PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

VOL. 2 No. 7

1963

SECRETARIAL NOTES

THE FOLLOWING Lectures and Visits were arranged during 1963:—

February 20th	Lecture and Reading to mark the bicentenary of the birth of the Reverend James Dallaway, M.A., M.B., Vicar of Leatherhead 1804 to 1834; by F. B. Benger.
March 7th	Lecture: "Flints, Flakes, and Hammer Stones", by Miss J. Harding.
March 22nd	ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.
April 24th	Lecture: "Parish Registers", by H. V. H. Everard, B.Sc.
June 8th	Visit to Hawks Hill Excavations.
July 13th	Visit to Wotton House.
July 20th	Visit to Fetcham Church and Badingham College.
September 21st	Visit to Blechingly.
October 19th	Fungus Foray.
November 7th	Lecture: "Anglo-Saxon Jewellery", by Miss J. M. Cook.
December 4th	Lecture: "Building Materials and Surrey Houses", by K. W. Gravett, B.Sc.

No. 6 of Volume 2 of the *Proceedings* was issued during the year.

Seventeenth 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.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1963

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

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

Hon. Secretary: J. G. W. LEWARNE
(69 Cobham Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey. Tel. Leatherhead 3736)

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

Hon. Programme Secretary: DR. P. TOPPING
(Angroban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead. Tel. Leatherhead 3565)

Committee Members:
MRS. B. HAYNES, F. B. BENGER, S. E. D. FORTESCUE

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

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

PROCEEDINGS
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Leatherhead and District Local History Society
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CONTENTS

OCCASIONAL NOTES

PIECES OF A 13th CENTURY FIRE COVER (COUVRE-FEU) FROM PACHENESHAM

A REPORT on recent excavations carried out at the deserted village site at Hangleton, one mile N.E. of Portslade in Sussex, has been published in Vol. 101 of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. Amongst the pottery, described on pp. 135–138, were pieces of a type of object which is identified from a complete one found at Laverstock, Wilts., as a fire-cover (described and illustrated in the Sussex report by J. G. Hurst). This has enabled the identification of part of at least one (possibly two) similar objects amongst the pieces of pottery from the Pachenesham (Mounts) excavation of 1948.

Made of the thick shell-gritted pottery, these objects were some 2 feet in diameter, and had a downward-projecting rim and large central strap handle. They can best be compared with the modern dustbin lid, being of a similar size and shape.

Quoting Mr. Hurst: "Fire-covers, or couvres-feu, were a common feature in medieval times. Before the invention of matches it was essential to keep the fire alight at night and, by scraping embers together and covering them with a fire-cover, the fire was kept going and danger of the fire spreading to the timber superstructure of the room while people were asleep was avoided."

Mr. Hurst lists a number of mediaeval sites at which fragments of fire-covers have been found.

A. W. G. L.

IN THIS NUMBER is commenced the history of the church and advowson of the Parish Church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Leatherhead, written by the late G. H. Smith. Mr. Smith will be affectionately remembered as one of the earlier members of this Society. In his retirement he made the study of the architecture and documentary history of the church his principal interest, and there can have been few, if any, who knew more about it. The study of old buildings is one which is greatly helped by close examination of the fabric over a lengthy period of time, for in this way details often present themselves in their true character. Mr. Smith had made such a sustained examination. It was he, too, who made the first complete modern examination of the contents of the Slyfield chest in the church, some of the results of which were embodied in his article on *The Shiers of Slyfield* in Volume 1, No. 4 of the *Proceedings*.

CHURCHWAYS

WE ARE INDEBTED to Mr. William Millar for the following notes on the legal aspect of Churchways:—

"A Churchway arises by immemorial custom and consists of a right in the Parishioners of a particular Parish to use the way concerned to go to and from their Parish Church. It can be inside or outside the Churchyard, but the former seems more common. It is not the same thing as a public Highway over which every member of the public has the right to pass and re-pass.

A footpath across a churchyard can be either a Churchway or a public highway.

Unauthorised interference with a Churchway is a matter for the Consistory Court of the Diocese. The ordinary courts of law and equity have no jurisdiction. A public highway can be stopped up or diverted by order of the local justices and a new highway

can be dedicated by the owner of the land over which it is to run, but I have not been able to find out for certain whether there is any authority that can stop up or divert a Churchway or create a new one.

Most of the above information has been gleaned from the report of the case of Batten *v.* Gedye which was decided in the Chancery Division in 1889 and was reported in 41 Ch.D. at p. 567. The case arose because the Rector and Churchwardens of a parish in Somerset had, without obtaining a faculty, taken down some steps leading through a gate in the churchyard wall down to the public road; which steps they claimed were ancient, narrow, inconvenient, worn out, and dangerous and had never been used by anybody for a very long time. The steps and the path inside the churchyard up to which they led constituted a Churchway. It was stated in the judgment of Mr. Justice Kay that the Consistory Court could have granted a faculty to remove the steps and that on the application for the faculty any parishioner desiring to oppose it would have been given the opportunity of being heard.

The Judge also cited the case of Walter *v.* Montague 1 Curt. 253, which showed that with the consent of the Rector as owner of the churchyard, a faculty could be obtained to make a new path in a churchyard, which would be a churchway; so it may be that the Ecclesiastical Courts could, with the consent of the owner of land outside the churchyard, authorize the creation of a new churchway over such land."

DR. PHYLLIS TOPPING

MEMBERS of this Society will learn with regret of the death, on 21st November, 1963, of Dr. Phyllis Topping, who had been Honorary Programme Secretary since 1959, had several times lectured to the Society, and had led a number of "Fungus Forays" which were a popular feature.

Dr. Topping went up to Royal Holloway College, London, as a scholar in 1921 and maintained a lively interest in the affairs of the College throughout her life. She graduated with first-class honours in botany and after a little teaching experience joined the research group of Professor William Brown, F.R.S., in the Plant Pathology Department of the Imperial College of Science and Technology. It was here that her interests in mycology developed; she was awarded the degree of Ph.D. on her early researches and was appointed a lecturer in botany. She resigned this post when she married, but she returned to teaching and research some years later when she joined the Botany Department of Royal Holloway College as a part-time member of the staff. Not only did she develop the teaching and laboratory work in microbiology but she started a vigorous research group which prospered well before illness restricted her activities. She was an Honorary Research Assistant in the College at the time of her death. She had a lively and incisive mind and a capacity for stimulating others.

