas trade may account in part for the diversity of pot types, there is also another possible explanation. This is that of the existence of slaves in communities of the period,<sup>7</sup> no doubt captives from the numerous inter-tribal wars (or perhaps mere raiding expeditions) that seem to have been current with the various chieftains or kinglets and their warlike peoples, whether of Celtic, Belgic, or other race (and which afford considerable trouble to archaeologists trying to sort them according to the "A.B.C. of the British Iron Age", as Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes, originator of this classification, has aptly termed it). Such raids or wars would no doubt at times result in the potters who worked in one style or tradition carrying on the same work as slaves in a totally different area but still (to the confusion of archaeologists) working in the same style and turning out pots of the types they were accustomed to making. Presumably it is also likely that this work, as with native tribes at the present day, was carried on mainly by women. This suggestion is perhaps supported by the complex of pot types being ascribable mainly to the latter part of the Iron Age, especially to the period extending down to the Roman conquest from the first arrival of the Belgae in Britain. On the other hand, in the earlier part of the Iron Age, the wares of the so-termed "A" period are far more uniform both as regards make and form.<sup>8</sup>

The circumstances under which the "*Inward Shaw*" material was recovered prevented the investigation that such a site merited, and which is most happily being accorded to the *Hawk's Hill* site. From the quantity of pieces of chalk and clay "cob", corn-drying ovens and timber huts of wattle and daub were clearly present, and post-holes might have afforded some information about them. The other finds included pieces of a number of querns of millstone-grit and of triangular baked-clay loom-weights typical of the period. Calcined flints, of the type once termed "pot-boilers" and now known to be connected with a corn-parching process<sup>9</sup>, were found in quantity, and many animal bones—short-horn ox, pig, sheep, and deer predominating. Two pre-Roman coins of tin were found (and apparently lost subsequently). The description of one of them, given by Mr. Cotton, shows that it was of the type classified by Sir John Evans as "G 5 and 6".

The pottery in this new assemblage included some pieces belonging to pots already published by me (as G1 to G7) in the note of 1949, but only one was materially altered by the new pieces fitting on to it. This, numbered 8, is now seen to have had a very deep outcurved rim, and to have been a very interesting and uncommon vessel. No pieces of the base survive, so it is uncertain whether or not it had some form of foot-ring, as was the case with a somewhat similar bowl from Wisley.<sup>10</sup>

Some of the pottery has close parallels with Iron-Age pottery from sites in Sussex, especially the rather globular pots, with smooth soapy feeling, and decorated with incised linear ornament, in an arcading design, a short distance below the rim (Nos. 24 and 25). This may have been intended to serve as setting-out, or guide lines for painted ornament, as is the case with a pot found with the Iron Age material beneath the Roman villa at

*Sandlands Road*, Tadworth,<sup>11</sup> where traces of the dark purple paint survived, or with pots from *Seddlescombe*, Sussex,<sup>12</sup> similarly arcaded, and with broad black-painted lines following the arcading and terminating at the downward points, in circular painted blobs. No pieces of the bases of these Ashted pots were found. This ware is of a fine, gritless-clay, and with smooth soapy surface and in this respect is identical with the clay used for the pots of "*Patch Grove*" types, i.e. those (not figured) represented in this assemblage by a quantity of fragments and a few small pieces of rims, but none of them worthy of illustration. However, some excellent examples, found at "*Purberry Shot*", Ewell, are figured in the Report<sup>9</sup> (figs. 15 and 16) on that excavation.

Some of the pottery found, especially the pieces figured as Nos. 13, 14, and 15, all of them formed of a heavily shell-gritted clay, the pounded pieces of shell being in many of them quite large, might appear closely akin to certain Late Bronze Age pottery, but in fact there is no reason to believe them earlier than the remainder of the group; in fact, No. 15 (possibly a bowl rather than pot, but none of the base survives) was found, in a pit, in association with pieces (Nos. 9 and 10) of small Iron Age pots. Again, these shell-gritted pots are different from the true Late Bronze Age pottery from such sites of this period as have been found in Surrey and possibly elsewhere in that pounded-shell has been employed instead of heavy calcite grit or burnt flint particles. Also the Hawk's Hill House site has produced pieces of large vessels of similar shell-gritted ware, of which two were figured by me.<sup>14</sup>

An earlier date in the Iron Age may be represented by the pieces 12 and 16, both of them with fine calcite particles in their clay, and No. 12 having decoration akin to the All Cannings Cross pottery, as already mentioned, which is assigned to an early date in the Iron Age. Also in this group is a fragment from the curving neck of a pot, or bowl, of fine gritted ware. Dark grey and with red coloured surfaces, it is a piece of the so-called haematite-surface ware, and exactly like pieces found at Epsom, in the grounds of Epsom College.<sup>15</sup> Some pieces were also found at the Iron Age Site at Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, where they were stratified and with pottery of "A" types.<sup>16</sup>

Before giving a detailed description of the 25 pieces of pottery which are figured (and which were found with a much greater quantity of pieces which, mainly from the sides of pots, lacked features to make them worthy of illustrations), I will give a summary of the main types. These are:—

(a) *Bead-rim*, and related types of cooking pot, which are attributed to the Belgic inhabitants of this part of S.E. Britain, and of which other examples have been found at a number of Surrey sites. Here represented by Nos. 1–7, all are of clay mixed with finely-pounded shell grit, but with the outer surfaces carefully smoothed.

(b) *Patch Grove* ware, apparently in use at the middle of the 1st century A.D. at the date of the Claudian invasion, but uncertain how much earlier or how long it continued to be made after the Roman conquest of Britain.

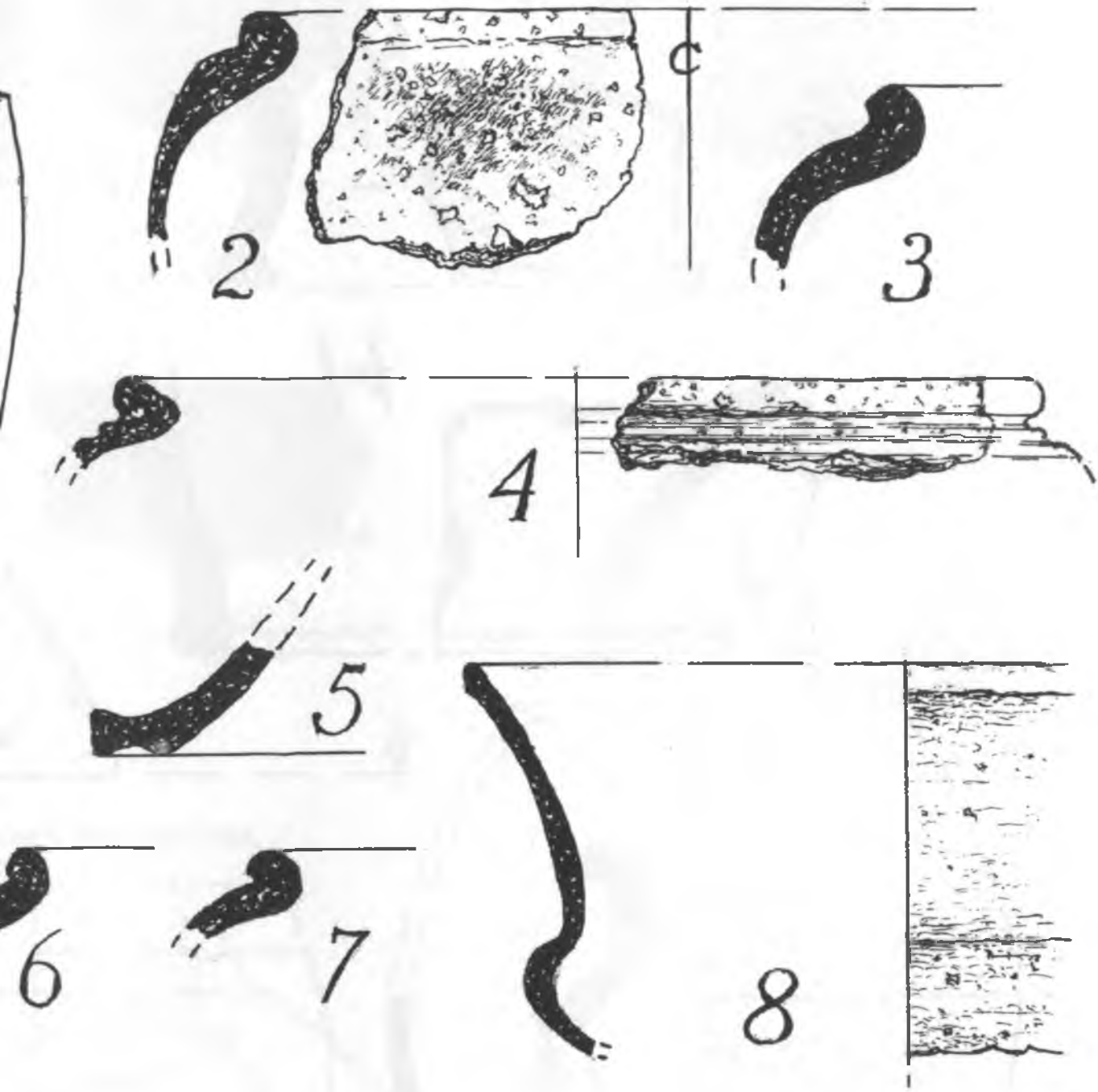
(c) *South-eastern "B"* pottery. As found in Sussex it is found, usually in small quantity at Surrey Iron Age sites, but a number of pieces with interesting ornamentation, have recently been found at the Hawks Hill site. It formed much of the Wisley pottery. Nos. 21, 24, and 25.

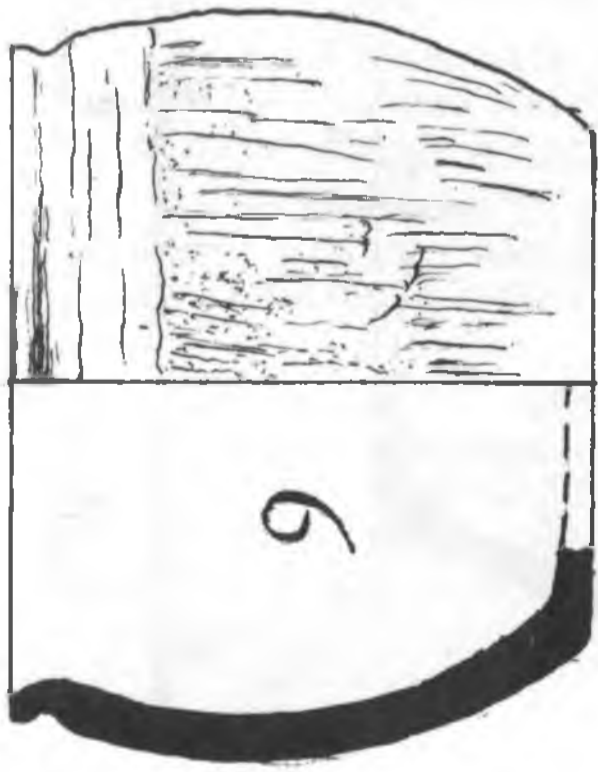
(d) *Iron Age "A"* ware, or types derived from it. The rim piece, No. 22, apparently from a situlate shouldered-pot with the top of the rim with finger-made ornament. This may have had a row of finger-tip indentations round the bulge, and two small fragments from other pots with such indentations were found amongst the pieces. The type in its original and early form, has been found at Carshalton and at Caesar's Camp on Wimbledon Common.<sup>17</sup>



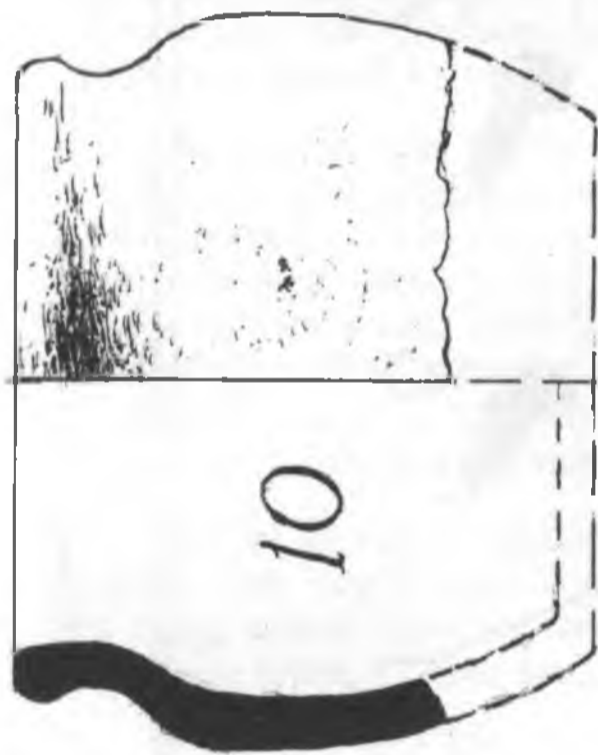


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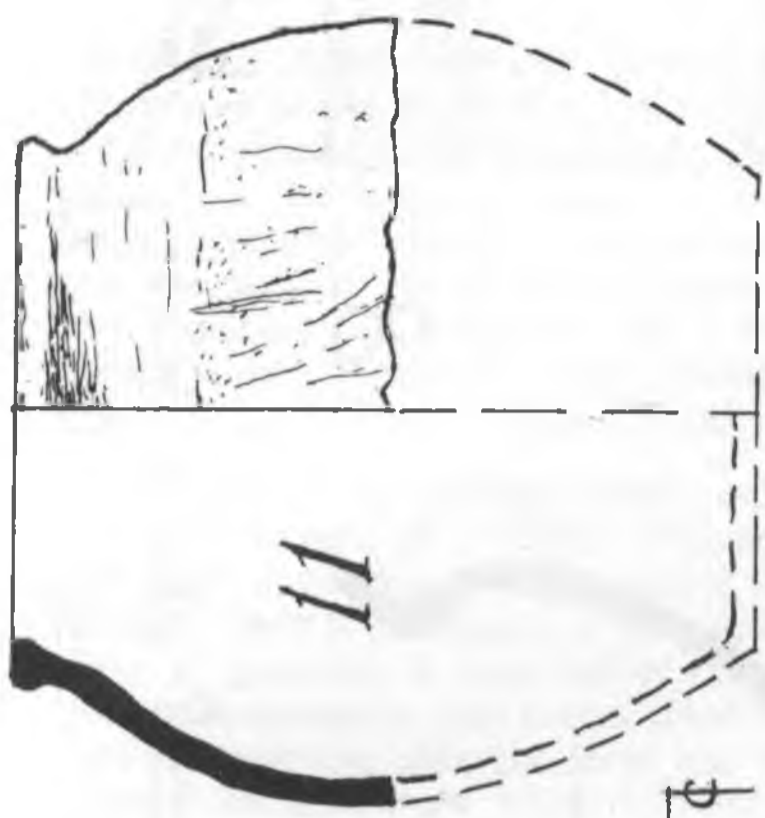