Her interests were wide. She had an understanding of archaeology and actively supported the Surrey Archaeological Society. She was a member of the Field Studies Council for some years and she served on the Council of the British Mycological Society. In Leatherhead, where she had lived for many years, her enthusiastic and willing service to this Society will be long remembered. She was the wife of Dr. James Topping, Principal of the Brunel College of Advanced Technology, and had one son, Geoffrey Austen, who is a civil engineer.

MORE PALAEOLITHS FROM WALTON HEATH

By L. W. CARPENTER

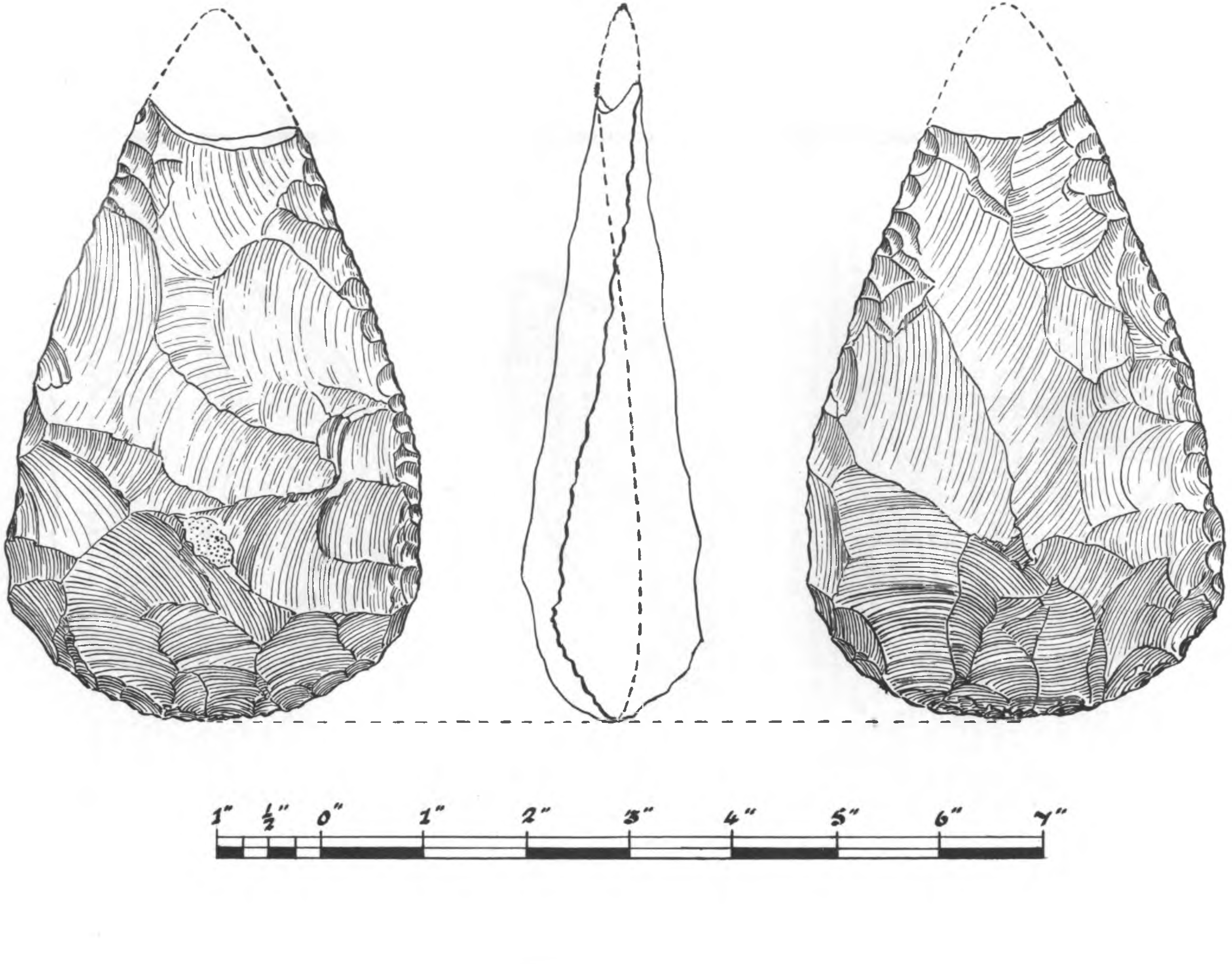
FURTHER to my last report on palaeoliths from Walton and Banstead Heaths, I have illustrated here a fine specimen of an Acheulian hand-axe which was kindly presented to me by Mr. Alvan T. Marston in 1962. This hand-axe, of glossy flint, patinated to an ivory hue, and showing the usual thermal fractures common to most palaeoliths from the plateau, was found by Mr. A. T. Marston in September 1925, lying in a 3 ft. deep trench which had been dug in front of the "Blue Anchor" inn (O.S. 1-inch map reference TQ 234554) when the water main was being laid. It is, without doubt, the finest specimen so far recorded from the area despite the missing tip, which was probably broken off in use as the patination of the broken surface is uniform with that of the rest of the implement.

The scraper, also illustrated, is a palaeolithic specimen found on Walton Heath in June 1963. Of glossy flint, with an ivory patina stained with mottled red, it shows the characteristic hair-like thermal fractures and appears to be contemporary with the other palaeolithic specimens. This scraper, so far the only recorded one found on the Heath, resembles some found on the high level palaeolithic floor at Caddington, Bedfordshire, and would thus point to the Walton and Banstead Heath palaeos as being of the late mid-Acheulian period.