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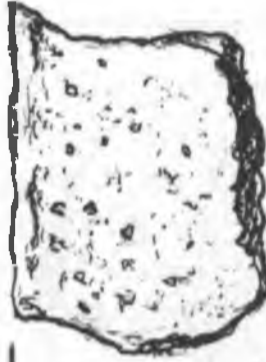
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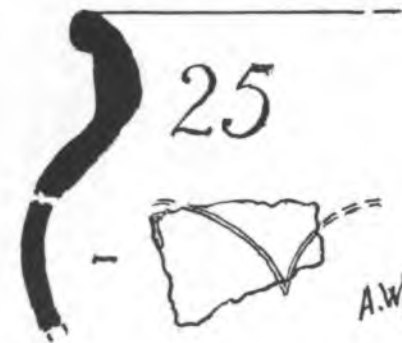
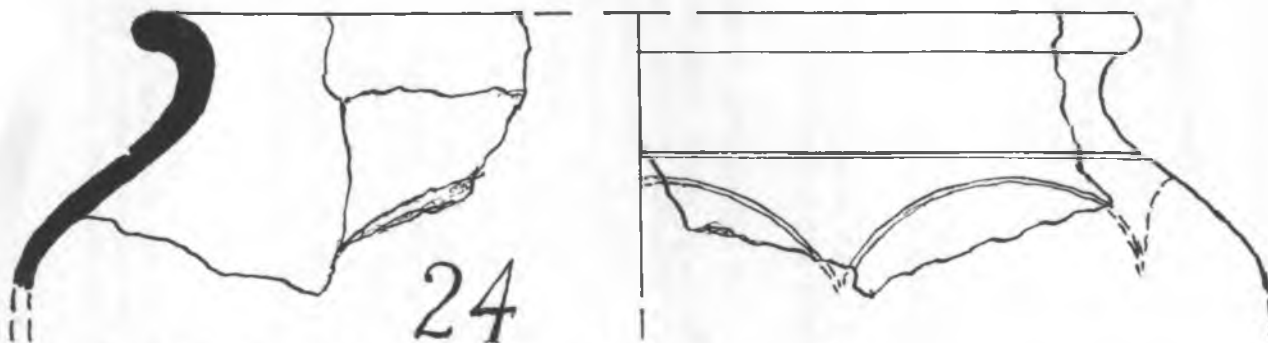
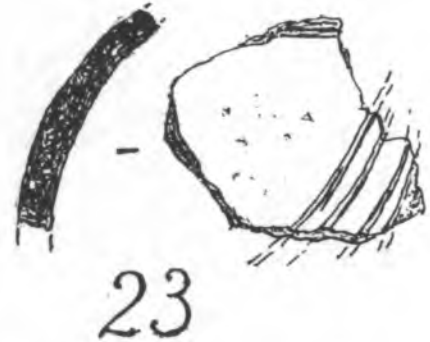
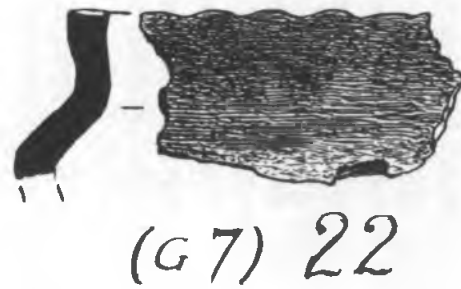
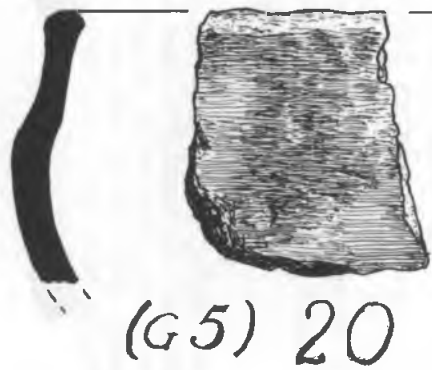
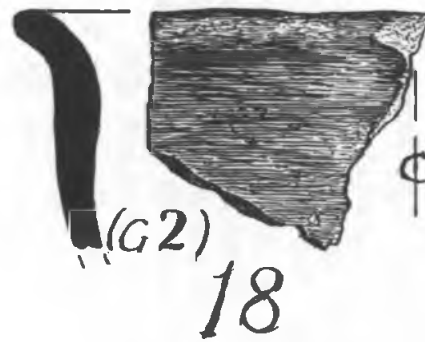
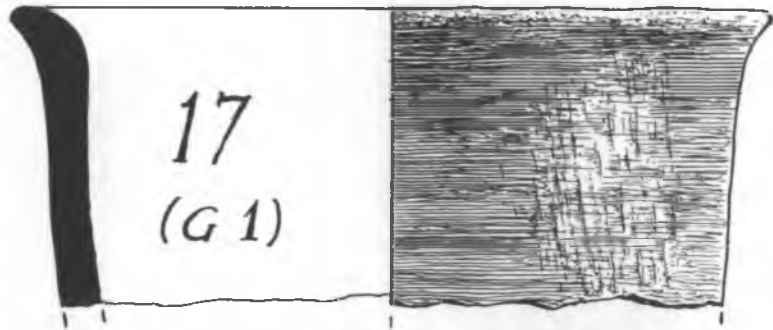
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A.W.G.L.  
XII, '62

SCALE OF INCHES.  
10.





1 1/2 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 SCALE OF INCHES.

A.W.G.L.  
'62

### Detailed description of the pottery illustrated

1. Cooking pot of "bead-rim" category, though without a fully developed bead, as Nos. 2, 3, 6, or 7. It is, however, identical in ware and condition with these, especially with No. 2, which is of exactly the same brown or red-brown colour, darkened and blackened in places from use over a fire.

2, 3, 6, and 7. Rims from typical native bead-rim cooking pots.

4. Rim fragment of a type of flattened, or inward bevelled bead-rim from a pot with grooved or ribbed upper part, but of exactly the same ware to the above. Its counterpart, from *Purberry Shot*, Ewell, is figured by F.25 on fig. 18 of that report.<sup>5</sup>

5. Fragment, apparently from a pot-lid of a type, of truncated cone shape, of which several have been found at *Seddlescombe*, Sussex. It could also have served as a small cup or bowl (as was the case with those from Sussex), but the rough, irregular type of base, as shown by several, makes it more likely that they were intended as lids.

8. Bowl, of thin, hard, black ware, with a little added fine, white, quartz grit. Sharply-curved shoulder, and with a very deep, out-curved rim with moulded edge. An unusual vessel for Iron Age sites in this country, it has more affinity with pottery from some continental sites and is clearly an import to Ashtead.

9, 10, 11, and 19. Small, rather globular pots, but apparently used for cooking purposes, as several are fire-blackened and two of them (Nos. 9 and 10) have burnt incrustations on the inside, apparently the remains of some burnt contents from the occasion when they were last in use. All are of non-gritted black to brown ware, unburnished, and with rather an irregular, leathery outer surface. No. 9 has pronounced horizontal smoothing lines just below the rim and vertical lines covering the main body of the pot. Similar pots are amongst the finds from the Wisley site.<sup>10</sup>

12. Fragment from the side of a large pot of quartz-gritted ware, ornamented, in the style of *All Cannings Cross* pottery, with incised linear pattern combined with pitting, or punctured dot treatment of parts of the surface.<sup>18</sup>

23. Of similar ware this is possibly from a vessel of the same type as No. 12. The incised decoration is like that on some of the Wiltshire vessels, while the fine quartz-gritting is also as that of No. 12.

Nos. 13 to 16 have already been discussed above, and are of shell-gritted ware.

17 and 18. Vertical-sided pots or beakers, for they are most likely to have been drinking vessels. They have highly burnished outer and inner surfaces, and may possibly have had bases provided with a foot-ring, but, though two small pieces of crude foot-ring or pedestal bases are amongst the pieces, there is no evidence regarding these two vessels.

19. Dealt with in connection with Nos. 9 to 11. It is intensely black ware, partly due to use on fires. Smoothed but not burnished on the outside. Some further pieces of this small pot were amongst the recently studied fragments, but none are from its lower half.

24 and 25 (and several unfigured fragments of others of this type). Large, globular pots of grey to brown, very smooth ware, and with well-formed rims. Decorated with incised linear ornament, forming arcing around the upper part of the vessel. For examples found in Sussex, see *The Archaeology of Sussex* by E. Cecil Curwen (1937), fig. 81, No. 2. A complete pot of this type ("Asham type") is figured from one found at *Saltdean*, near Brighton. (For other examples found since that date, see the various volumes of Sussex Archaeological Collections.)

#### NOTES

1. *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Vol. 58, Part 2 (1930), 197-202; ditto, Vol. 50 (1949), 140-141.

2. Described in the note as having been a "rubbish pit" but, although this had clearly been its ultimate use, it was a typical grain-storage pit in the first instance, of which fourteen examples were subsequently located at this site, but not seen by me, while others have recently been excavated by Mr. Hastings at the *Hawk's Hill* site (1961 and 1962), west of Leatherhead.

3. In two parts, of which this, the first, deals only with the Iron Age pottery found.
4. *Hawk's Hill*. Finds in the grounds of Hawk's Hill House in 1900 (*S.A.C.*, 20, p. 127, and *S.A.C.*, 50, pp. 142 and 143), and those found by Mr. Hastings in his recent excavations a short distance west of the original site.
5. Two main sites at Ewell, viz. (a) South side of *Nonsuch Park* (Warren Farm, 1938), *S.A.C.*, 50, pp. 139 and 140; and (b) *Purberry Shot*; *S.A.C.*, 50, pp. 9 to 46.
6. *Antiquaries Journal*, IV, p. 45, and (republished with additional material) *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N.S. Vol. XI (1945), pp. 32-38.
7. Slave-chains, with collars for securing to the necks of a number of members of a gang of slaves or captives, have been found at several Iron Age sites. Two were found with the large hoard of bronze and iron objects at *Llyn Cerrig Bach*, Anglesey, described by Sir Cyril Fox in his report (National Museum of Wales, Interim Report, 1945), and their great strength was shown by their having been employed to tow lorries out of the mud by the contractor who found them, and having suffered only minor damage in the process. (Sir Cyril Fox—page 31 of the Interim Report.)
8. This, as against the thin, finely burnished ware, is of thick, coarsely shell-, or calite-gritted pottery.
9. The corn was "parched" to prevent germination, before being put into the store-pits underground.
10. "Iron Age Pottery from Wisley, Surrey, by A. W. G. Lowther, in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N.S. Vol. XI, p. 33, fig. 1.10.
11. *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Vol. 51, pp. 65-81. Fig. 5 and page 68.
12. Recovered, in association with much cinder, from iron working, by the late Mrs. Chown. Note in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* and, unpublished, pieces at Lewes Museum.
13. The Late Bronze Age pottery from The Warren Estate, Ashtead, is all calcite-gritted, as is that from Farnham (Farnham and District Prehistory, S.A.S. Vol.), especially from the "Green Lane" site, where it was found in association with cylindrical loom-weights and saddle-querns.
14. *Surrey Arch. Collections*, 50, page 1 and 2.
15. Note, by S. S. Friere, F.S.A., in *Antiquaries Journal*, XXII (1942), p. 123, entitled "An Iron Age Site near Epsom", and with discussion of haematite ware found at sites in Surrey and Sussex.
16. *Surrey Arch. Collections*, 49, page 65.
17. Excavations of 1937 reported in *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. CII, p. 15. Pottery, now in Guildford Museum, on fig. 4.
18. The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wilts., by M. E. Cunnington, 1923.

### IRON AGE FARMSTEAD, HAWKS HILL, FETCHAM

Excavation continued on the above site in 1962.\* A total of three of the deeper grain storage pits and two shallow pits were located. Other features were a large number of post-holes, some of which had been re-cut suggesting a long period of use, but no definite hut pattern was found. There was one group of four representing a square structure of 7 ft. 6 in. side and also two complex groups, 5 feet apart, which on the analogy of Little Woodbury, probably represented a gateway. There was no evidence of a palisade to go with the gate, but the top soil is deep enough to take fence posts of a light nature without penetrating the chalk.

A drainage gully discovered in 1961 was traced further this season and it lead to a sump containing a good deal of water-worn pottery. This was mainly Iron Age but included some Romano-British. This implies that the drain was cut during the Iron Age occupation and was still open in Roman times, suggesting that this culture, Iron Southern Second B, continues unbroken into the Roman period in this area. The Roman pottery has not yet been closely dated but is probably 1st and 2nd Century A.D.

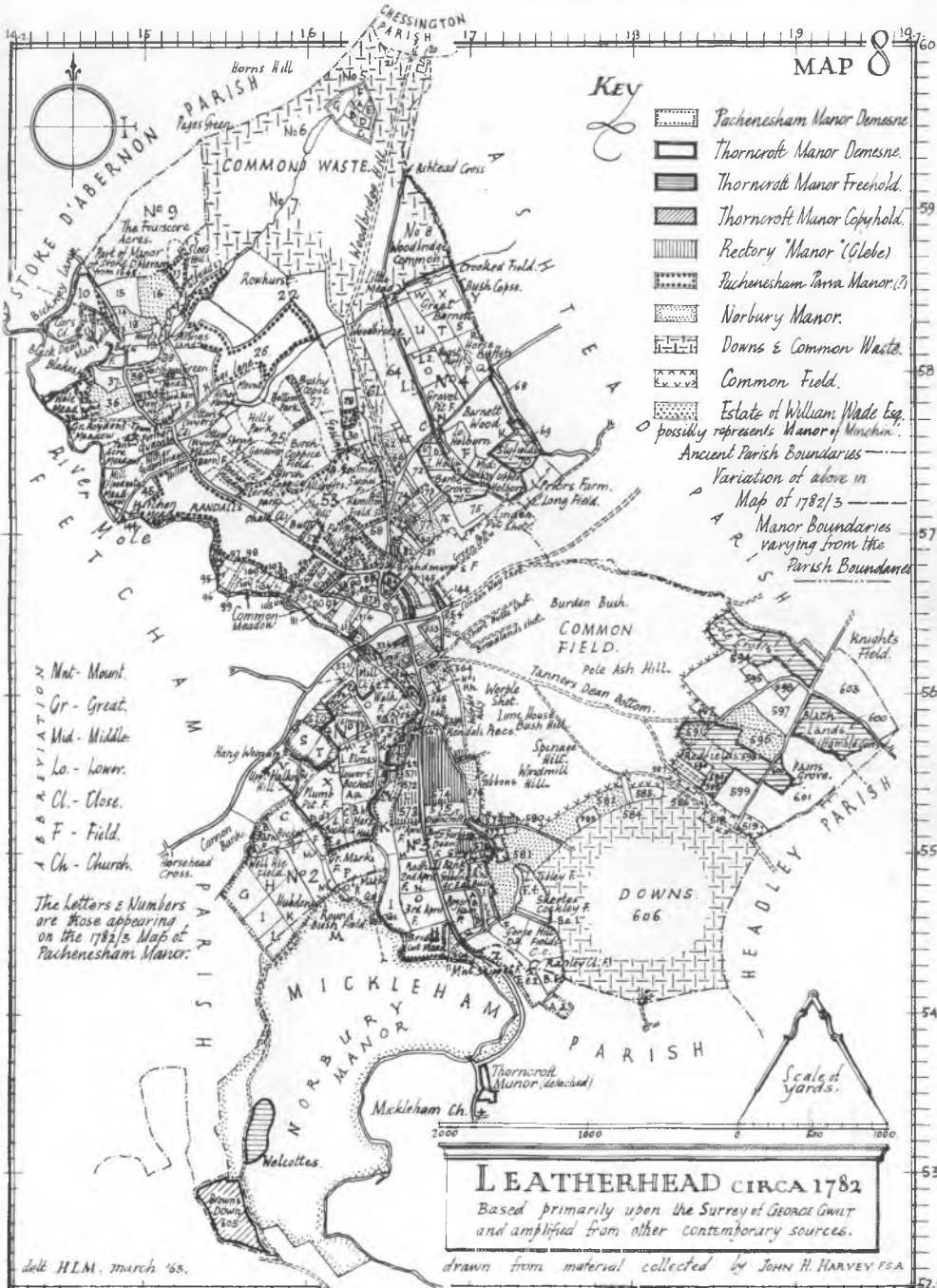
The finds include a great deal of pottery, belonging to the Wealden culture (Iron Southern Second B—Hawkes' Classification), many animal bones, broken loom weights, and a pottery spindle whorl. Romano-British pottery, including two small fragments of Samian, came from the top soil which is unstratified. (Only the small quantity mentioned above, found in the sump, was connected with any structure on the site.) A small undateable whetstone and a 14th century reckoning counter or jetton were also found in the top soil.

Further excavation will be limited to tracing the other end of the drainage gully. A full report will be published in the *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.

F. A. HASTINGS.

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\*The first season's work was reported in Vol. 2, No. 5, page 135.



KEY

- Pachenesham Manor Demesne
- Thorncroft Manor Demesne
- Thorncroft Manor Freehold
- Thorncroft Manor Copyhold
- Rectory Manor (Glebe)
- Pachenesham Parva Manor
- Norbury Manor
- Downs & Common Waste
- Common Field
- Estate of William Wade Esq.  
possibly represents Manor of Minchin

Ancient Parish Boundaries  
 Variation of above in  
 Map of 1782/3  
 Manor Boundaries  
 varying from the  
 Parish Boundaries

ABBREVIATION  
 Mt. - Mount.  
 Gr. - Great.  
 Mid. - Middle.  
 Lo. - Lower.  
 Cl. - Close.  
 F. - Field.  
 Ch. - Church.

The Letters & Numbers  
 are those appearing  
 on the 1782/3 Map of  
 Pachenesham Manor.

**LEATHERHEAD** circa 1782  
 Based primarily upon the Survey of GEORGE GWILT  
 and amplified from other contemporary sources.

dell HLM. march '88.

drawn from material collected by JOHN H. HARVEY FEA

## A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

### VIII. LEATHERHEAD IN 1782

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

THE EARLIEST detailed map of Leatherhead known to survive was produced in 1782-83 by George Gwilt, mason and surveyor (1746-1807), who had become Surveyor to the county of Surrey c. 1770 and by 1777 Surveyor to the Commissioners of Sewers for Surrey.<sup>1</sup> Gwilt's map, on the large scale of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  chains to one inch (16'·8" to one mile), with its accompanying reference book, provides an accurate though not entirely complete view of the state of the whole parish. Some houses, known to have been in existence at the time, are not shown, and some field boundaries were omitted, but in general there is an exact record of the physical topography, of the manorial boundaries, and of the main uses of land.

The boundaries shown are in most places those of the modern parish, but there have been slight alterations at the northern end affecting the boundaries of Chessington and of Ashted. At the southern end of the parish, the manorial boundary shown differs at many points from that of the parish, the demesne lands at Pachenesham Manor stretching at several points into Mickleham parish, though one small area in Leatherhead parish, beside the Mole, belonged to the Manor of Norbury in Mickleham. Another area, on the north-western boundary, known as The Fourscore Acres and marked as No. 9, originally in both parish and manor of Leatherhead, was transferred to the Manor of Stoke d'Abernon in 1548.<sup>2</sup>

Other sources, such as deeds and earlier surveys (notably that of Thorncroft Manor in 1629 in the possession of Merton College, Oxford), have been used to supplement Gwilt's information on the reconstructed map drawn by Mr. H. L. Meed and reproduced here. This map indicates by cross-hatching the two areas of common waste: Leatherhead Common at the north, with the adjacent common of Thorncroft Manor (No. 8); and at the south the Downs (606), then an open sheep pasture. Below the downs lay the Common Field, arable and fallow, divided into strips which are indicated on Gwilt's map but are too complex to be reproduced. Land in strips in the open Common Field belonged to each of the Leatherhead manors, whose limits in that respect cannot be shown; but their boundaries in the enclosed lands of the parish have been indicated as far as the evidence permits.

Gwilt's map and reference book mark the demesne lands (leased to farmers) of the principal manor of Pachenesham, and also its freeholds and copyholds; the lands held by Merton College (identical with Thorncroft Manor); and the Glebe, which can be identified as the Rectorial Manor in Leatherhead, held from 1346 to 1539 by Leeds Priory in Kent, and from 1542 by the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. Two other reputed manors, subordinate to Leatherhead, are known to have existed: Randalls or Pachenesham Parva; and Minchin, which during the Middle Ages belonged to Kilburn Priory in Middlesex. It is now impossible to determine the extent of the manor of Minchin, but it is at least possible that it to some extent coincided with the later estate held with the great house called The Mansion (?=Minchin), and belonging in 1782 to William Wade.<sup>3</sup> These lands have therefore been marked with a dotted hatching.

The Manor of Randalls with Pachenesham Parva can, with a high degree of probability be identified as the freehold lands conveyed by Lord and Lady Tyrconnel to Lewis Montolieu in 1788.<sup>4</sup> The boundaries of these lands have, therefore, been shown in a thick broken line. It will be noticed that all the subordinate manors comprised scattered parcels of land spread over the parish (Thorncroft indeed spread into Mickleham and as far as Horley). It was only the chief manor of Pachenesham (Magna) which represented the ancient community of Leatherhead.



## NOTES

1. For Gwilt, see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840*, 1954, pp. 251-2.
2. Decree of Chancery, recorded in *P.R.O.*, C.78/5 (No. 14), m.8; and exemplified in Surrey Record Office, S.C.20/3/59.
3. See F. B. Bengier in *Proceedings*, I, No. 7, 1953, pp. 7-12.
4. See J. Harvey in *Proceedings*, I, No. 1, p. 9 and note 3; and I, No. 2, map at p. 9.

## REFERENCE TO MAP

Lack of space makes it impossible to print full references to the letters and numbers on the map, which have been shown to facilitate future reference to individual parcels. Field names have, however, been marked on the map as far as possible, whether taken from Gwilt's reference book, or from other contemporary sources.

The five main farms appear as Nos. 1-5, their fields being marked by letters: where names are not marked, they appear simply as areas, such as (No. 2, G) "The thirteen acres"; or by general descriptions, such as (No. 3, G) "Meadow". The farms in 1782-83 were: No. 1, Thorncroft; No. 2, Bocket Farm; No. 3, Gibbons Grove Farm; No. 4, Barnet Wood Farm (entirely the property of Merton College and forming part of the Manor of Thorncroft); and No. 5, New Pond Farm, this last comprising less than 16 acres. The two isolated parcels to the south had both belonged to Thorncroft Manor; in 1629 Welcottes was freehold held with Norbury Manor, while Brown's Down (605) was a copyhold, forming a detached part of the parish of Leatherhead. To Thorncroft also belonged a substantial enclave in Mickleham village, north of the church; Cox Croft, by the Mole on the southern boundary of Mickleham parish (now the site of the Burford Bridge Hotel); and a tenement in Horley, near the Sussex border.

It will be noticed that the map, though nearly five centuries later in date, throws light on the Court Roll of Pachenesham for 1319, printed elsewhere in this issue (pp. 174). "Hameldone" is Hambledons, marked at the south-east corner of the parish; "Hardon" must have been in the Common Field; "la Parkfelde", evidently part of the lord's demesne in 1319, was either identical with or close to the fields called Hilly Park and Bottom Park in the eighteenth century.

## THE COURT ROLLS OF LEATHERHEAD THE EARLIEST SURVIVING COURT ROLL OF THE MANOR OF PACHENESHAM

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

**U**NDER THE MANORIAL SYSTEM of land tenure it must always have been desirable that written records should be kept of the transactions between the lord of a manor and his tenants, but in England there are no surviving Court Rolls of such transactions earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. Before 1300, however, it is clear that the practice of keeping detailed records of the Courts held was general throughout the country, and wherever they have been preserved, these rolls provide the best source of information on local and family history for the whole period down to the institution of parish registers in 1538.

Leatherhead is fortunate in that a substantial proportion of its medieval manorial records have been preserved, both for the chief manor of Pachenesham and for the separate manor of Thorncroft. In the case of Thorncroft, in the continuous possession of Merton College, Oxford, a remarkable and almost continuous series of rolls survives, starting in 1278, but the business transacted concerns only a relatively small part of the parish of Leatherhead. The greater part seems always to have been comprised in the Manor of Pachenesham which, by means which are not completely clear, became a conjoined manor of "Pachenesham and Leatherhead".<sup>1</sup> For the history of the parish as a whole it is, therefore, to the extant rolls of the manor of Pachenesham that we must turn.

The earliest in date of the rolls so far known to survive is for 1319, nine years before the lords of the manor (Robert Darcy and Joan his wife) were granted View of Frank-

pledge in their manors of "Pachenesham and Leddrede".<sup>2</sup> The Court, whose proceedings are recorded on this earliest roll,<sup>3</sup> was therefore what later came to be known as a Court Baron, concerned almost exclusively with the transfer of property within the manor and the performance of services due to the lords for the various lands and tenements.<sup>4</sup>

At least two generations had passed away since the date of the earliest surviving court rolls, which had reached a settled common form in the reign of Henry III. This common form, which in its essentials was to continue down to the end of the manorial system, in our own days, has to be understood before the full value of the contents of the roll can be appreciated. The purpose of the present notes is to explain this common form with reference to the roll for Pachenesham for 1319.

The roll begins with a heading, stating the name of the manor and the date on which the Court was held, in this case 26th November, 1319. Generally, though not in this instance, the name of the lord of the manor would be inserted in the heading. Court rolls commonly begin with a list of the Homage, that is to say the names of all the tenants who appeared at the court. In theory, every tenant of the manor, whether free or customary (i.e. whether he held his land of the lord as a freeholder or on the customary basis which became known as copyhold<sup>5</sup>), owed the service ("Suit of Court") of appearing at the lord's courts, though in the case of freeholders this service was commonly commuted for a small annual payment, or Quit-rent, for being quit of the duty of attending the courts. The roll of 1319 does not list the tenants who did put in their appearance on the morrow of St. Catherine's day.

Some of their names can be recovered, however, from the list with which the roll opens, of Essoins (excuses for non-attendance). Every tenant who was unable to come to court, because of ill-health or some other acceptable reason, had to send word by one of the Homage, who appeared as a witness to the absentee's incapacity. In this way we know that three of the tenants, Simon le Marschal, John Lenydiman, and John le Cok, were ill (illness being known as the "common" essoin), and were excused attendance on the evidence of William Ewelle, Ralph Smerehele and Richard Harvi respectively. Richard de Hameldone, a fourth invalid, seems to have asked Thomas Heyward to essoin him, but a note states that this essoin was not valid "because he (presumably Heyward) made default"; in fact no fine for non-appearance was entered against either man.

After listing the Homage and the Essoins, it is usual for court rolls to list as "in Mercy" all those who owed service and who had neither put in an appearance nor sent a valid excuse. These defaulters were in the lord's mercy (whence "amercement"), and fined at the discretion of the Court, which was normally held by the lord's steward. The roll of 1319 does not provide any list of tenants amerced for this reason, though it does list several tenants in mercy for other defaults or offences. For instance, John Lenydyman, though he had been duly excused attendance as such, was fined 3d. for failing to produce Margery Sutor (her name was probably Taylor, "*sutor*" being the Latin translation of "tailor") as his mainpernor or surety. This clearly refers to some charge against Lenydyman, recorded in an earlier roll now lost.

William le Cormoggere ("Cornmonger") was in mercy for several defaults, either for failure to appear among the Homage, or in some other respect, but no fine was entered against his name. In several other cases there are records of tenants in mercy for trespass, through having put horses or cattle to pasture in places to which they were not entitled. In each case the tenant had to give security by finding someone to go bail for him for the amount of the fine, but from the record of the roll by itself it is not possible to state whether the cash amount of the fine was actually paid into court, and if so, whether by the tenant or by his surety.

After the records of fines for default come the licences to sub-let lands. By the custom of the manor, the tenants could not sub-let their lands or any part of them to a third party without paying the lord for a licence to do so. This was a very usual custom in manors, and the practice continued as part of copyhold procedure down to the twentieth century. Apart from the interest of the names of tenants and sub-tenants recorded, the fact that such sub-tenancies were rife in Leatherhead in the first quarter of the fourteenth century is of importance. Instead of the principle of rigid personal responsibility of each tenant for his whole holding of house and lands, a financial and contractual relationship was emerging, in which the occupiers were not necessarily in any direct relationship (as tenants owing suit of Court) to the lord of the manor. Furthermore, this practice of sub-letting opened the way to the later practice of individual farmers hiring land from a number of different lessors, and thus altering the communal system of agriculture in the open fields into a form of individualistic management for profit.

The licences are also interesting for their conditions as to the manuring of the land, which became the responsibility of the sub-tenant (the Court Roll being the record of his contract), and in one instance for the mention of crop-sharing, where Henry le Ropere was to have half the produce of the acre which he subleased from William le Duane. Presumably this was the consideration upon which he obtained his sub-tenancy, that the manorial tenant William was to receive half of the produce by way of rent. Here again, the record upon the Court Roll provided a written contract upon which both parties to the sub-tenancy could rely in future, although the primary purpose of the roll was simply to secure the lord's interests.

Among the licences there is one record of fealty, where Margery Taylor ("Sutor") performed the ceremony of doing fealty to the lord of the manor (doubtless by giving the customary undertaking to the steward in court) in respect of a cottage and its plot of land, obtained from John Taylor ("Sutor") and situate at "la Burgh", probably identical with the later Borough Hill,<sup>6</sup> now Gravel Hill in Leatherhead town. Later on, towards the end of the Court, grants were made of two other properties to the widows of the deceased tenants. In each case the widow did fealty and paid a fine for admission or, in one case, was excused on the ground of poverty. Similarly this tenant, Agnes ate Hulle, was unable to pay a heriot because she had no animal except a half-share in a bullock which died; the other widow, Maud le Harpor, had to hand over her best beast, a cow which proved to be worth 6s. 8d. to the lord. In each case the new tenant was bound to keep the holding, both house and land, free from waste or destruction, and the whole of her fellow customary tenants became collectively responsible for her observance of this condition. In neither case is any rent in money specified, but the tenant was to perform "service and what is customary", i.e. attend at the manorial courts, and do (or cause to be done) such labour services as were due from the property at that time, according to the custom of the manor. Precisely what services on the lord's lands were exacted at that time we do not learn from this document.

Finally come two cases of distraint, where the Court imposed one of its more severe sanctions upon incorrigible defaulters, who had presumably failed to pay fines long overdue; or who in some previous case had failed to put in an appearance to which he was pledged: in other words, he had forfeited his bail and the amount, which would have been recorded on an earlier roll now lost, was to be recovered by distress upon his goods. At the end of the record of court comes a total of 3s. 4d., which is the amount of the fines entered in the margin for defaults, licences, grants, etc. The sum did not include the value of the cow seized as a heriot, which had been received in kind and was not regarded as a perquisite of Court.

Of the thirty individuals mentioned in the roll, twenty-five have different surnames (or apparent surnames), of which about a third are derived from places. Some of these

places were probably in Leatherhead, while others were foreign (e.g. Ewelle, standing for the parish of Ewell). "Hameldone" is still represented by Hambleton Wood near the south-east corner of the parish, adjoining Ashtead and Mickleham. The "Hulle" may have been any hill, and the "Mulle" any mill, on or beside which there were dwellings; and the family of "ate Watere" presumably lived near the river. The "Scharnwelle" or muddy spring may have been anywhere, though the "Schyresfelde" might be expected to be a field on the county boundary. Of the place-names mentioned otherwise than as personal names, "la Parkfelde" must have been part of the lord's park near Pachenesham; "Hardon" was probably a chalky part of the common fields ("hoar down"); and "Rutherscrouch" may have been a landmark ("the cattle cross").

Returning to the personal names, we find at least three nicknames among them: le Cok, le Knaue ("Knaue") and Pinchun ("pincers"); it was doubtless this Gilbert Pinchun, or his family, who gave a name to the fields called Puncheons.<sup>7</sup> The occupations represented, which may of course have been personal or merely ancestral, include the manorial hayward and possibly the stableman (Marschal), a musician (Harpor), and the trades of cornmonger, ropemaker (le Ropere), and tailor (Sutor).<sup>8</sup>

#### NOTES

1. See A. T. Ruby, "The Manor of Pachenesham, Leatherhead" in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LV, 1958, pp. 7-17.
2. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, IV, pp. 27, 94.
3. British Museum, Additional Roll 26,055.
4. For the manorial system generally, see N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records* (3rd ed., 1925).
5. The customary tenant held his land, not by an ordinary deed, but by a copy of the entry on the court roll relating to his admission; from the fact that his title consisted of this copy, the tenant became known as a copyholder.
6. Borough Hill is marked on George Gwilt's map of Leatherhead in 1782-83, in the possession of G. H. Grantham, Esq. A copy of the relevant portion of the map is W.8 in the Society's Archives.
7. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Surrey* (English Place-Name Society, XI, 1934), pp. 378-9; it is worth noting that the authors, without knowing of Gilbert Pinchun, correctly deduced from the field-name that it "must be the name of a medieval holder named *Pincun*."
8. A case in the King's Court, William the son of William le Cornmangere and his wife Edith v. Richard de Hameldon and his wife Alice in Ledrede, 17 Edward II (1324), is recorded in *Pedes Finium*, S.A.C., Extra Volume I, 1894.

In John Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* (Aubrey's material was collected c. 1673, but was "worked up" and published by Richard Rawlinson in 1718-9) there is the following description of a brass in Leatherhead church (Vol. II, p. 255): "On a Brass Plate, in a blue stone, in the middle, was this inscription (now lost), *Hic jacet matild Hamildun . . . Ux Thome at Hull. qui obiit . . . die. mens. Octob. Anno Dni. MCCCCX. Cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.*"

The stone, bearing a 19th century brass similarly worded, is now in the north aisle near the font.

#### APPENDIX

A transcript and translation of the whole Roll follow (pp. 174/175); a photographic reproduction of part of the Roll appears on p. 176.

BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL ROLL 26,055  
[COURT ROLL OF THE MANOR OF PACHENESHAM  
IN LEATHERHEAD, 1319]

**Curia de Pachenesham tenta ibidem die Lune proximo post festum Sancte  
Caterine virginis anno regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi terciodecimo**

- Essonia. Simon le Marschal de *communi per Willelmum Ewelle* — j<sup>o</sup>  
*Johannes Lenydiman de eodem per Radulfum Smerehele* — j<sup>o</sup>  
*Johannes le Cok de eodem per Ricardum Harui* — j<sup>o</sup>  
*Ricardus de Hameldone de eodem per Thomam Heyward* — j<sup>o</sup>  
*non iacet quia fecit defaultam.*
- Misericordia — iij.d. *Johannes Lenydiman in misericordia pro eo quod non habuit  
Margeriam Sutor<sup>r</sup> quam manucaptorem per plegium dicte Margerie*  
Contra *Willelmus le Cormoggere in misericordia pro pluribus defaultis  
Feodalitas* — Ad istam Curiam venit Margeria Sutor & fecit domino Feodalitatem pro  
quodam Cottagio & cirtilagio quod perquisiuit de Johanne Sutor apud la Burgh iuxta  
mesuagium Thome Serlok
- Misericordia — iij.d. *Ricardus Harui in misericordia pro pluribus defaultis per plegium  
Radulfi Smerehele*
- Misericordia — iij.d. *Ricardus Harui in misericordia pro transgressionem facto in la Parkfelde  
cum equo suo per plegium Radulfi Smerehele*
- Misericordia — ij.d. *Johannes Tireman in misericordia pro iij. vaccis in pastura plegium  
Johannes ate Watere*
- Misericordia — j.d. *Johannes Tireman in misericordia pro j. affro in pastura plegium  
Robertus in the Hurne*
- Finis — vj.d. *Omnes participes tenementi quod fuit Cecilie de Scharnwelle dant domino  
pro secta dicti tenementi usque festum sancti Michaelis*
- Licencia — finis — vj.d. *Concessa est Willelmo le Duane tradere Margerie ate Mulle tres  
acras & dimidiam terre sue ad seminandum vnam seysonam Et dat domino de fine  
per plegium*
- Licencia — finis — ij.d. *Concessa est eidem Willelmo ad tradendum vnam acram terre  
iacentem apud Hardon Henrico le Ropere ad terminum quatuor annorum Et predictus  
Henricus compostabit dictam acram et habebit medietatem Et dat domino de fine per  
plegium eiusdem*
- Licencia — finis — ij.d. *Concessa est Henrico Junesey ad tradendum vnam (acram) terre  
iacentem apud Rutherescrouch Gilberto Pinchun ad terminum quatuor annorum Et  
dictus Gilbertus compostabit Et dat de fine per plegium Henrici Junesey*
- Licencia — finis — vj.d. *Willelmus le Cormoggere dat de fine pro secta Curie usque festum  
sancti Michaelis per plegium*
- Licencia *Concessa est Johanni ate Hulle ad tradendum Lucie ate Nouene dimidiam acram  
terre iacentem apud Hardon—ad terminum trium annorum Et dicta Lucia compostabit*
- Concessio *Rogerus ate Hulle qui tenuit de domino dimidiam virgatam terre natiue mortuus  
est per cuius mortem  
Et postea dicta dimidia virgata terre concessa est Agneti que fuit vxor dicti Rogeri  
Et faciet seruicium & consuetudinem Et custodiet tenementum sine vasto & distrucione  
per plegium omnium customariorum Et dat de fine nihil quia pauper Et non habuit  
uel medietatem vnius bouiculi qui subito moriebatur Et fecit feodalitatem*
- [Dorse of roll]:—
- Concessio finis — vj.d. *Philippus le Harpor qui tenuit de domino vnum Cottagium  
mortuus est per mortem cuius j. vacca precii dimidia marca Et postea dictum Cottagium  
concessum Matilde que fuit vxor dicti Philippi facere inde seruicium & consuetudinem  
Et custodiet dictum Cottagium sine vasto & distrucione per plegium omnium Custu-  
mariorum Et dat domino de fine vj.d. Et fecit feodalitatem*
- Licencia *Concessa est Agneti ate Hulle ad tradendum vnam acram terre Margerie ate  
Mulle ad terminum quatuor annorum Et compostabit*
- Districtio *Preceptum est distringere Ricardum ate Watere & Ricardum de Hameldon—  
& Johannem le Knaue ad sanandum defaultas*
- Districtio *Preceptum est distringere Henricum de Schyresfelde ad sequendum vadium  
suum &c.*

Summa iij.s. iij.d.

[COURT ROLL OF THE PARISH OF PACHENESHAM  
IN LEATHERHEAD, 1319]

Part of Pachenesham held there on Monday next after the feast of Saint  
Therine virgin (25 November) in the year of the reign of King Edward  
son of King Edward the thirteenth (26 November 1319)

- Essoins. Simon le Marschal of the common (essoin) by William Ewelle — 1st.  
John Lenydiman of the same by Ralph Smerehele — 1st.  
John le Cok of the same by Richard Harui — 1st.  
Richard de Hameldone of the same by Thomas Heyward — 1st.  
not valid because he made default.
- Amercement — 3d. John Lenydyman in mercy for that he did not have Margery Sutor  
as his surety by bail of the said Margery.
- Against William le Cormoggere in mercy for several defaults.
- Fealty To this Court came Margery Sutor and did fealty to the lord for a certain cottage  
and curtilage which she obtained from John Sutor at la Burgh next the messuage of  
Thomas Serlok.
- Amercement — 3d. Richard Harui in mercy for several defaults by bail of Ralph Smerehele.
- Amercement — 3d. Richard Harui in mercy for a trespass in la Parkfelde with his horse by  
bail of Ralph Smerehele.
- Amercement — 2d. John Tireman in mercy for 3 cows in the pasture—bail John ate  
Watere.
- Amercement — 1d. John Tireman in mercy for one draught-beast in the pasture—bail  
Robert in the Hurne.
- Fine — 6d. All the portioners of the tenement which was of Cecily de Scharnwelle give  
(a fine of 6d.) to the lord for suit of the said tenement until the feast of Saint Michael  
(i.e. Michaelmas 1320).
- Licence — fine 6d. (Licence) granted to William le Duane to sub-let 3½ acres of his land  
to Margery ate Mulle to sow for one season. And he gives the lord a fine by surety.
- Licence — fine 2d. (Licence) granted to the same William to sub-let an acre of land  
lying at Hardon to Henry le Ropere for the term of four years And the foresaid  
Henry shall manure the said acre and shall have half (the crops) And he gives the  
lord a fine by bail of the same.
- Licence — fine 2d. (Licence) granted to Henry Junesey to sub-let one (acre) of land  
lying at Rutherscrouch to Gilbert Pinchun for the term of four years And the said  
Gilbert shall manure And he gives a fine by bail of Henry Junesey.
- Licence — fine 6d. William le Cormoggere gives fine for suit of Court to the feast of  
St Michael by bail.
- Licence granted to John ate Hulle to sub-let to Lucy ate Nouene half an acre of land  
lying at Hardon for the term of three years And the said Lucy shall manure.
- Grant Roger ate Hulle who held of the lord a half-virgate of customary land is dead;  
by whose death (*nil*) And afterwards the said half-virgate of land was granted to  
Agnes who was the wife of the said Roger And she shall do service and what is  
customary And she shall keep the tenement without waste or destruction by bail of  
all the customary (tenants) And she gives nothing by way of fine because (she is)  
poor And she had no (beast) except a half-share in a steer which suddenly died And  
she did fealty.
- (On dorse of the roll):—
- Grant — fine 6d. Philip le Harpor who held of the lord a cottage is dead; by whose  
death (there is a heriot of) a cow worth ½ mark (6s. 8d.) And afterwards the said  
cottage was granted to Maud who was the wife of the said Philip, to do therefor  
service and what is customary And she shall keep the said cottage without waste or  
destruction by bail of all the customary (tenants) And she gives the lord 6d. by way  
of fine And she did fealty.
- Licence granted to Agnes ate Hulle to sub-let one acre of land to Margery ate Mulle  
for the term of four years And she shall manure.
- Distraint Distraint was ordered upon Richard ate Watere and Richard de Hameldon  
and John le Knaue to remedy their defaults.
- Distraint Distraint was ordered upon Henry de Schyresfelde to prosecute his pledge etc.

Total 3s. 4d.



## LEATHERHEAD FAMILIES OF THE 16th and 17th CENTURIES

By F. BASTIAN

### VI. BLUDWORTH of THORNCROFT

**B**EFORE DEALING with the family of Bludworth which resided at Thorncroft, Leatherhead, during the second half of the seventeenth century, it is first necessary to disentangle it from that of Bludder, which had flourished at Flanchford, Reigate, only a few miles away, in the first half of that century. The confusion goes back to the nearly contemporary Le Neve, who, in his not very accurate pedigree of the Bludworth family, consistently misnames them Bludder.<sup>1</sup> Several coincidences seem to have contributed to this confusion. The Bludworths appeared in Surrey at almost the same moment as the Bludders disappeared; two successive Sir Thomas Bludders were followed by two successive Sir Thomas Bludworths; both families had connections with Southwark; both had parliamentary interests; both were strongly royalist; there is even in each family a wife whose maiden name was Brett. Nevertheless the two families were quite unconnected, a fact which is borne out by the dissimilarity of their arms:—

Bludder: *Gules a dexter arm bent or the hand proper.*

Bludworth: *Argent three bars sable in chief as many torteaux all within a bordure ermine.*<sup>2</sup>

The immediate ancestor of the Leatherhead family was JOHN BLUDWORTH, a prosperous Lombard Street merchant who had died in 1648. His will shows that he had come originally from Derby, where he still had relatives. He was an active member of the Vintners' Company, of which he had been Master in 1641. He was referred to as a Turkey merchant, and his business activities were varied. In 1619 he had signed a petition as a dealer in lead;<sup>3</sup> in 1627 he was concerned in transactions in East India stock;<sup>4</sup> and his bequests included £5 to be distributed among twenty poor silk weavers "such as I dealt withall upon London bridge." The minister of St. Warber in Derby was to have 13s. 4d. a year to preach a sermon on 5th November "in remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance of our State and nation from the hellish gunpowder plott." A codicil leaving £100 to ten sequestered ministers shows that his sympathies were with the defeated party in the civil war. The total value of his estate can hardly have been less than £10,000.<sup>5</sup>

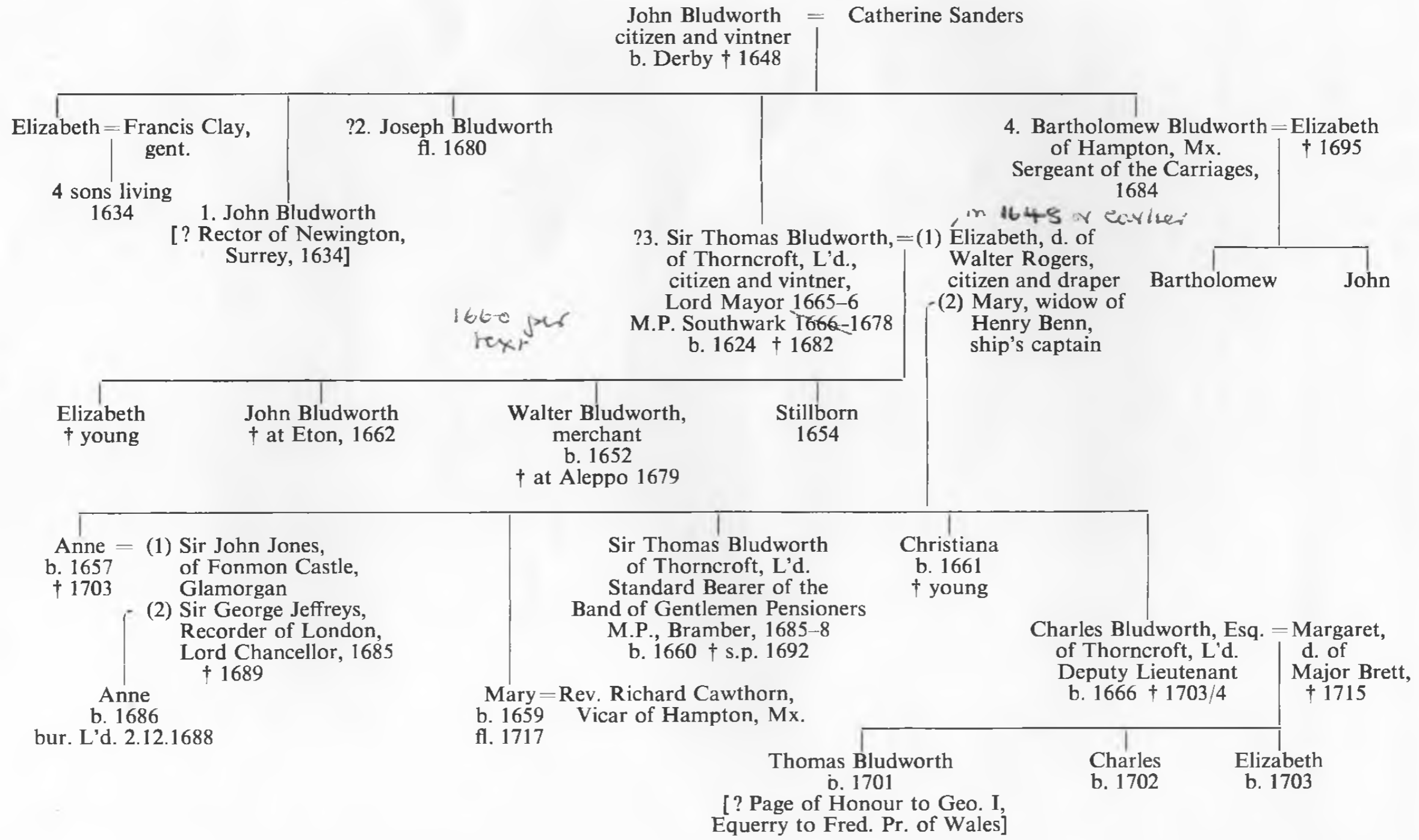
His five surviving children covered a wide age-range. The eldest was probably Elizabeth, whose portion at her marriage with Thomas Clay, gentleman, had been £1000, and whose four children had all been born by 1634.<sup>6</sup> The eldest son was John, probably to be identified with the John Bludworth who had become Rector of Newington in Surrey in 1634. The second son was probably Joseph who, in addition to the admittedly substantial portion to which he was entitled as the son of a citizen of London, was left only £10, "because his course of life doth not please God, nor mee." The youngest son, Bartholomew, who was not yet of age, was to have his portion made up to £2000.

Our chief concern is with the third son, THOMAS BLUDWORTH, born in 1624, a pupil at the Merchant Taylors' School from 1632 to 1635, and the only member of the family to follow his father into trade. Shortly before his father's death in 1648 he married Elizabeth, one of the four daughters of Walter Rogers, draper and silkman, a close neighbour in Lombard Street and a fellow-parishioner at the church of St. Edmund the King. Rogers, who had been born at Leatherhead, still maintained close links with his relatives there.<sup>7</sup> Though this was no doubt the origin of Bludworth's connection with Leatherhead, the details are obscure. Rogers had obtained a lease of Thorncroft in October 1649, and another in 1654, on this occasion with a licence to alienate. His daughter, Elizabeth Bludworth, was still living in July 1654, but dead when Walter Rogers



## BLUDWORTH of THORNCROFT

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*1660 just text*

*in 1648 or earlier*

made his will in November 1656. As this will makes no mention of Thorncroft, which was certainly in Bludworth's possession by 1660,<sup>8</sup> it looks as though Rogers must have settled it on his daughter and her husband shortly before her death. Thus Bludworth's connection with Thorncroft probably dates from about 1655. It was in 1656 that he acquired the manor of Kingswood, near Reigate, thereby contributing to the subsequent confusion with the family of Bludder.<sup>9</sup> In Trinity Term, 1658, he was concerned jointly with Thomas Sands in a small purchase of freehold land in Leatherhead.<sup>10</sup> In the same year his brother, Bartholomew Bludworth of Hampton, Middlesex, gentleman, bought 12 acres of copyhold land, Boll-Rydens and Barley Close, from Robert Borodale, land which he was to sell 25 years later, soon after his brother's death, to Alexander Akehurst.<sup>11</sup>

If it is uncertain just when Thomas Bludworth came into possession of Thorncroft, his main residence was certainly in London, in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch. Here his son Walter had been baptised on 26th February, 1651/2, and a stillborn child buried on 19th July, 1654. Here, after his first wife's death, he was married on 6th January, 1656/7, to Mrs. Mary Benn, daughter of a boatbuilder, and widow of a ship's captain who had died not long before in the West Indies; and it was here that three daughters of this second marriage were baptised between 1657 and 1661.<sup>12</sup>

Bludworth's undoubted royalist sympathies did not prevent him from trading to advantage during the Commonwealth, often in close association with men of very different political views. In 1654, together with other London merchants, he had petitioned the Protector for compensation for the loss of their ship, the Providence of Boston, and its cargo, together worth £700, lost through the negligence of Captain Peter Foote of the Briar frigate while under his convoy from Hull to St. Valery.<sup>13</sup> In the same year he joined in another petition with Thomas Barnardiston and William Love, both strong Commonwealth men, for leave to ship £6000 in rix dollars for a voyage to the East Indies.<sup>14</sup> He was meanwhile rising to positions of power and influence in the city. In 1651 he was appointed to the Committee of the East India Company, and held this position with short intervals until 1665. From 1658 to 1665 (and again from 1673-5) he was a member of the Court of Assistants of the Levant Company. In December 1658, too, he was chosen as Alderman for Dowgate Ward.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas Bludworth was soon taking a hand not only in city affairs, but also in matters of state. He was one of a small group of prominent citizens arrested on 9th February, 1660, on the orders of the Council of State, and held in the Tower of London on a charge of high treason, apparently for encouraging the city authorities to resist the authority of the Rump Parliament.<sup>16</sup> The turn of the political wheel, and General Monck's assertion of his authority, soon led to their release. In April 1660, he was chosen to represent Southwark in the Convention Parliament which invited Charles II to return from his exile in Holland. In the following month he was one of a commission of sixteen who presented a loyal address from the City to the King at the Hague, and there he was knighted on 16th May (O.S.). When the City trained bands were re-organized in the same year he was appointed Colonel of the Orange Regiment, and later of the Yellow Regiment, an appointment he held until his death. About the end of April 1661, he was again elected as M.P. for Southwark in the Cavalier Parliament which was not dissolved until 1679.<sup>17</sup> That his help to Charles was of the practical kind which a wealthy merchant was in the best position to give appears from the fact that on 26th June, 1661, he gave a receipt for £38 3s. 6d. interest on money advanced as member of a syndicate headed by Sir John Robinson.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately there is no indication of the size or date of the loan. Charles, however, seems to have felt himself under an obligation to advance Sir Thomas Bludworth's career in the City. On 15th June, 1662, the King sent him a personal letter of thanks for his services, and on the following day wrote to the Lord Mayor and Corporation "recommending" him to the place of Alderman, vacant by the removal of Alderman Love under

the Corporation Act, and indicating his wish that he and William Turner should be chosen sheriffs for the following year.<sup>19</sup> The Lord Mayor had to strain his authority to achieve this,<sup>20</sup> but on 10th August Pepys recorded: "Mr. Turner, the draper, I hear is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for sheriffe, with Sir Thomas Bluddel (*sic*) for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's sheriffes."