AN ENAMELLED BRONZE ROUNDEL OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD

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

AN ENAMELLED BRONZE ROUNDEL with Celtic running ornament of so-called "trumpet" pattern was picked up on the surface of the British and Roman site recently found by Mr. J. N. Mead on a clay hill used as farmland to the north-west of Oaklawn Road, immediately opposite Dorincourt (Map reference 152586). The roundel is slightly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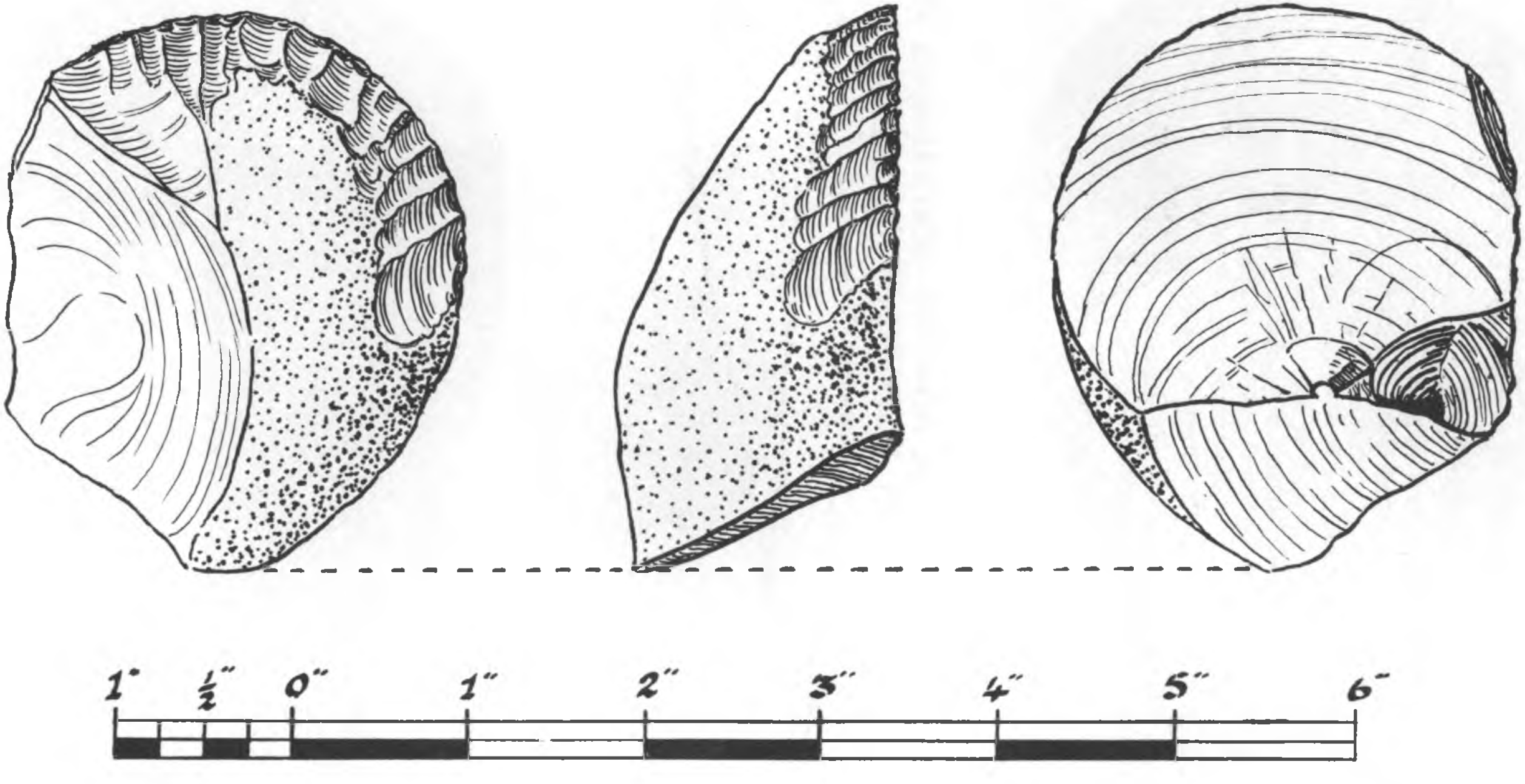
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over $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter allowing for the fact that all but a small piece of the border is missing. The involuted "trumpet" design of the running pattern is on the outside of a plain area pierced by a central hole which clearly carried some additional feature such as a bronze stud with ornamental head covering the unpatterned area and fixing the roundel to some object. The only well preserved enamel is of a deep red colour filling each trumpet. The surface of the rest of the enamel has gone—the present green colour probably results from oxidization of the bronze and is no indication of the original colour. The back of the object is flat, and its thickness varies from $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to just under $\frac{1}{8}$ in. The pattern is of a type which Sir Thomas Kendrick, in his book on Celtic art, ascribes to a date in the latter part of the Roman period, when British art was reviving at a time when Roman influence was in decay. The enamelled and engraved bronze objects of the pre-Roman Celtic period are of very much finer workmanship and intricate design. This running ornament with one uniform motif shows Roman influence and is totally different from the non-repetitive intricate spiral workmanship of true Celtic design. The finding of this bronze, as well as a large quantity of Roman pottery, especially of the 4th century A.D., suggests that this may be the site of a Romano-Celtic temple of the type of the one on Farley Heath which also produced on excavation enamelled bronzes (votive offerings) and pottery. Also, roundels of this type have been found on several Romano-Celtic temple sites, such as that at Hockwold-cum-Wilton in Norfolk (see *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. LIII, 1963, plate XVI), where two such roundels were found of comparable size, with miniature portrait heads in the centre of the roundel. We are indebted to Miss Joan Harding for the photograph; the original object is in the possession of the finder, Mr. Mead.

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

(Map Ref. 193577)

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

II. THE ROMAN PERIOD

AS DESCRIBED in the first part of this report, published in the last number of these *Proceedings*, this occupation site was first discovered in 1930 when the house "Inward Shaw" was constructed for Mr. A. R. Cotton, and when, then and subsequently, the garden was formed. The bulk of the Roman material was found beneath the top-soil in a layer of material at no great depth, resting upon the chalk subsoil of the Downs, and was recovered by Mr. Cotton (who has now kindly made it all available for examination) when the main lawn was formed.

In addition to the considerable quantity of pottery, the finds included the bronze brooch and piece of an iron barrel lock which have already been published;[1] a number of pieces of querns, of millstone grit; part of the bowl of a Roman spoon, of bronze; several iron nails and a few Roman tiles, but so few that it is clear that no tile-built structures were in the immediate vicinity; and, the most interesting of the objects recovered, a large piece of thin metal (identified as thin sheet brass) which has two bands of embossed ornament, and had once been applied to some vessel, most probably a wooden bowl.

When found, the latter was folded up and very corroded but, thanks to extensive treatment kindly carried out by the Laboratory of the British Museum, it can now be recognized for what it was and its ornamentation can be seen quite clearly. It is shown on the drawing, Fig. 1, where an enlargement of the ornaments and a suggested reconstruction appear beneath a drawing of the surviving fragment. A point of considerable

interest is the relationship that exists between the ornaments and certain of the decorations on some Roman pottery, especially that of certain bowls of Samian Ware. Three separate dies were used to emboss the decorations, two for the upper band and one for the lower, if, as seems to be the case, the beaded ovoid and the leaf beside it were both on one die. The ring-encircled bosses and the separating small ornaments with bud-like terminals can both be recognized as common details on some ornamented Samian vessels. In the reconstruction drawing it has been suggested that the rim of the wooden bowl extended up above the rim of the metal appliqué, as otherwise the sharp edge of the metal would tend to come away from the wood and be most awkward for those using it, especially if used for drinking purposes. At the bottom, the metal is neatly turned inwards, covering the bottom angle of the bowl. As to how the metal was secured to the wood, this must have been by small nails, and possibly the two holes (now large and ragged at the edges) which occur at the bottom of the plain central band, are where two such nails were situated.

As to its date, it seems, like the great bulk of the pottery found with it, to be late date, and of the late 3rd or 4th century. This is made the more probable as being after the period when Samian ware was still obtainable, and when New Forest colour-coated pottery, especially the bright red bowls with embossed ornament, was taking its place. Pieces of several dozen different vessels—flanged bowls, as No. 10 on Fig. 2, predominating —are amongst the pottery which is described next.

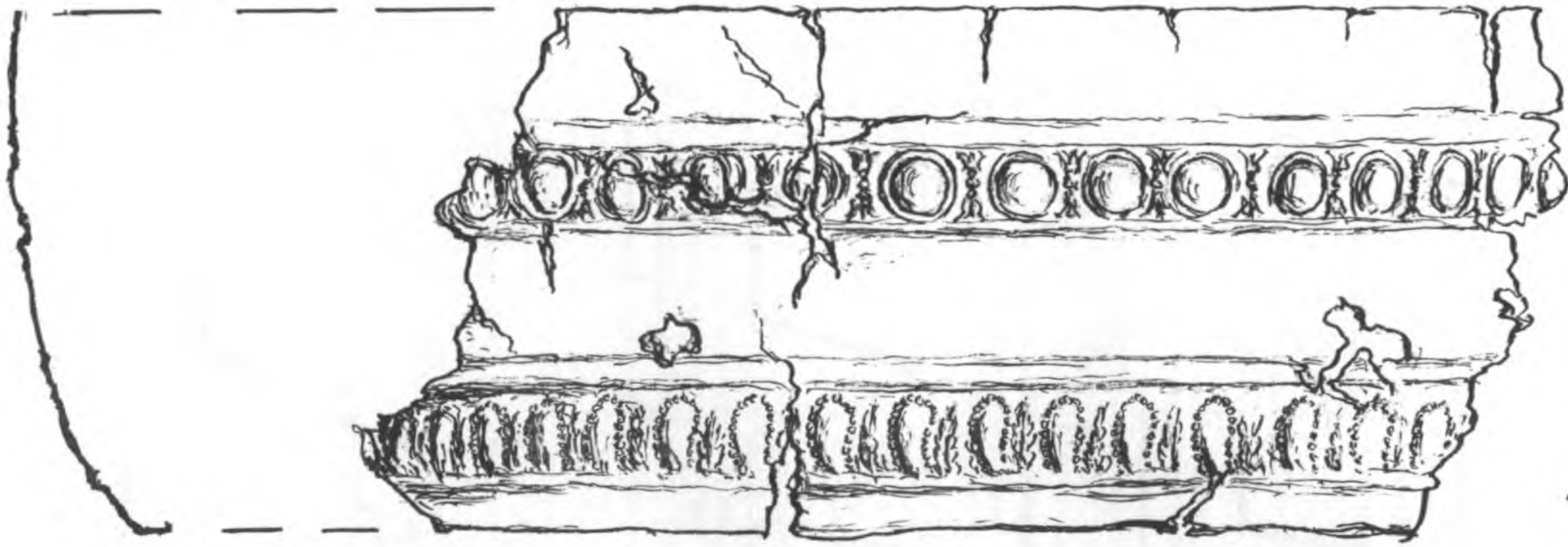
Similar metal appliqué bands for (it is assumed) decorating wooden bowls have been found at other Roman sites, and many fragments of thin bronze, some with embossed ornament, were found during the excavations at *Verulamium*, so that this type of metal working was a regular industry in Roman Britain, but it is unusual to find such a fine piece as this, though, without all the careful treatment that it has received at the British Museum, nothing much would have been learnt about it, nor could it have been unfolded and its original nature have become apparent.

The pottery from this site, a few pieces of which were figured in the original note on the find in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, is, as already stated, mostly of late Roman date—of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.—and includes very little earlier ware. It includes only one piece of Samian Ware, and this is a small chip or flake, less than the size of a halfpenny, from the rim and outer surface of a dish.[2]

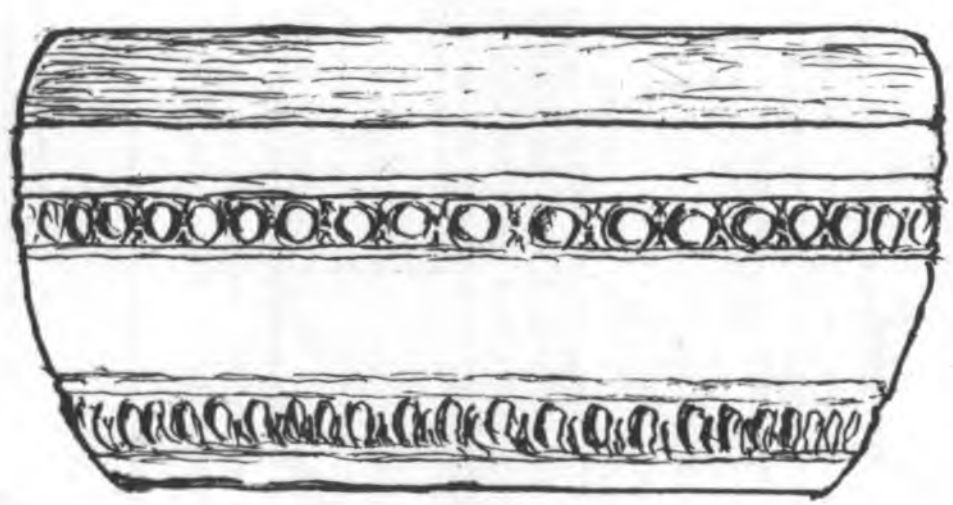
Of the earlier vessels, those assignable to the late 1st century (such as Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of Fig. 2), are probably connected with the first period of occupation, continuing without interruption from the end of the Iron Age; and this suggestion is supported both by the finding of some early Roman ware in direct connection with the grain pits of the Iron Age occupants, part of a Roman bead-rim pot[3] being in the filling of one of these pits, while pieces of a mid-1st century *Claudian* butt-beaker (also already figured) were in this same context.[4]