In 1665 Sir Thomas Bludworth reached, at the early age of forty-one, what should have been the climax of his civic career with his election as Lord Mayor. But this was the year of the Plague, and though the worst was over by the time that he was instituted on 29th October, it was a dismal city for which he assumed responsibility, with the weekly plague deaths still running into hundreds. He had to be content with a makeshift inauguration, Sir William Robinson, as Lieutenant of the Tower, acting as the King's representative in a simple ceremony held near the Bulwark Gate. There was, of course, no procession; and, instead of a banquet, Bludworth entertained a small company at his own house in Gracechurch Street.<sup>21</sup>

In the following summer, when the Plague was a thing of the past, Pepys, concerned with the problems of manning the Navy during the Dutch War, wrote: "30 June. Mightily troubled all this morning with going to my Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Bludworth, a silly man I think) and other places about getting shipped some men that they have these last nights pressed in the City . . . But to see how the King's business is done; my Lord Mayor himself did scruple at this time of extremity to do this thing, because he had not money to pay the pressed-money to the men. I did out of my own purse disburse 15*l.* to pay for the pressing and diet last night and this morning which is a thing worth record of my Lord Mayor." Two days later: "2 July. Up betimes and forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men; and indeed I find him a mean man of understanding and dispatch of any publick business." Pepys's judgment was soon to receive dramatic confirmation.

About one o'clock on the morning of 2nd September, 1666, a fire broke out in a baker's shop in Pudding Lane. It took such hold that about three o'clock the Lord Mayor was roused. Whether he had been drinking heavily the night before, as was alleged, or whether he actually suggested the Rabelaisian method of fire-fighting that was later attributed to him, is not really material. It is clear that he was promptly on the scene, and in full possession of his faculties. According to Clarendon, "he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men." He was later blamed for failing to use his authority to order houses to be pulled down at the very outset. According to Evelyn, "tenacious and avaricious men, Aldermen, etc., would not permit because their houses must have been the first." Another very circumstantial account says that when he was advised to have a shop and four houses pulled down, he replied: "When the houses have been brought down, who shall pay the charge of rebuilding them?"<sup>22</sup> By the time that Pepys, who had had a good night's sleep, saw him next day he had completely lost control of the situation: ". . . the king commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way . . . at last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' That he needed no more soldiers; and that for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night."

The blow to his reputation, intensified by the desire to find a scapegoat, was a savage one. According to Pepys: "People do all the world over cry out at the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in general; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him." Even the official columns of the London Gazette put on record that "care

was not taken for the timely preventing of further effusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been".<sup>23</sup> This drew from Bludworth a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, asking for some mark of official countenance, "to assure distant friends that he was not out of favour."<sup>24</sup> With pathetic dignity he pointed out that he "lives not by popular applause, yet wishes to have some esteem in the government, and needs some support, having had the misfortune to serve in the severest year that ever man did." Whether his request was granted we do not know, but at least there is no sign that he had fallen out of favour with the court. An anonymous Account of the Aldermen of London, for the King's guidance, says of him in 1672: "his greatest misfortune was that he was mayor when London was burnt down, but he is a zealous person in the King's concerns, willing, though it may be not very able, to do great things."<sup>25</sup> This estimate was probably written by Jeffreys, then Common Serjeant, and later to be Bludworth's son-in-law. A more scurrilous summary is to be found in an anonymous political tract of 1677, which includes him in "A List of the Principal Labourers in the Great Design of Popery and Arbitrary Power" as "Sir Thomas Bludworth, a mercenary alderman of London, not to be forgotten for his pissing out the fire."<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising to find Oates soon afterwards accusing him of having been in league with the Roman Catholics to fire the City.<sup>27</sup>

Bludworth suffered not only in his reputation, but also in his estate. His town house in Gracechurch Street had been destroyed, and his other losses were so great that, according to a contemporary letter, he was "undone".<sup>28</sup> But though in his will of 1680 he found it necessary to mention that it had "pleased God to lessen me in my Estate by that dreadfull Fire of London in the yeare 1667" (*sic*), he was far from complete ruin, and he was soon trading as actively as ever. In 1669 we find him taking a share in a slave trading voyage to West Africa, Surinam, and Barbadoes.<sup>29</sup> In 1672 he was named as one of the original proprietors of the newly re-formed Africa Company, with its thousand year monopoly of trade on all the coasts from Sallee in Barbary to the Cape of Bona Esperanza (and its obligation to give two elephants to the King whenever he should land in its territory—but Charles II at least was determined not to go on his travels again). In 1673 he again became a member of the Court of Assistants of the Levant Company.

In all this there has been little mention of Bludworth's residence at Thorncroft in Leatherhead, and all the indications are that this was only occasional. It has already been suggested that he came into possession of the lease about 1655. He was presumably in occupation by 1661 when he was appointed to the Commission of Peace for Surrey;<sup>30</sup> but, while he was zealous in carrying out his civic duties in London, there is no evidence that he ever attended Quarter Sessions at Guildford, and only rarely exercised even the routine functions of a J.P. When John Aubrey passed this way in 1673 he noted that: "In Sir Thomas Bludworth's Orchard is a Pond, consisting of several Springs, boiling out of the Sands, where are excellent Trouts."<sup>31</sup> No doubt he occasionally came down with his family to enjoy them in the peace of rural Surrey; but there is no doubt that his heart, like his treasure, was in London.

One strong link with Leatherhead was broken with the death, before he made his will in 1680, of all three of the children of his first marriage, the grandchildren of Walter Rogers. One son, John, had been buried at Eton College in 1662.<sup>32</sup> Walter Bludworth, born in February 1651/2, had followed his father into trade, and as a young man went out to the Levant Company's factory at Aleppo. On 21st February, 1674/5 he made his will as "Walter Bludworth merchant in Aleppo, and now by Gods blessing intend for Jerusalem."<sup>33</sup> He returned safely from this dangerous journey; and in 1677 it was reported: "Sir Thos. Bludworth's eldest son, at Aleppo, had lately a miraculous escape, he being about 20 miles from Aleppo, a Gourdeen among the rocks, though several servants were with him, shot a bullet at him and cut the hair off the hinder part of his head." But by February 1680 the same correspondent reported amongst "News from Aleppo" that "Sir Thos. Bludworth's eldest son died by the inward breaking of a vein."<sup>34</sup>

There were, however, four surviving children of his second marriage, the eldest of whom was Anne, who had been baptised on 17th December, 1657. By the time she was twenty-one she had married Sir John Jones, of Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan, borne him a daughter, and become a widow. On 10th July, 1679, she married again, to Sir George Jeffreys, then Recorder of London, and himself a widower with a family. There survives a letter written by Bludworth at Thorncroft on 6th May, 1679, to his future son-in-law.<sup>35</sup> Its rambling and ill-contrued sentences confirm the generally unfavourable estimates of his abilities. Though concerned mainly with domestic trivialities, it also refers to the state of public affairs: "The great mutations that are like to be and disputes are matters of weighty consideration to sober minds; God orders all for the best, though my fear is we see not the worst of things or times." The "mutations . . . and disputes" were those arising out of the Popish Plot and the controversy over the Exclusion Bill. The swing of opinion against the Crown had already cost Bludworth his seat for Southwark. Amid the unscrupulous cut-and-thrust of politics which was soon to produce the abusive party labels of Whig and Tory, the marriage did not go unnoticed. A lampoon entitled: "A Westminster Wedding, or the Town Mouth: alias the Recorder of London and his Lady", accused the latter, not only of having a sharp tongue, but of being already pregnant by Jeffrey's cousin, Sir John Trevor. She did in fact bear a child less than eight months after her wedding, an event which prompted a greatly daring witness, when Jeffreys commented in cross examination: "Madam, you are very quick in your answers!", to reply, "As quick as I am, Sir George, I was not so quick as your lady." In fairness to the young Lady Jeffreys it should be pointed out that of the eight children she bore during less than ten years of marriage, several were premature, and only two survived early infancy. Perhaps she may be excused for the lack of interest she is said to have shown in the children of her husband's first marriage.<sup>35</sup>

On 24th November, 1680, Sir Thomas Bludworth made his will, apparently realizing that, though far from being an old man, he had not many more years to live. Yet he did at least survive to see what were for him happier days politically, with the Exclusion Bill circumvented and the Whigs in full retreat. Among the political trials with which the Court consolidated its victory was a libel action brought by Boldsworth, the King's Perfumer, against the Whig sheriff, Pilkington, who was alleged to have said "that he was a broken fellow and might go pay his debts."<sup>36</sup> The case was heard at the Surrey Assizes on 25th March, 1682. Sir George Jeffreys was counsel for the plaintiff, and his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Bludworth, was one of the jury which awarded £800 damages against Pilkington—though this was nothing to the £100,000 the latter was subsequently ordered to pay for a libel on the Duke of York. This is the last known act of Bludworth's life, for he died less than two months later, on 12th May, 1682. In his funeral oration Dr. Scott said of him: "He had a mighty affection and zeal for the King and for the Church of England."<sup>37</sup>

Bludworth's will was proved on 10th July, 1682, by Lady Maria Bludworth, his widow and executrix.<sup>38</sup> Its wording is often so cloudy and obscure that we may guess that Bludworth himself drew it up. We cannot make any close estimate of the total value of the estate, but it was obviously considerable. In addition to the third of his personal property to which she was entitled as the widow of a citizen of London, Lady Mary was to have £200 *per annum* from the estates left to the son and heir Thomas. These included the manors of Kingswood and "Thorne Crofts" in Surrey, the manor of "Ould Hall" and other estates in Yorkshire, and part of Hanson Grange in Derbyshire. Arrangements were also made for the purchase of Bludworth's "Mansion House" in Maiden Lane, and this too was to go to the eldest son.

The younger THOMAS BLUDWORTH who now inherited this extensive property had been born about 1660. If his personality remains shadowy, his Tory sympathies are

unmistakable. He was knighted at Windsor on 7th June, 1682, a few weeks after his father's death. On 21st June, 1684, he was appointed Standard Bearer of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.<sup>39</sup> After the accession of James II in the following year, when great efforts were made to secure a really subservient parliament, Bludworth found a seat at Bramber, in Sussex, notorious even in the seventeenth century for its corrupt elections. Even more striking is the fact that he was in a position to advance £20,000 to the government on the security of the linen duties.<sup>40</sup>

He was probably very much under the influence of his older and very formidable brother-in-law, Jeffreys, who in 1683 had been appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and who soon won himself an unenviable place in history by the mixture of brutality and corruption with which he conducted the "Bloody Assizes" in the west after the suppression of Monmouth's Rebellion in the summer of 1685. Shortly afterwards he was made Lord Chancellor. When, at the invitation of leading men of both parties, William of Orange landed in Devonshire in November 1688, and James II's government began to collapse like a house of cards, Jeffreys sent his family for safety to his brother-in-law's house at Leatherhead. According to a local legend, Jeffreys, while on the run, heard of the fatal illness of his thirteen-year-old daughter, came to Leatherhead in disguise, and remained for some time hidden in the cellars of the Mansion.<sup>41</sup> The earliest version of this story appeared in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, but it probably originated with the Rev. James Dallaway in whose *History of Leatherhead* it also appears. The one nucleus of undoubted truth is the entry in the parish register of the burial on 2nd December, 1688, of "the daughter of Lord Chancellor Jefferyes." This daughter, Anne, was two years old, not thirteen, as appears in later versions of the story; nor was she an "only daughter" as Dallaway states. The latter is also wrong in other important details. By referring to "Sir Charles Bludworth, Lord Mayor of London" he simultaneously confused the younger Sir Thomas Bludworth with his father and with his younger brother. He also erred in placing the Bludworths at the Mansion instead of Thorncroft, probably because he mistakenly believed that the latter was at that time in the possession of the Daltons. Finally, although Jeffreys did in all probability come to Leatherhead at the time of his daughter's fatal illness—there is a gap of about a week to account for—it was not yet necessary for him to disguise himself or to hide. He returned to carry out his duties in London, and sat in the Court of Chancery on 8th December. It was on the morning of 11th December that he discovered on entering the royal apartments that James II had fled. Only then did Jeffreys attempt to escape; but he was captured in disguise at Wapping on the following day. Almost the only things to Jeffreys' credit in his entire career are his refusal to abandon his Church of England principles and accept Roman Catholicism to please the King, and the fidelity with which he served his royal master to the end; and in the latter case he perhaps had no real choice.

Though the Glorious Revolution was the work of Tories as well as Whigs, Sir Thomas Bludworth was too closely linked with James II's regime to escape unscathed. His estate was secure enough, but on 10th April, 1689, he was replaced as Standard Bearer of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners by Henry Bourchier.<sup>42</sup> On 18th April, Jeffreys died in the Tower. Bludworth lived only for another three years, dying still a young man, and unmarried, in September 1692, when his estates passed to his brother Charles.<sup>43</sup>

CHARLES BLUDWORTH, the last surviving son of the elder Sir Thomas, had probably been born in the year of the Fire. He entered Christ Church, Oxford, shortly after his father's death in 1682, but he did not take a degree. Influenced perhaps by the success of his illustrious brother-in-law, he was admitted to the Inner Temple, and called to the bar in 1687 at the age of twenty-one.<sup>44</sup> When he inherited the family estates in 1692 he was still only in his middle twenties. A few years later, probably in 1696, he married Margaret, daughter of a Major Brett, and granddaughter of the Earl of Orrery. There

are frequent indications about the turn of the century that the Bludworths actually resided at Thorncroft, and between 1699 and 1703 four children were baptised at Leatherhead, one of whom died after a few days. On the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, when the High Tories returned to favour, Charles Bludworth was appointed one of the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Surrey;<sup>45</sup> and he seems generally to have been accorded precedence as the leading resident of Leatherhead. But just when he seemed likely to settle down and establish a family of country gentlemen, he too, like so many of his family, was cut off in his prime. He was buried at Leatherhead on 7th January, 1703/4.