As to the later pottery, that of the 3rd and 4th centuries, the great bulk of this consists of pieces of pots, dishes, flanged bowls, and colanders or strainers, of types found in the *Farnham* and *Alice Holt* region of West Surrey and Hampshire, and clearly made in that area. Pieces of large jars, with cream "slip" coating and big store-jars with cabled rims, all of hard grey ware, and cooking-pots also slip-coated in their upper parts, and with thick, outbent rims.[5]

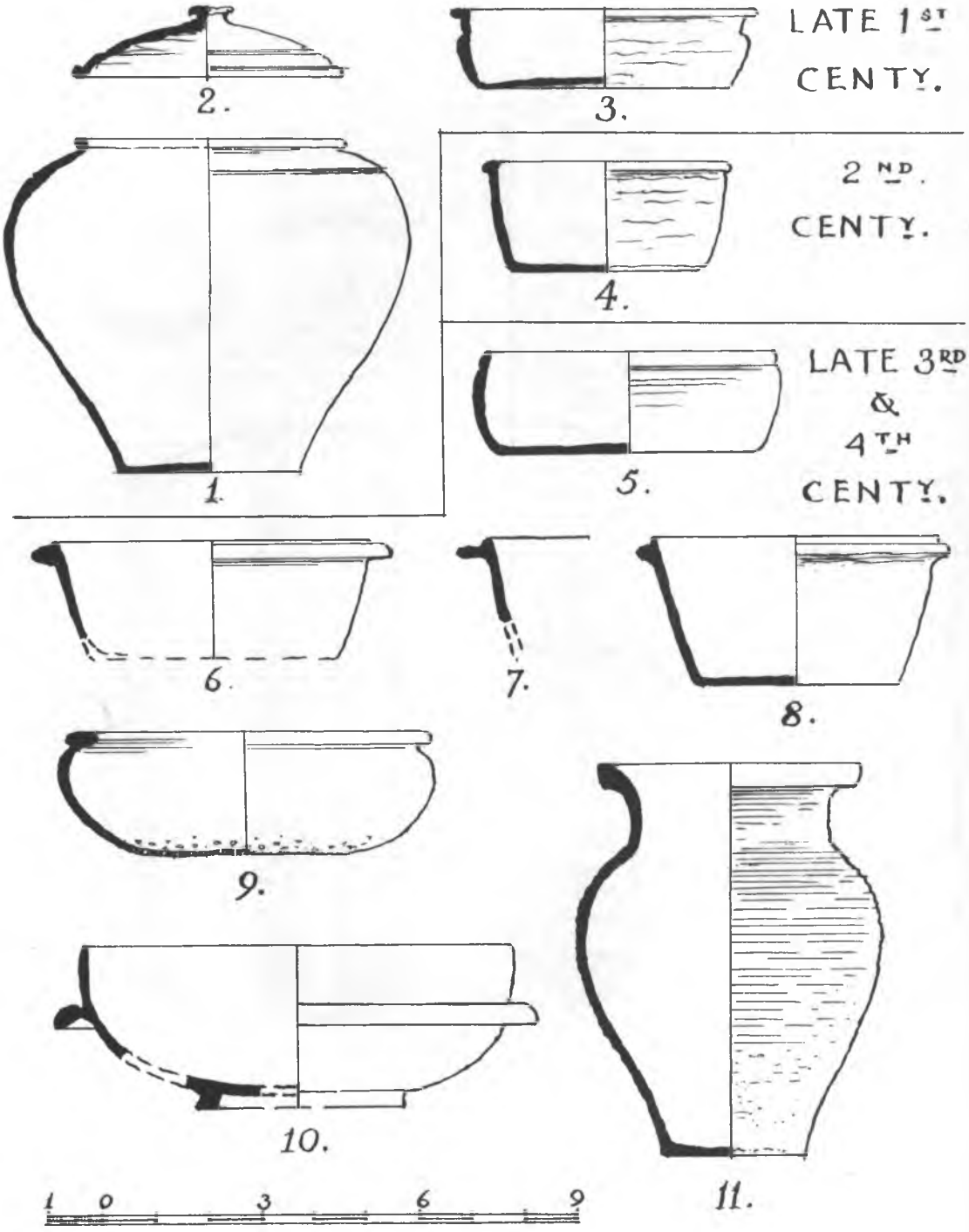
Taken in conjunction with the numerous pieces of vessels of New Forest ware, it is clear that most of the later pottery came from pottery sites in the East Surrey and Hampshire region, and this is further reinforced by the presence of numerous fragments of cooking-pots of the type of that of No. 11 on Fig. 2. These, of hard, gritty, buff-to-white coloured pottery blackened by use, were the main type made at the kilns at *Tilford*, at the Overwey site excavated by A. V. Clark.[6]



1/1



RECONSTRUCTION 1/2 ; ORNAMENTS 2/1 .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SCALE OF INCHES.

Description of the pottery (Figure 2):—

No. 2. *Flavian* pots with bead-rims and with shoulder grooves (of grey ware). These pots are exactly like those found on *Ashtead Common* and figured and described in the Report (*S.A.C.*). Very similar vessels have been found in quantity at several sites at *Ewell* (e.g., (i) *Purberry Shot;* (ii) Church Street, near Glyn House under the present road and in Roman rubbish pits and (iii) Beside Stane Street, in extension to present cemetery).