In his will,<sup>46</sup> made shortly before his death, he left to his eldest son Thomas, a child of two, his manor of Kingswood, in Surrey, the manor of Old Hall and other property in Yorkshire, as well as houses held by lease in London. Although he left to his wife "all the Furniture of that Room which I now lye in at my house at Thorncrofts and of the Dressing Room adjoining to it", he made no specific bequest of the lease of Thorncroft itself. Perhaps it had been settled on his wife at their marriage. He relied on his wife's promise to provide for his younger son, Charles (not yet two), and daughter, Elizabeth (six months), out of her own estate. It is curious that we do not know how or when the Bludworths finally left Thorncroft. Charles Bludworth's widow did not survive long enough to complete the upbringing of her family, for she died and was buried at Richmond in 1715. The administration of the estate then passed to Mary Cawthorn, the last surviving child of the elder Sir Thomas Bludworth. Born in 1659, she had been provided for in her father's will on the assumption that "it hath pleased Almighty God to afflict my daughter Mary soe that a Change of Condition must needs be destructive to her." But she did eventually marry the Rev. Richard Cawthorn, Vicar of Hampton, Middlesex (where Bartholomew Bludworth and his descendents lived). Cawthorn has been named by Charles Bludworth as one of his executors, but he too was dead by 1715; and on 11th January, 1717, his widow Mary was appointed to administer the estate. In reaching the age of 58 this delicate woman had easily outlived all her brothers and sisters, and in the absence of any further change in administrators presumably survived for at least another five years until Thomas Bludworth came of age in 1722.

It seems likely that the latter is the Thomas Bludworth Esquire who was described in 1726 as having been formerly a Page of Honour to George I, at a salary of £260 *per annum*, and as having suffered pecuniary loss by removing into the army.<sup>47</sup> He was granted a pension of £150 until an office or employment could be found for him to bring his salary up to the former figure. With this background he may very well be identified with the Mr. Bloodworth who in 1737 was Equerry to Frederick, Prince of Wales.<sup>48</sup> Whether he ever lived at Thorncroft except in infancy is highly doubtful.

Here we must take note of a passage in Vol I of Defoe's *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*,<sup>49</sup> which was published in 1724 and probably written in the previous year. Commenting on the line of gentlemen's houses between Leatherhead and Guildford, "their parks, or gardens almost touching one another", he goes on: "Here are pleasantly situated several very considerable persons, as the posterity of Sir Tho. Bludworth, once Lord Mayor of London, a person famous for the implacable passion he put the people of London in, by one rash expression, at the time of the Great Fire (viz) 'That it was nothing, and they might piss it out'; which was spoken only at the beginning of the fire, when neither Sir Thomas or the citizens themselves could foresee the length it would go; and without any design to lessen their endeavours to quench it: But this they never forgot or forgave him, or his family after him; but fix'd the expression on him, as mark of indelible reproach, even to this day." Unfortunately Defoe's accuracy cannot be relied on. He certainly incorporated a good deal of old material into his *Tour*, and he may have been building on memories of his own schooldays at Dorking, fifty years before, when he would certainly have known of Sir Thomas Bludworth as the occupant of Thorncroft.

On the other hand, there are some indications that Defoe did actually travel through Surrey in the early summer of 1723, by way of Croydon, Beddington, Carshalton, Epsom, Leatherhead, Guildford, and Farnham, on his way to Salisbury. If this is so, it may be that this information is correct, and that the "posterity" of the Lord Mayor still lived at Thorncroft.

A Survey of the Manor of Norbury, in Mickleham, made by Tycho Wing in 1731 shows Thorncroft as "Mr. Mewers's Land".<sup>50</sup> The Leatherhead Church Vestry Book notes the presence of Andrew Meure at vestries held on 27th March and 11th April, 1726, and of Abra. (*sic*) Meure on 28th June, 1730. Musgrave's *Obituary* records the death of And. Meure in 1737. Unless he was the husband of Charles Blutworth's daughter, Elizabeth (b. 1703), and there is no evidence that this was so, it would seem that the connection of the Blutworth family with Thorncroft finally came to an end, after some seventy chequered years, about 1725.

#### NOTES

1. P. Le Neve, *Knights*, pp. 48-9.
2. Burke, *General Armoury*.
3. *Remembrancia*, Analytical Index, p. 222.
4. Cal.S.P.(Col.), E. Indies, etc.
5. P.C.C. 138 Essex.
6. Visit. London (1634) (Harl. Soc.), Vol. I, p. 168.
7. For Walter Rogers see No. 4 in this series, in *Proceedings*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 107, 110, and family tree facing p. 105.
8. Merton College Deeds. The Society's records, W.3.
9. V.C.H. Surrey, Vol. II, p. 281.
10. Surrey Feet of Fines.
11. Pachenesham and Leatherhead Manor Rolls, Surrey Record Office.
12. Registers of St. Dionis Backchurch.
13. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1654, p. 225.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
15. A. B. Beavan, *Aldermen of the City of London*, Vol. II, p. 89.
16. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1659-60, p. 570.
17. Beavan, *op. cit.*
18. Cal.S.P.(Dom), Addenda, 1660-5, pp. 27-8.
19. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1661-2, pp. 362, 408.
20. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, Vol. II, p. 470.
21. Walter G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London*, *passim*.
22. Walter G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, p. 321-2.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
24. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1666-7, p. 167.
25. H. Montgomery Hyde, *Judge Jeffreys*, p. 88.
26. *English Historical Documents*, Vol. VIII, 1660-1714, pp. 237-249.
27. Hyde, *Jeffreys*, p. 88.
28. Bell, *Fire*, pp. 317-8. Wind. Sandys to Viscount Scudamore.
29. Cal. Acts of Privy Council (Colonial), 1613-1680, p. 528.
30. Quarter Sessions records published by Surrey Records Society.
31. J. Aubrey, *History of Surrey*.
32. Sir W. Sterry, *Eton College Registers, 1441-1698*
33. P.C.C. 11 Lloyd.
34. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. V, p. 468. John Vernon to Sir Ralph Vernon.
35. Hyde, *Jeffreys*, p. 90.
36. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1682, p. 141.
37. Beavan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 186.
38. P.C.C. 82 Cottle.
39. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1684-5.
40. Cal. Treasury Papers. Repayment ordered 12 Oct. 1686.
41. Hyde, *Jeffreys*, pp. 298, 301.
42. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1689, p. 58.
43. P.C.C. 161 Fane.
44. Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.* Le Neve, *Knights*, pp. 48-9.
45. Cal.S.P.(Dom), 1702-3, p. 393.



46. P.C.C. 56 Ash.  
 47. Cal. Treasury Papers, 1726.  
 48. Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* (ed. Romney Sedgwick), p. 274.  
 49. Defoe, *Tour* (Everymen Edition), Vol. I, p. 146.  
 50. Surrey Archaeological Society Muniments Room, Guildford.

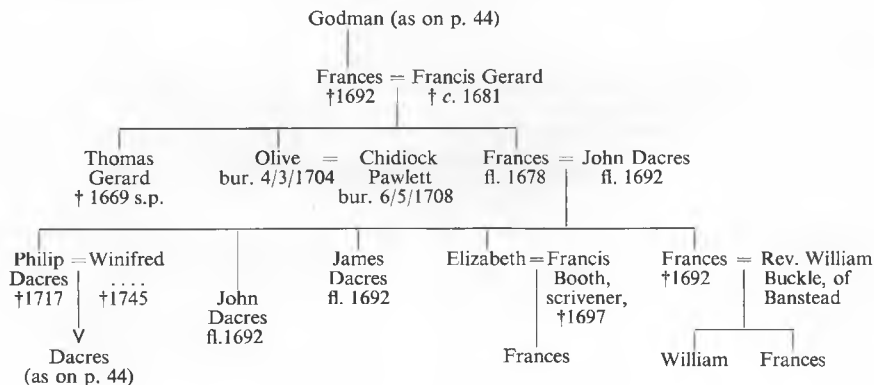
### Acknowledgements

In bringing this series to an end I gratefully acknowledge my obligation to Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A., for drawing my attention to Major Skeet's account of his family history, and for tracing the Great Bookham origins of the Rogers family of Leatherhead; to Capt. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., for references to the Rogers family in the Ashted Court Rolls; to Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne for generous advice on the use of local records; to Mr. A. T. Ruby, M.B.E., for verifying many facts from the Society's records; and to Mr. F. B. Benger, for obtaining suitable illustrations for several of the articles, and for going to great trouble to search the Leatherhead Vestry Books to establish the presence of Andrew Meure at Leatherhead.

### ADDENDUM AND CORRECTION TO No. 2 OF THIS SERIES—GODMAN, GERARD, AND DACRES

In No. 2 of this series (Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 48) it is stated that John Dacres, husband of Frances, the daughter of Francis and Frances Gerard, had died in 1668. From the will of Frances Gerard (P.C.C. 8 Coker), made on 2nd July, 1692, and proved on 5th January, 1692/3, it is clear that he was still living at that time, and that the John Dacres buried at Leatherhead in 1668 was some other person. Old Mrs. Gerard seems to have viewed her son-in-law with some distrust. She left all her property in Leatherhead and Cranleigh to her daughter, Olive, the wife of Chidiock Pawlett. Since Thomas Godman had entailed his property on his daughter, Frances Gerard, and her heirs, it would seem that Olive was the eldest daughter. Chidiock Pawlett appears in the Leatherhead freeholders list for 1696, while Philip Dacres appears in 1698. The marriage of the Pawletts seems to have been childless, so that the property presumably passed into the Dacres line on the death of Olive Pawlett.

The family tree given in Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 44, should be amended and amplified as follows:—



## A SHORT HISTORY OF BOOKHAM, SURREY—Part IX

By JOHN HARVEY, F.S.A.

LITTLE BOOKHAM had become enclosed, as regards its open arable fields, much earlier than Great Bookham, though some tenants of the manor held open-field land in the parishes of Great Bookham and Effingham. Like Great Bookham, the smaller manor had common wastes to north and south, that at the upper end forming part of Ranmore Common. The Manor of Little Bookham even claimed a much larger area of this common, lying within the parish of Great Bookham, and in 1801 there was a dispute between the two manors, Thomas Wood, bailiff of Great Bookham having removed a bound stone on Ranmore Common.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this dispute lay in the use of the common for grazing large flocks of sheep, a staple industry of the North Downs, and long linked with the traditional home weaving of the villages.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the emphasis was upon improved methods of agriculture, and in this direction the first step was normally the enclosure of the open arable fields. In Great Bookham these still comprised, as we have seen, nearly one-third of the total land under cultivation, and considerably more when allowance is made for extensive parklands. From Sheridan's letters we know that the movement for enclosure, initiated by the bigger landowners, was already in being by 1804, yet an Act was not passed until 1821, and the Award was not made until 19th March, 1822.<sup>2</sup> The long delay was probably due in large measure to the tactics of Sheridan himself, who hoped to secure generous allotments for the small commoners with everything to lose by enclosure, and in the normal course little to gain. After his death in 1816 the inevitable occurred.

Meanwhile, to add to the pre-enclosure survey of 1797-98, another most valuable record was completed. This was a survey and valuation, for tithe purposes, of the Rectory of Great Bookham, made in 1819 by Claridge & Iveson.<sup>3</sup> Its special interest derives from the fact that it gives not merely the name of every occupier, but also the specific use of every parcel in 1819, distinguishing between the various crops: wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, beans, vetches, sainfoin, turnips, seeds; meadow, pasture, wooded ground, and fallow. To every parcel also is assigned a valuation per acre, ranging from 6/- and 10/- for woods, coppices and rough pasture up to 50/- for the best arable and meadows, with 55/- for hop-gardens and 60/- for the Fair Field, then under turnips. It is significant that some of the highest valuations for arable land are in the open fields, some of the lowest in the ancient enclosed farms such as Bagden and Phenice. The Saxon settlers had laid out their communal field on some of the most fertile land available, while later comers had been forced to colonize poorer soils, taken in from the waste and woods. No wonder the "improving" farmers of the early nineteenth century were anxious to enclose the common fields. The results they obtained after enclosure were, indeed, remarkable, and we learn for instance that Mr. David Barclay, who bought the Eastwick Park estate in 1833, found "the ground was waterlogged; and the produce, of wheat, seldom more than three sacks per acre: at present [1850] the common average ranges from eight to ten sacks per acre. Mr. Barclay has a bone-crushing mill, a clod-breaker, etc., and also a machine for making draining-tiles."<sup>4</sup>

It is a sad commentary on human nature that this result, attainable by private enterprise, should have led (during the period of high agricultural prices) to the enrichment of a very few, while the enclosure which had made it possible completed the ruin of the much larger class of substantial yeomen who had been the backbone of Bookham for so long. In 1801 the Census<sup>5</sup> shows that there were 587 persons living in Great Bookham, and 119 in Little Bookham; by 1811 the numbers were 606 and 137, and a good deal of additional information is given. There were 111 houses in Great Bookham occupied by

120 families, as well as two uninhabited houses, and one house being built. Of the 120 families, 74 were reckoned as being chiefly employed in agriculture, and 32 in trade; the remaining 14 families no doubt constituted the gentry.

It is striking how closely these figures bear out the average factor of 5 persons to a family, while it is interesting also to note that the excess of families over separate houses was as low as 8 per cent. It is impossible to relate the total of 111 occupied houses precisely to the plan of the parish, for the survey of 1819 indicates only 88 separate dwellings with a total of 103 tenants. Of these 88 buildings, 50 are described as cottages, three (the Saracen and Ring, The Crown, and The Fox on Ranmore Common) as public houses, two (Eastwick Park and Bookham Grove) as mansions, while Polesden was the "Scite of the Old Mansion House" after demolition of the old house, begun by Sheridan and completed by his successor Joseph Bonsor.<sup>6</sup>

In reaching the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a period distant only one century from the recollections of many of the present inhabitants, we have reached a time when the printed word begins to supersede the manuscript record as the main source of significant material for the history of the two Bookhams. Not so much the literary works, such as county histories, but regular publications like newspapers and directories, start to throw light on the changing life of the village in the actual process of change, rather than as an interrupted succession of static pictures, taken at different dates. This age of particular and current record began even earlier, with the remarkable topographical compilation of a surveyor, James Edwards. His *Companion from London to Brighthelmstone*, a very detailed road-book accompanied by large-scale engraved maps from Edwards' own surveys, covers much of Surrey and Sussex. The work was begun in 1787, and most of the Surrey descriptions made in 1789; later parts were, however, issued up to 1801, so that the information given applies roughly to the opening of the new century.

Describing the main Guildford road before enclosure of the open fields and the modern planting of trees, Edwards states, of the stretch from the Fetcham boundary: "from hence to the village of *Great-Bookham*, the road commands a very extensive prospect on every point of the compass excepting the south. *Eastwick Park* lies about half a mile to the right, it is a good brick mansion house, built by the *Effingham* family, and appears of a modern erection; the park abounds with large timber trees. On the north of the house are good gardens with hot houses, green house, &c., the property of viscountess *Effingham*, and has been till late in the occupation of Joshua Smith Esq., at present untenanted.—On the right is a mile stone, 2 miles from Leatherhead, 9 miles 5 furlongs from Guildford.—Enter the village of *Great Bookham*.—On the south is *Bookham Grove*, the seat of viscountess Downe. The house is a handsome brick building which appears of a modern erection, and executed in taste; adorned with suitable plantations, good gardens, &c. the greatest part of which is surrounded with spacious common fields.—Turn short to the right (the road on the left leads to Polesdon.)—*Public House*. On the right is the *White-Hart*, public house, in the occupation of John Brown.—Turn short to the left and leave the village.—*Great Bookham* is pleasantly situated, and consists chiefly of one long street extending north from the road. The upper part has mostly good brick houses. . . . In (the) church is a number of elegant monuments, one of which sacred to the memory of a son of Sir *Francis Geary*, Bart. who was slain in *America*, is worthy of notice.—The vicarage is in the gift of Sir *Francis Geary*, Bart. The present incumbent is the Rev. Mr. Cook, who lives in the vicarage house which is situated a small distance below the church, on the opposite side of the street, about half a furlong west of the road. . . . About one mile and a quarter south on the summit of the hill is *Phoenix Farm*, from whence you have a most delightful and extensive prospect to the north over a fine level country, it is in the possession of Mr. Martyr. . . . (continuing towards Guildford) Enclosed road begins at a chalk pit on the left. The road on the right [Rectory Lane] leads to *Little Bookham*. On the west side of which road, about half a furlong distance is the parsonage,

a small house in the possession of the Rev. *Mr. Pollen*, who occasionally stops here, but chiefly resides at GUILDFORD. About a quarter of a mile to the north of the parsonage on the same side of the road is a neat house, likewise the property of *Mr. Pollen*, now rented and occupied by *Mr. Sewell*. [i.e. The Grange, now School of Stitchery and Lace]—Enclosed road ends. On the right about three furlongs distance is *Little Bookham* church, which is very small. . . . The manor house stands near fifty yards south of the church, and is a handsome building of red brick of a modern erection, agreeably situated, commanding a pleasant prospect over the spacious common fields adjacent thereto. In these fields as far as *Phoenix Farm* the plowmen frequently pick up small iron bullets, or a kind of grape shot.—Leave the common fields.” (the road continues to Effingham).

Edwards gives some interesting facts about transport: “The *Bookham* and *Leatherhead* waggon, goes from *Leatherhead* every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings, and arrives at the Queen’s Head Inn, in the *Borough*, Every Monday and Friday, and at the Red Lyon near *Westminster Bridge*, every Wednesday, returns from thence every Thursday morning at 8 o’clock, and from the Queen’s Head in the *Borough*, every Tuesday and Saturday at the same time in the morning.” Referring to the upper road along the ridge of the North Downs, he also states that from Dorking to Guildford a “CHAISE in the summer sometimes goes to upper road or over the downs which is very pleasant in fine weather . . . but the usual road is as described below. (Description of the road via Burford Bridge and Westhumble Street, to) *Old end*, keep to the right in the middle of the vale, an arm post, on the left directs to *Denbeighs*.—Road divides keep to the right.—On the left is *Bagdon-Farm*.—Ascends the hill.—On the right is *Phoenix Farm*. Keep close to the hedge on the right to the entrance of the common field, then the large road which leads a cross the common field due north to the village of *Great Bookham* . . . Here the road unites with the *Leatherhead* turnpike-road.”

The road-book resulting from personal survey had been a feature of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; from the latter part of the eighteenth century its place began to be taken by the directory, annual or periodical, giving statistical information, addresses of residents and tradesmen, etc., arranged not along the main routes, but alphabetically. In some cases, smaller places were grouped with a neighbouring town, and this was the case with *Great Bookham* in 1826, when *Pigot’s London and Provincial Directory* (p. 680–1) gave a joint entry for “LEATHERHEAD AND GREAT BOOKHAM.”

*Bookham* is separately described: “*Great Bookham* is a parish and village, twenty-one miles from London, nine from Guildford, and two from *Leatherhead*. The church is small and ancient, supposed to have been built as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, by an abbot of *Chertsey*. In this parish are several very fine seats, and the country round here is fertile and pleasant. The population of the parish is about 700.” The Post Office was at *Leatherhead*, “*John Nash*, Post Master. Letters from London arrive every morning (except Monday) at three, and are dispatched at half-past ten in the evening.”

The Coaches from *Leatherhead* to London were “from the *Swan Inn*, to the *Spread Eagle*, *Gracechurch-st.* every morning (except Sunday) at half-past seven; to the *Blossoms Inn*, *Lawrence-lane*, at eight in the morning; and to the *Old Bell*, *Holborn*, at half-past eight in the morning, half-past nine, and a quarter before ten; and in summer at five and in winter at half-past three in the afternoon. Coaches from *Great Bookham* pass through to London during the day.” Besides the information on coaches, mention is made of two carriers, *John Chilman* of *Leatherhead*, who went “from his own house, to the *Vine Tavern*, *Bishopgate-street*, every Tuesday and Friday”, and from *Great Bookham*, “*William Poulter* from his own house, on Monday and Thursday.”

The directory of *Bookham* begins with “GENTRY & CLERGY: *Bazelgette*, *Lewis*, esq., *Eastwick Park*; *Bonsor*, *Joseph*, esq., *Polsden*; *Farley*, *Rev. Wm.* (academy) [at *The Croft*];

Hebbarden, Rev. Wm. [The Vicarage]; Hodges, Wm. R. esq.; Leach, Misses; Leach, Wm. [probably of The Hermitage]; Lowdell, Geo. [of "Fairfield House", now so-called, in the High Street]; Mackey, Spencer, esq., Bookham Grove." By this time many of the country seats were commonly let to tenants, rather than occupied by their owners, as in this last case.

The Bookham tradesmen were Thomas Skinner and Thomas Wood, bakers; Richard Horley, William Horley, and John Wyatt, blacksmiths; Abraham Dallen, John Robinson, John Scott, and James Stedman, boot and shoe makers; John Anscumb, butcher; Mercer & Wood, and William Wood, carpenters; William Willis, grocer and draper; Robert Ragge, saddler; William Bradbury, James Elliott, and William Plaskins, tailors; Arthur Lunn, wheelwright. The "TAVERNS AND PUBLIC HOUSES" were the Crown, kept by John Hall; and the Saracen & Ring (formerly the White Hart), kept by John Brown.

By 1838 Great Bookham had its own entry in Robson's *Commercial Directory of the Six Home Counties* (Surrey, pp. 8-9). Here the gentry are omitted, and the tradesmen appear in alphabetical order. The description runs: "BOOKHAM, Great is a parish of 3,170 acres; assessed to the Property Tax in 1815 at 2,867 £. The population in 1801 was returned at 587, and in 1831 at 890. The benefice in 1834 was returned as a vicarage, of the annual value of 458 £., endowed with half the great tithes; in the presentation of W. Heberden, M.D., who is the impropiator of the remainder of the great tithes. The village is west of the river Mole, 20 miles S.W. of Leatherhead (*sic*), on the road to Guildford. It is included in the parochial union of Epsom." There was by now a Post Office, kept by Edmund Prier as a "Receiving house", with "Letters from all parts arrive morn. 9; dispatched even. 6". The Sun Fire & Life Assurance Agent was Robert Cook. William Poulter was still the local carrier, going to London on Monday and Thursday, and to Guildford every Saturday.

The list of local tradesmen, giving "Name, Residence & Profession" runs: "Bradbury, William, Tailor; Chitty, William, Fox [i.e. the public house on Ranmore Common]; Clarke, Thomas, Butcher; Colebrooke, J. D., Butcher; Conisbee, E., Butcher; Cox, Henry, Calenderer; Dallem, Abraham, Cordwainer; Daw, Thomas, Retailer of Beer; Denby, Miles, Bricklayer & Plasterer; Elliott, James, Tailor; Hall, Elizabeth, Crown [public house]; Horley, Joanna, Milliner; Horley, Richard, Blacksmith; Jennings, William, Painter; Lunn, Arthur, Wheelwright; Matthews, George, Plumber; Mercer & Wood, Carpenters; Paskins, W., Tailor; Simon, Peter, Retailer of Beer; Prier, Edward, Grocer & Draper; Puddock, Henry, Wheelwright; Skinner, Thomas, Baker; Stemp, J., Rat & Mole Catcher; Stevens, J., Plumber; Sturt, James, Boot & Shoemaker; Tanner, Richard, Bricklayer & Plasterer; Tickner, Robert, Beer Retailer; Willis, William, Grocer & Draper; Wood, George, Saracen & Ring Inn; Wood, Maria, Carpenter; Wood, Thomas, Baker & Flour Dealer; Wood, Thomas, Sawyer; Wyatt, Hannah, Blacksmith; Wyett, William, Blacksmith." The considerable increase in both population and tradesmen in the twelve years since 1826 clearly marks the beginnings of modern Bookham, its transformation to an urban and residential rather than a rural agricultural area.

The end of the older life of Bookham, as a country village still in many ways fundamentally medieval, was appropriately marked by the preparation of the Tithe Awards, that for Great Bookham dated 10th October, 1839, that for Little Bookham 26th September, 1840. The making of Tithe Awards, with their accompanying maps on a large scale, resulted from the Tithe Act of 1836, which substituted corn-rents, based on the average value of seven years ending at Christmas 1835, for tithes payable in kind. Such Tithe Commutation had frequently been arranged by individual parishes, but after 1836 was carried out generally, except where tithe was not payable or had already been redeemed. For the local historian the value of the Tithe Awards and Maps is immense, for they constitute an almost simultaneous large-scale survey of most of the country, showing every

building, road and fence, with the names of the owner and occupier of every house and plot of land. In many parishes it is possible to identify the former owners of particular properties only by using the Tithe Map as a starting point for research into other records such as Court Rolls.

The Awards begin by stating the totals of land subject to Tithe: at Great Bookham 3245 acres 1 perch; in Little Bookham 926 acres 2 roods 27 perches, area of the whole parish, of which 885 acres 15 perches subject to Tithe. Omitting fractions, the Great Bookham area of arable was 1451 acres, of meadow or pasture 743 acres, of woodland 258 acres, of common land 792 acres, of impropriate glebe 2 acres, and vicarial glebe 8 acres. For Little Bookham the figures were: arable 488, pasture 143, wood 111, commons 119, gardens and orchards 15, glebe 42 acres. The much larger glebe is due to the fact that Little Bookham was a rectory, while at Great Bookham the rectory had been appropriated to Chertsey Abbey.

From the historian's point of view it is unfortunate that the word "occupier" seems to have been limited to leasehold tenants. Many landowners are named as "occupiers" of all the houses and cottages comprising their estate, the actual residents being doubtless their servants and labourers. But a number of shopkeepers and others, identifiable from other records, cannot be traced in the Awards or upon the maps, and must have been sub-tenants of the persons named as occupiers for official purposes. For this reason, it is impossible to state just where a considerable number of the village shops and businesses were, and the same applies to gentry who occupied some of the larger houses on short-term leases.

Apart from the great mansions, the easiest houses to identify are the inns and public houses, of which there were at least nine in the two parishes about 1840. These were the Saracen & Ring at the south end of the High Street, now Grove Cottage; the Crown, opposite the Church, as now; the Half Moon at Preston Cross, now Half Moon Cottage; the Fox at Ranmore, now Fox Cottage; a beershop, now gone, at the Isle of Wight, between Manor Cottage and Handleys Cottage; another in Little Bookham Street, on the site of Messrs. Sayer's bakery; and finally another beerhouse in the High Street, adjacent to Vine Cottage on the south. In Little Bookham was The Castle, now the Windsor Castle. What is now The Anchor at Eastwick had ceased to be The Red Lion by 1797, and had apparently not regained its licence in 1839.

Among the tradesmen mentioned by the directories, William Poulter the carrier lived at the old house on the corner of Eastwick Street now called Woodcote; William Bradbury the tailor seems to have succeeded to the Rev. William Farley's private school at what is now The Croft; Miles Denby, bricklayer and carpenter, had what is now Lloyds Bank; Richard Horley the blacksmith lived at Vine Cottage; Thomas Skinner the baker in Burpham, still the village bakery; Arthur Lunn had his wheelwright's shop opposite, next to the Crown. There can be little doubt that most of the shops clustered around the northern end of the High Street, the centre of Bookham activity then as now. The Post Office was presumably in the same house as at present, for Edmund Prior had occupied it in 1819, though not mentioned as postmaster for nearly 20 years.

Of the work of the tradesmen we know little, but receipts for sums spent on behalf of the Church, preserved among the Great Bookham parish records, mention several of the building craftsmen. Messrs. Mercer & Wood had £17 17s. 10½d. on 24th January, 1824, for "Car enter's Work done to Great Bookham Church", and on 18th March a further £7 14s. 10d. for work done for the parish, while five days later Richard Horley had £12 3s. 0d. for Smith's work. He also had £4 4s. 8d. on 4th May, for work done at the Church, while at the end of that month £7 12s. 0d. was paid to Joseph Peters for lime delivered to the Church. In July 1830 it was Maria Wood who received £19 7s. 9d. for

carpenter's work, and Miles Denby had £6 4s. 2d. in October 1833, and £11 4s. 2d. on 14th January, 1846, for work done at Great Bookham Church. This last job was presumably in connection with the building of the new north aisle in 1844-45 to a design by Richard Cromwell Carpenter, later the architect of Lancing College, Sussex. The aisle cost £662 11s. 1d., of which £60 were contributed by the Incorporated Church Building Society. The application for a grant gives the rental of the parish as £4425, the poor rate at 3s. 5d. in the £ as raising £737, and the existing sittings in the church as 310, of which 123 were free. The new aisle was to add 115 sittings, and a condition of the grant was that 93 of the additional sittings should remain free for all time.<sup>7</sup>

Time never stands still, and any history is out of date by the time it is published; but there are in any case sound reasons why "recent history" should be separated from that of earlier periods. It is impossible to view objectively, dispassionately, events that have occurred within a century or so, to judge fairly of developments that have occurred in the lifetimes of one's own parents and grandparents. Another factor which tells against the writing of modern history is the multiplicity of sources: newspapers, records of local administration, of public undertakings and private business, the letters, diaries and memoranda of individuals, the reminiscences of the elderly.

All these and more would have to be studied and analysed to yield an adequate survey of conditions and events in Bookham since the middle of the nineteenth century. Rather than present a sketchy and unbalanced view it seems better to conclude this short history in 1851, when the population was almost double what it had been at the opening of the nineteenth century: 1248 against 706. Of these, 1061 lived in Great Bookham, and 187 in Little Bookham. Many new houses had been built in the half-century, mostly small brick boxes with slate roofs, suitable for labourers and artisans, though some were still being put up in the local vernacular style of studding covered with weatherboard or plaster. A new mansion at Polesden had been built in 1824, and Eastwick Park was remodelled after 1833.

Glimpses of parish life appear through the impersonal lines of documents of the period. In 1838 the old almshouses in Church Road, were sold by order of the Epsom Union to Joseph Bonsor, Esq., for £150. They were described as "All those two freehold Cottages or Tenements with the Gardens and appurtenances thereto belonging situate in Great Bookham Street", and comprised a cottage on the west side of the road north of the Barn Hall, and another, still existing, on the east side opposite to the end of Sole Farm Road. The operation of the Poor Law still involved the removal of poor persons to their place of settlement, and this is exemplified by a Removal Order of 21st April, 1851, whereby Mary Puttock, aged about 44, wife of William Puttock who has deserted her about 6 years, was to be removed from Epsom to Great Bookham with her legitimate children, Martha (15) and Mary (13).

Another aspect of the life of the poor appears in an Apprenticeship Indenture of 26th December, 1851, in which the Minister and Churchwardens of Great Bookham paid from Charity Monies £15 to apprentice Eliza Rolfe (15), daughter of George Rolfe, labourer, to Caroline Percivall of Great Bookham, "Singlewoman Milliner". Eliza was to be taught the "art trade and business of a Milliner" for three years, Miss Percivall providing sufficient drink, meat and lodging, and the girl's father her wearing apparel, washing and mending; while he was also "to remove Eliza Rolfe to his own abode in case of sickness or accident" and maintain her for the duration of her sickness or until her recovery. Rolfe signed by mark, but his daughter could write.<sup>8</sup>

At the time there was no railway station nearer than Dorking (Town), on the Redhill-Reading line of the South-Eastern Railway, opened in 1849, or Epsom (the old L.B. & S.C.

station), open since 1847. The London & South-Western line from Wimbledon to Leatherhead, with the joint London Brighton & South Coast extension from Epsom, reached Leatherhead only in 1859 and Horsham via Dorking (North) not until 1867; the New Guildford line through Effingham Junction, with the link to Leatherhead via Bookham, did not come until 1885. Not until after 1900 was Bookham linked to the outside world by mechanized road traffic.

In the middle of the nineteenth century village life still remained in many ways close to that of the Middle Ages, and as a final demonstration of this historical unity may be quoted the list of men qualified to serve on Juries, returned by Great Bookham on 30th August, 1865. Out of a total population of some 1100, only 14 men were then jurors qualified by law: Sir Walter Rockliffe Farquhar, baronet (of Polesden); Hedworth David Barclay Esq. (of Eastwick Park); Henry Hansard Esq.; four farmers (Edward Eggleton, Charles Hatt Hunter, Henry Leach, Thomas Wells); two Victuallers (William Clapshaw, George Door); a Wheelwright (Thomas Balchin); a Baker (William Grantham); a Grocer (James Underwood); a Shoemaker (John Owen); and George Woods, described as a Retired Shopkeeper.<sup>8</sup>

With this last glimpse of the ancient two-faced principle of privilege linked with responsibility, we leave the ancient history of the Bookhams, and face modern times.

(Concluded)

#### NOTES

1. Court of 29th October, 1801 in Court Book of Little Bookham Manor, Surrey Record Office.
2. W. E. Tate in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 143; Victoria County History, *Surrey*, Vol. III, p. 327. W. F. Rae, *Sheridan, a biography* (1896), II, p. 203 ff.
3. Great Bookham Rectory.
4. E. W. Brayley, *History of Surrey* (1850), Vol. IV, p. 468 note.
5. Victoria County History, *Surrey*, Vol. IV, p. 448.
6. For Bookham Grove and Polesden, see the articles by F. B. Benger in *Proceedings* of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society, Vol. I, No. 9, 1955, pp. 21-29.
7. Information from files of the Incorporated Church Building Society, to which, as well as to the Rev. Dr. Basil G. Skinner, acknowledgments and thanks are here given.
8. Parish papers at Great Bookham Rectory, kindly shown to me by the Rev. Canon A. M. Hughes.