No. 3. In this same category are some other types of vessels of the same date, *viz.* shouldered dishes with grooved rims and (No. 2) pot-lids of a slightly domed shape and with plain bead rim and grooved lines a short distance in from the rim. Of grey ware, these lids match the bead-rim pots mentioned above, and which were used as cooking-pots. These were apparently the lids for these pots and possibly supplied with them, though the bowls (as shown by traces of burning which can still be seen on the bases and lower part of many of them) were also used at times for cooking purposes and (as a study of the ones found on Ashtead Common shows) were mostly of from 6 inches to 8 inches in diameter, and the lids being also of this range of sizes may have been intended for use with them. The only one found in position on a cooking-pot, one which had been used for a cremation burial, and had a coin of Domitian in it, was larger than the mouth of the pot and overlapped its rim. (*S.A.C.*, Vol. 38, Part 1; original in Guildford Museum.)

Mortaria, or mortars (not figured). Mostly of white or light-buff pottery (six out of seven of these vessels found at this site and represented by pieces of their rims, are of this hard, light-coloured ware). The seventh is of grey ware with red-fired inner and outer surfaces, and is the earliest. It has a simple out and downward curved flange, and, as two fragments of the inner part of the mortar show, it was gritted with mixed red and white quartz crystals. Probably of late 1st or early 2nd century date, part of a similar vessel was found at the Ashtead Common site. The other mortars are of 3rd and 4th century date, and of the published types *Richborough*, "Third Report", Plate XLI, No. 360 (of about 300 A.D.), is the same type as one of the Ashtead pieces. The other two pieces are of mortars similar in form to the one found in the upper part of the material filling the well at the *Purberry Shot*, Ewell site (*v.* Report in *S.A.C.*, 50, fig. 21, No. 1), dated as Antonine or later. The remaining two small rim fragments are from mortars of types 99 and 100 of *Richborough*, first report, Plate XXVIII, of which the first is "probably late third or fourth century", and the other "fourth century".

The other vessels figured have been sufficiently described in the general discussion above, but No. 9, a colander or strainer, of which pieces of a number of different ones are amongst the potsherds, and some of light grey. Others of dark grey ware are of especial interest. These, or vessels of this type were made in the Farnham area and were plentiful at the "*Six Bells*" kilns.[5] They seem from their form to have been modelled on metal (bronze or brass) strainers, provided, unlike the pottery ones, with handles; such as have been found at a number of Roman sites.

NOTES

1. *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Vol. 58, Part 2 (1930).
2. The vessel was, apparently, Dragendorf's type 18/31, and it is of a soft ware with poor glaze. Not earlier than the 2nd century in date.
3. Also previously figured, this is of a hard, dark-grey ware, resembling that of many similar vessels from early levels at the site on Ashtead Common, and found at "*Purberry Shot*", Ewell.
4. These butt-beakers are best studied from the fine series found at *Colchester* and published in the Vol. "*Camulodunum*", a Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries.
5. The volume "*Prehistory of Farnham and District*" of the Surrey Arch. Society's special volumes, figures and describes all these types, and others are in the report on the "*Six Bells*" site at Farnham, published in *S.A.C.*, 54.
6. *S.A.C.*, 51, fig. 6. These kilns also provided cream-slip coated pots and other of the types represented by pieces from the "*Inward Shaw*" site, especially the Tilford pieces, 24 to 41.

A CARTOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE AREA

IX. THE TOWN AREA OF LEATHERHEAD IN 1782

By F. B. BENGER

WE REPRODUCE HERE the central part of George Gwilt's Leatherhead survey of 1782–83, the whole of which was embodied in Map 8 in the previous number of these *Proceedings*, and explained by Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A., in his accompanying article.

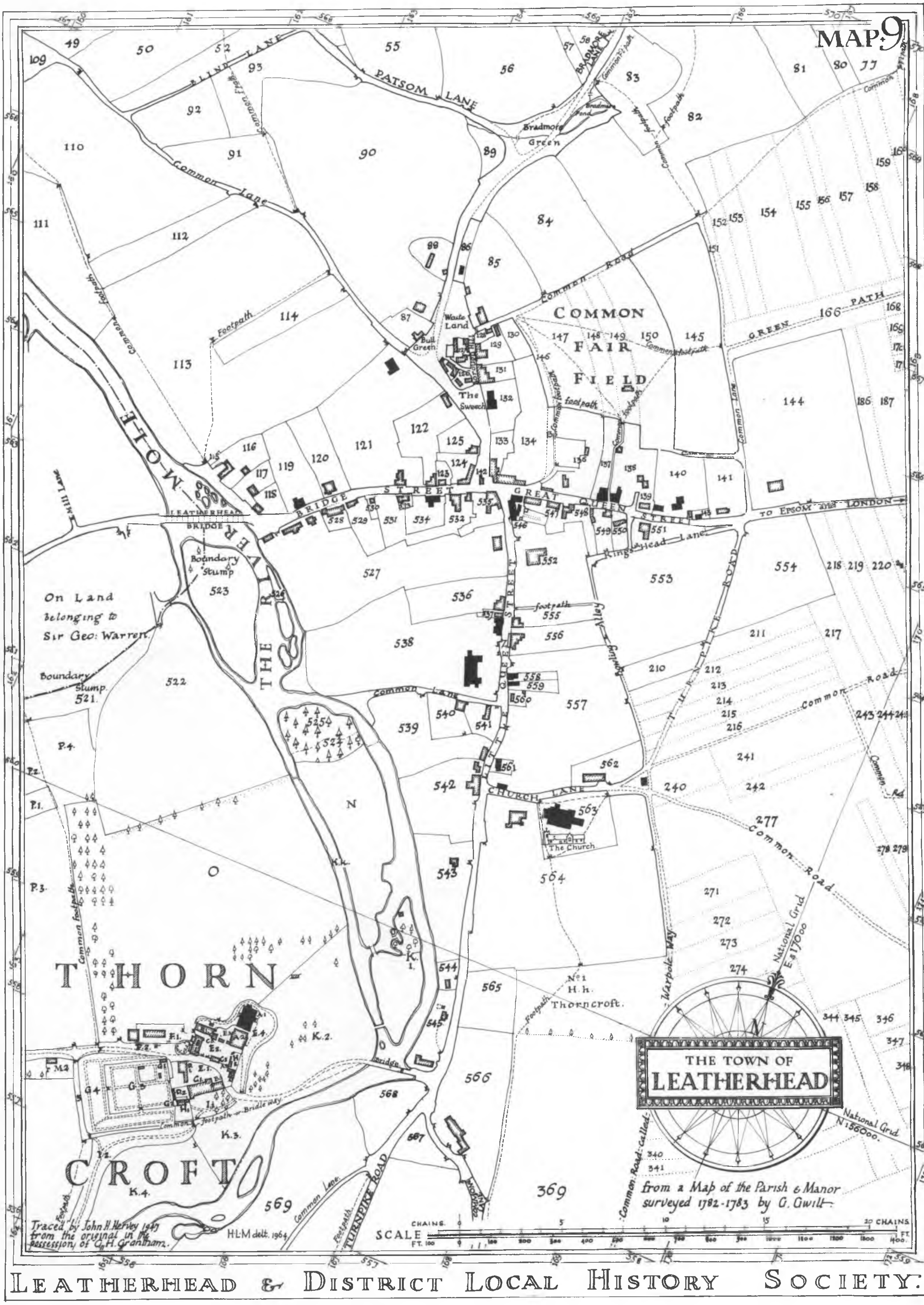
The basic road pattern of Gwilt's time was as it remains to-day, though it will at once be noticed that the nomenclature of the streets and roads has changed. High Street was then known as Great Queen Street and Church Street as Little Queen Street—names which it is perhaps not fanciful to surmise that they acquired after the passage along them of Queen Elizabeth I on 3rd August, 1591, when she visited Edmund Tylney at The Mansion, coming direct from Nonsuch Palace at Ewell. Kingston Road was known as Bradmore Lane, and Randalls Road as Patsom Lane. The wide part of what is now North Street (including the area occupied by the War Memorial) was known as The Sweech. That part of what is now known as Church Road from the Epsom Road to the Parish Church is shown as a turnpike road, and appears to have been constructed as an early form of by-pass, since it cut diagonally across a number of freehold parcels of land on the edge of the Common Field, the result being clearly seen to-day by the orientation of the houses now built upon these parcels of land. The so-called Common roads, such as that which is now Highlands Road, existed primarily for the passage of carts and livestock to the common fields.

A comparison between the present map and the Ordnance Survey of January 1869 is instructive. Although by 1869 the immediate town area had become more densely developed, very little development had taken place around it, and except for the construction of the railway there can have been small change in the general atmosphere of the place.

Mr. H. L. Meed, to whom the Society is once again much indebted for his excellent work on this map, has shown in the borders the national grid system of numbers, with two main grid lines crossing the map. By placing a ruler across the map from the equivalent numbers in each border it will be found possible to establish the grid position of any part of the map.

On the present map those buildings which are known still to exist are shown in solid black, and a schedule of these is appended with their present addresses and their numbers (when listed) in the Surrey County Council's *List of Antiquities in Surrey*, 4th edition, 1951. In only one case of those shown in solid black is there an element of doubt; in respect of the building shown on the western boundary of parcel 140 in High Street. The building now standing adjacent to the western side of the Duke's Head public house is certainly an ancient one constructed over a century before Gwilt's survey, but its position does not appear to be precisely that shown on Gwilt's map.

Parcel No.	*Present Address*	*S.C.C. No.*
A1.	Thorncroft Manor House	4596
557	35 Church Street	4589
563	Parish Church	
240	18 Church Road (island site)	4580
561	33 Church Street	4588
559	Long Cottage, Church Street (terrace between 17 and 19)	
558	17 Church Street and rear	4585–7
546	1 and 3 Church Street	4583–4
	2 High Street	4613



LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Parcel No.	*Present Address*	*S.C.C. No.*
538	The Mansion, Church Street	4595
	Devonshire Cottage, 66 Church Street	4594
534	15 and 17 Bridge Street	4572–3
*533	Possibly Nos. 25 and 27 Bridge Street	4574–5
*529	Possibly Nos. 39 and 41 Bridge Street	4577–8
119	Running Horse Public House	4570
132	Sweech House, Gravel Hill	4599–601
121	New Bull Hotel (central portion)	
86	The Old Cottage, Bull Hill	4554
137	33 and 35 High Street	4604–5
138	37, 39, 41 High Street	4606–8
140	53 and 55 High Street	4609–10
140	The Duke's Head Public House	4611
143	63 and 63a High Street	

The starred numbers are not shown in solid black on the map. Leatherhead Bridge (without a parcel number on the map) is largely as in Gwilt's time; S.C.C. number 4558.

63a High Street was the Turnpike Road Tollhouse.

Of those buildings shown upon the map which no longer exist, the most remarkable were that on parcel 564 (Church House, the one time home of the Godman, Gerard, and Dacres families; see *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 43 *et seq.*): that on parcel 552 (latterly known as The Manor House and demolished in the thirties of this century; in 1782 a freehold belonging to Joseph Valentine Grimstead): that on parcel 532 (the house in Bridge Street occupied by the saddler's business of the Ragge family; see *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 144 *et seq.*): that on parcel 142 (The Stocks House; see *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 128 *et seq.*): that on parcel 134 (The Swan Posting House; demolished in the thirties of this century): and that on parcel 85 (Kingston House; demolished in the twenties of this century to make way for the present Council Offices). Of these the most to be lamented from a historical and architectural point of view are Church House, an Elizabethan house remarked upon by Rev. James Dallaway; The Manor House in Church Street, embodying parts of an older house but mainly of the late 17th century; the Bridge Street house of the Ragge family, a fine timber-framed house of *c.* 1600; The Stocks House, mid-17th century; and The Swan, a compound of various periods, but mainly 17th and 18th century. Of these five, three could and no doubt would have been preserved if present planning powers had existed at the time they were demolished: their passing reduced the whole quality of the town centre scene.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND ADVOWSON OF ST. MARY AND ST. NICHOLAS, LEATHERHEAD

By the late G. H. SMITH

So at times, we look at a mountain stream, a few miles from its source and marvel at its impetuous volume, but our wonder would be lessened by a better knowledge of the hills through which it has passed, and of the innumerable freshlets which have each contributed their store of waters gathered in turn from vast areas of forest or snowfield. Our knowledge of the mediaeval world is much less than our knowledge of the mountain stream. All we can do is to assemble our little groups of facts from wherever we can find them, and try to see how they fit together. H. S. BENNETT, Life on the English Manor, 1150–1400.