## THE LEDGER OF JAMES PULLEN, LEATHERHEAD IRONMONGER

By J. G. W. LEWARNE



**J**AMES PULLEN kept an Ironmonger's shop on the site now occupied by the group of shops numbered 4 to 8 North Street, Leatherhead. The premises was a single storey building, the first floor being tile faced and overhanging the narrow footpath. Entry was attained through a narrow solid door with a high stone threshold. James Pullen sold the business to Alfred Blaker in 1858 and after his death in 1898 it was continued by his two sons Alfred and William until 1921 when the former died. William Blaker carried on the business alone until 1936 when it was acquired by Mr. A. A. Haynes (a former assistant) and the late Mr. F. C. Mallett. With the redevelopment of the North Street site the shop was transferred to 9 Church Street where Messrs. Stone and Turner are now the successors.

The Society is indebted to Mr. A. A. Haynes for the gift of the ledger of James Pullen which covers the years 1837 to 1845. The volume measures  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches and is 3 inches thick, comprising some nine hundred pages each containing forty or more entries. Some 120 accounts operated over the eight years and there are about 36,000 entries.

Few ironmongers can still remain who deal with such a varied stock and who retain a staff of such craft and ability as did James Pullen in the early nineteenth century.

Turning the pages of this most interesting book one realizes how much can be learnt about the life and possessions of the people living at this time. The extracts that follow are intended to illustrate this point and to provide some idea of the variety of goods sold and jobs undertaken.

The first entry on January 20th, 1837 reads "To new screw and setting to rights Coffee Mill. 9d."; and a little later in respect of the same customer, "¼lb of tenterhooks 1½d."

A considerable client of Mr. Pullen was Col. Drinkwater Bethune of Thorncroft who ran three accounts, for the house, for the farm, and for the wheelwright. A selection of items under his name shows some of the purchases that a man in his position found necessary.

- "1837 Jan. 25th. 1¼ Days taken a man hanging a bell in young ladies room. 5/7½d.  
Feb. 6th. New hammer for breaking stones and a handle to ditto. 2/-d. New Shovle for stove. 2/-d. A new saucepan. 1/9d.  
Feb. 15th. Sharpening a mathook. 4d.  
Feb. 18th. A new iron eye for Dinner Bell. 6d.  
Feb. 21st. Repairing a tin pot. 4d. Fixing clock and mending the Pendulum. 2/6d.  
Feb. 22nd. Mending a silver knife. 6d. 1 Doz. knives & forkes for kitchen. 17/-d. ½ Doz. small ditto for Housekeepers Room. 8/6d. 1 Pair of Carvers. 5/-d.  
March 20th. Fixing two glass ornaments to a Chandelier. 6d.  
April 14th. 1¼ days taken Courtneige repairing upstairs Bell in Mrs. Bethune's Room and setting to rights sundry locks to boxes and locks to Laundry and sundry jobs. 5/7½d."

It appears that 4s. 6d. per day was Pullen's charge for a man's work for a day including profit. This particular job did not seem to have been very successful as the following entry indicates:—

- "1837 April 22nd. To 1 Day taken Courtneige altering and repairing a Pull to a Bell in Mrs. Bethune's Room and repairing another Pull. 4/6d."

and on

- "1837 May 4th. ½ day Courtneige repairing a Pull to a Bell in Mrs. Bethune's Room and repairing a cubbard lock. 2/3d."

Was Courtneige a poor workman or was Mrs. Bethune somewhat heavy on her bell pull?

But bell pulls still gave trouble

- "1837 May 12th. ½ day labour repairing Bell to Miss Bethune's Room. 2/3d."

The next items were

- "1837 May 8th. A shaving pot. 2/-d.  
June 1st. A rat trap. 1/2d. Cleaning a double barrel gun and pistol. 3/-d.  
June 7th. Pair of eye guards for Miss Bethune. 1/2d.

and in 1842 the Bell Pulls were still receiving attention

- "1842 March 10th. To 4 days taken Courtneige hanging Pulls to Capt. Bethune's Room and repairing Bell to Back Door. 18/-d. and 2 New Leaver Pulls and 1 Spring Purchase Crank & 4 Cranks on Carriages to Drive in, 1 lb of Copper wire, 2 Check Springs and Staples and Nails, 2 Ceiling tubes to ditto. 13/6d."

Thomas Bridges occupied Elmer at Fetcham, long since demolished. This house stood below the Water Company's Reservoirs and part of the brick walls of the boundary remain at the foot of Hawks Hill. A few items appearing in his account follow:—

- “1837 Feb. 3rd. Cleaning and Brightening the spit racks to Range and mending a Rush burner. 2/-d.  
 April 8th. Repairing a footman and piecing and altering a hanging iron and grinding a chopper. 1/3d.  
 May 4th. A padlock. 1/-d.  
 July 5th. New bottom to waterpot and repairing another. 1/9d.  
 July 15th. A candlestick and snuffers etc. complete. 2/10d. A Basting ladel. 2/4d.  
 August 7th. A dripping pan. 7/6d.  
 August 25th. Cleaning the Smoke Jack and repairing the centres to worm at top and bottom carriage and taking down and fixing up—oil etc. 12/6d.”

The Rev. John Craig of Fetcham was another client of Mr. Pullen.

- “1837 May 11th. New stove. 13/-d.  
 July 7th. New ironwork for Windlass for Kite Wt. 6½ lbs. 4/4d.  
 Sept. 4th. Tinder Box and Steel. 10d. Pr. of Best Plier's for Organ by Mr. Hill. 1/6d.”

This apparently was the organ referred to in the Fetcham Vestry minutes January 11th, 1837 when it was agreed to allow Rev. John Craig to place an Organ in the Church provided he paid the cost and the expenses of the necessary alterations to the pews.

- “1837 Sept. 6th. 1 Doz. of Brass Hooks for School. 8d.  
 Sept. 8th. Man ½ day hanging Bell to School. 2/3d. New Bell and Carriage, a spring Purchase Crank, 3 Corner Cranks and wire, nails and staples. 9/3d.  
 Sept. 28th. 2 Meat Hooks for School and fixing. 6d.  
 Oct. 4th. A stand for Dutch oven to School. 1/9d. A Dutch oven. 2/9d.”

John Webb, the parish clerk, was appointed in 1810 to instruct in the principles of Morality and Religion and to read the Scriptures, all children who may attend every Sunday and, if found necessary, for one hour on a week day at such time as may least interfere with their labour. It has been previously thought that apart from the above the first school in the parish was established in 1854. However, these items suggest a school of very different calibre to that run by John Webb.

Church heating also figured in this account.

- “1837 Oct. 18th. New Stove for Church with stand etc. £2/2/-d.  
 1839 May 18th. Altering pipe to stove at Fetcham Church making two elbows to ditto and rivets. 2/6d. New copper pipe to stove and cover Wt. 24 lb. £1/16/-d. Taking down and fixing up ditto. 3/6d.”

The Rev. R. Downes succeeded Rev. John Craig to the living of Fetcham. His purchases suggest him as a man who enjoyed his creature comforts.

- “1839 Aug. 30th. A new warming Pan & Handle. 12/6d.  
 1840 Dec. 28th. A mulling pot. 1/2d.  
 1841 Jan. 7th. Mending a Japan Beer Jug. 9d.  
 Oct. 29th. Wine Taster. 7d.  
 1842 Jan. 29th. New Spring hook and tee to dog chain. 1/6d.  
 Feb. 1st. Repairing Carriage lamp. 1/-d.  
 1843 Sept. 5th. New ferrule to Cane. 6d.  
 Nov. 16th. 2 Mousetraps. 1/3d.”

Another incumbent who was a client of John Pullen was the Rev. Benjamin Chapman who was Vicar of Leatherhead from 1836 to 1871.

- “1837 June 14th. Altering a curtain rod to a bed. 1/1d.  
 Nov. 1st. 3 lbs. of Patent Candles. 2/7½d.”

- 1838 April 30th. 2 New Lamp Chimneys. 1/8d.  
 May 19th. Repairing a Parasol. 1/-d.
- 1840 Jan. 29th. A Toy watch. 6d.  
 June 2nd. Repairing a Shower Bath. 2/-d.
- 1842 Dec. 13th. Gallon of oil. 4/-d.  
 Dec. 20th. Mending a wine strainer. 6d.
- 1843 Feb. 6th. A Pen Knife. 1/6d.  
 April 12th. Repairing lock in nursery. 1/9d. Taking handle out of a Parasol and fixing into another, rewires etc. 1/-d.  
 May 5th. Repairing two Parasols. 1/-d."

Mr. J. C. Girardot of Bookham decided to have essential kitchen repairs done as follows:—

- "1842 Aug. 29th 5 New Bars to Kitchen Range and New Horse Bar Wt. 75 lbs, repairing the winding racks and pinions to ditto and catch to the fall down bar, taking apart and fixing together, sundry new nuts and screws and new studs to hold in Back. £3/7/6d. New Stout Back to ditto Wt. 2<sup>c</sup> 3<sup>q</sup> 26<sup>lbs</sup> @ 21/-. £3/2/7½. Repairing oven, new bottom and new end, repairing cleaner and setting to rights the shelves. £1/16/-d. New Fire box to Hot Plate 3<sup>q</sup> 20<sup>lbs</sup> and new studs and screws. £1/11/8d. Hold-fasts for fixing plates to stove. 1/-d. Men taking and fixing up Range oven plates etc. 3¼ days. 14/7½. Paid carriage of ditto to and from Bookham. 3/6d."

and in 1843 an overhaul of kitchen utensils was undertaken

- "1843 Sept. 27th New Turning 13 Copper Stew pans and covers 2 Oval ditto and covers, 6 Copper saucepans and covers, 1 Copper Fish Kettle, Plate and cover, 1 Stock Pot, 1 Copper Pot and Cover, 1 Omelet pan, 3 Beer Jugs, 2 Oval Cake moulds and 6 Jelly ditto. £3/14/3d."

T. W. Claggett of Fetcham purchased

- "1841 Dec. 24th A New lamp for Magic Lantern. 9d."

and it is easy to guess that the magic lantern was a feature of the Christmas festivities.

J. Barnard Hankey of Fetcham Park was a good customer of Pullen's and some of his purchases reflected his interests in sport and gardening.

- "1837 March 24th 4 New Steel Coits. 14/-d.  
 April 24th New Grillet plate to saddle by Lloyd. 2/6d.
- 1838 Jan. 26th New screws and repairing pair of Skaits and two new plates to ditto. 2/-d.  
 Oct. 30th New large Malt Mill and wheel and fixing up ditto. £6/10/-d.
- 1839 Feb. 11th Marking 5 Saucepans and 5 covers and 15 Jelly Moulds I.B.H. 3/-d.  
 April 16th New Asparagus Knife. 2/-d.  
 July 31st New Spring and Plates to a Horn case and mending Horn. 1/9d.
- 1840 May 22nd New Iron to train convolvulus on and painting ditto. 6/6d."

Mr. Edward Stone, a brewer of Leatherhead, paid £37/16s. for 216 feet of Copper Pipe, tinned inside and out at 3/6d.

Mr. John Lloyd, the Saddler of Leatherhead whose family was the subject of an article by Mr. Benger in the *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 5, was another client until his death in 1840 when his widow took over the account as from February 14th, on acceding to the business at the age of 74.

Pullen undertook fixing "New tires" to wheels and the supply of miscellaneous iron-work in connection with the trade. Mr. Lloyd's account included:—

- "1838 Jan. 1st To 2 Lock Taps (1 by Ragge and 1 by boy). 4/-d.
- 1838 Jan. 12th New Scroll Iron to Donkey Chaise and 2 New Screwbolts to ditto. 5/6d.
- 1839 Jan. 24th Repairing hinge to Shop Door and repairing thumb latch. 1/3d.
- Feb. 12th Mending a whip. 6d."

Thomas Dickens of Vale Lodge had work done to his Phaeton and other carriages as well as to the family pew in the Parish Church.

- "1840 Aug. 12th Taking off wheels to Phaeton, cleaning out the Boxes and examining all the nuts and screws to ditto. 4/-d.
- 1840 Aug. 24th New clasp iron to screw Carriage to Phaeton, new end to stay brace, 2 new stout angle plates and screws and fixing—repairing the Dashing iron, fixing on the leather to hold the whalebone to draw by and painting Ironwork etc. 13/6d.
- 1840 Oct. 2nd Cleaning and oiling the wheels to Phaeton and carriage. 5/6d.
- 1840 Dec. 31st 4 New Irons for seat to Pew in Church. 4/-d.
- 1841 Jan. 7th 2 New large Brass Curtainrods (for Church) feet and 2 end ornaments for ditto. 12/6d.
- 1841 Aug. 21st Cleaning out and oiling the wheels of 3 carriages. 6/-d."

Messrs. H. and H. Ellis of Fetcham Mill employed James Pullen for work at the Mill.

- "1837 Feb. 7th Repairing a barometer. 2/-d.
- 1838 May 23rd Fresh turning a Damsel. 2/3d.
- 1838 June 16th Altering Hoop to go round Millstone and new rivet. 1/6d.
- 1838 Aug. 24th Cutting, Shutting and altering a Damsel. 1/-d.
- 1839 Aug. 4th Altering and repairing a Damsel. 2/9d.
- 1840 Oct. 16th New Tin Eye for Millstone. 3/-d."

It should be explained that the stirrup or feeder of a water mill was affectionately called the "damsel". Two reasons have been advanced for this name; firstly, that this function of shaking the shoe to keep the grain moving was performed by a hand-maiden, and secondly because it made more noise in the mill than anything else.

The Leatherhead Parish Church wardens were charged £12/6d. for "cleaning and repairing the church clock placing and repairing the lever of the striking part and fresh fixing a pinion new spring and repairing the flyer and repairing the letant (?)". That year (1839) the Church wardens owed Mr. Pullen £29/7/10d. and paid £10 on account. Later another £6 was paid on account and in March 1842 another £8. Other jobs followed, including further repairs to the clock and attending to the organ and bells. It was not until September 1844 that James Pullen wrote "Settled" against the account of £21/14/5d. to that date. In those Victorian days most of the customers took a year's credit.

It is hoped that the foregoing extracts have provided a picture of James Pullen, Ironmonger, and also some facets of the life and homes of some of the inhabitants of the district.

**LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY**  
**Receipts and Payments Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1962**

RECEIPTS										
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bank Balance at 31st December, 1961	..							13	18	3
Subscriptions	..	..	..	..				85	14	0
Grants:—										
Surrey County Council	..	..			25	0	0			
Leatherhead U.D.C.	..	..	..		15	0	0			
								40	0	0
Donations	..	..	..	..				137	18	6
Sale of <i>Proceedings</i> and Binding Cases	..							22	0	3
Visits and Meetings:—										
Receipts	..	..	..	..	5	18	0			
Expenses	..	..	..	..	5	15	0			
									3	0
								£299 14 0		

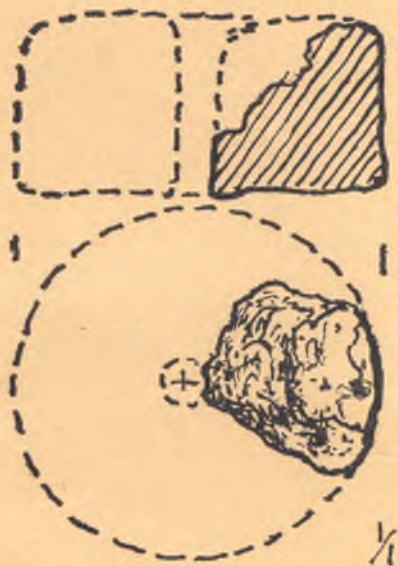
PAYMENTS											
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Printing of <i>Proceedings</i>	..	..	..					134	0	0	
General Printing	..	..	..	..				15	0	6	
Postages, Stationery, and Sundry Disbursements	..	..	..	..				18	9	0	
Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:—											
Surrey Record Society	..	..			1	0	0				
Field Studies Council	..	..	..		1	1	0				
									2	1	0
Bank Balance at 31st December, 1962	..							130	3	6	
								£299 14 0			

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

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

23rd January, 1963.

(Signed) W. T. BRISTOW,  
Honorary Treasurer.



Piece of a Spindle-whorl, of  
Calcite-gritted ware, from the  
L.B.A./E.I.A. site at The Old  
Quarry, Ashted; 1929-61.