PREFACE

THIS is an attempt to describe at some length the history of what was, in the middle ages, an obscure village church, in a county that was always poor and lacking in the best building stone, and therefore contains no great parish church of the type to be found in the wool counties of East Anglia, or in the stone districts of the Midlands and West Country. But although Surrey has no parish church of the first rank, its village churches are full of interest, and of these Leatherhead is a notable example. Here, as in many of our local churches, can be seen some of the original building, which was not entirely destroyed, as in richer places, to make way for later rebuilding on a grander scale, but enlarged to meet new needs, and so it is possible to trace the various stages the present building has passed through.

The interpretation of an ancient building presents many similarities with that of an old document whose letters are indistinct, its words contracted and here and there a line missing, necessitating a comparison with a similar manuscript; so therefore it is always possible for differences of opinion to arise on minor matters.

The present writer has availed himself of many descriptions by former archaeologists, and is grateful for their help, and even when he has been unable to adopt their views, he has often found in this disagreement many useful suggestions for further investigation. He is especially indebted to the author of the most careful analysis of the architecture of the church in the Victoria County History, and to the late Mr. P. M. Johnston for his most valuable descriptions, both of this and many other Surrey churches.

For the history of the advowson, the work of the late Mr. H. E. Malden has been so exhaustive that little more can be added. As, however, the present writer ventures to differ from Mr. Malden on the question of the responsibility of Leeds Priory for the rebuilding of the transepts and chancel in the fourteenth century, he has thought it desirable to quote at length from the documents in the Public Record Office, both for their bearing on this matter and for their interest in the wider field of ecclesiastical history.

To the [late] Vicar of Leatherhead, the Rev. F. A. Page, at whose desire this has been written, the author wishes to express his grateful thanks for much kind help and encouragement, and for permission to make use of the Vestry Books and other documents in the church chest, a veritable mine of information for the 18th and 19th century alterations. The writer is also greatly indebted to Mr. T. F. Garnish for his valuable advice and helpful criticism. To Mr. A. Burnett, the Parish Clerk, thanks are due for his generous help and for much information, and from whom he owes the discovery of the unfinished state of the original tower wall, which is of the greatest importance.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The situation of the church on the hillside, rising from the east bank of the River Mole, is one of very great charm, and its beauty is much enhanced by the pleasant little Public Garden between the Dorking Road and the churchyard. A further opportunity will arise to improve its amenities when the site, so generously given by a former parishioner, is cleared of its incongruous buildings and a Church Hall erected facing the north side of the Church.

The churchyard, now of considerable size, having been greatly enlarged during the last sixty years, is noticeable for its shady paths under the yew trees and for its display of spring flowers in the north border, and contains an unusually large number of table tombs; but the last of the "bed boards" has now disappeared. The lych gate, of generous proportions, was erected in 1885, and the churchyard cross, near the north porch, was set up in 1902.

From the contemplation of the present let us turn and try to capture some aspects of the district as it was in the last half of the eleventh century.

In 1086 the parish was known as Leret, and since that time there have been many changes both in the spelling and pronunciation of the name, but Leddred occurs as early as 1190. The meaning of the name has given rise to much speculation, but without any general agreement, in fact the British Place Names Society, in their book on Surrey Place Names, after an exhaustive collection of various spellings, has come to the conclusion that "this name must remain an unsolved problem".

The hills, no doubt, remain unchanged by the passing of nine centuries, but, perhaps, we should hardly recognize the scene when divested of all buildings and roads, and covered with a rough growth of trees and herbage. The river and valley, too, would have a very unfamiliar appearance. Flooding of the water meadows in winter we know, but in the absence of artificial land drainage, and the periodical clearance of the water course, much of the land bordering on the river must have been in a condition of swamp and marsh.

Roads, in the modern use of the word, were non-existent, and the means of communication between centres of population were mere trackways, along which a horseman, or rough cart drawn by oxen, made infrequent journeys.

There appears to have been, at this period, a trackway between Kingston and Dorking, occupying much the same position as the modern road; another track from Epsom followed the line of Barnet Wood Lane and joined that from Kingston near All Saints church. A third track left the Dorking trackway and went down the line of Bridge Street to the ford of the Mole and on to Fetcham. Probably another track left the Kingston trackway and led past the Mounts to Stoke d'Abernon, then known as Stocke. The present London to Guildford road, via Leatherhead, is due to the Turnpike Act of 1756, largely following a prehistoric track.

All the habitations of the period were near the river. At the north-west end of the parish was the collection of wattle and daub hovels known as the manor of Pachesham, which belonged to the king, Edward the Confessor, and in 1066 was held by Ælmer, who also appears to have held another manor in the adjoining Hundred of Effingham.

A small hamlet existed, near the ford at the north-west of Randalls Park, which in 1066 belonged to Harold, the ill-fated king who fell at Hastings. This was held by a man named Leuric, who "was free to chose what lord he would".

Further south, probably near the ford at the bottom of Bridge Street, was a smaller settlement, also belonging to Harold, but held by another freeman named Elmer.

Around the site of the church was a plot of ground belonging, not to the local manors, but to the crown manor of Ewell, which formed the glebe land for the endowment of the church.

Further south was the larger manor of Thorncroft, belonging to King Edward, and held by Cola, who may have also held the manor of Coombe near Kingston.

The manors of Pachesham and Thorncroft appear to have belonged to King Edward, personally, and not by right of his kingship, as was the case with the manor of Ewell, which had been a crown manor from the time of King Alfred (871–900).

This account, taken from the Domesday Book, and we have no other source of information, is all we know, apart from assessments and values, which do not concern us, of the people of Leatherhead in the year 1066. But when we turn to the year 1086, twenty years after the Norman Conquest and the year the Domesday Book was compiled, it is a different story, and from it we may be able to make a rough guess of the population of the parish.

Commencing with Pachesham, we find that the Manor now belonged to Bishop Odo, half-brother of King William, and Earl of Kent as well as bishop of Bayeux in Normandy. He owned, also, many other Surrey manors, not as belonging to his bishopric, but by virtue of his earldom. The manor was held of the Bishop by Hugh, or Hugh de Port, a Sub-Constable of Dover Castle, who also held lands of Odo at Burgh and Esher. Attached to the manor were 11 villeins, 8 bordars, and 4 serfs. The villeins were tenants holding from about 20 acres upwards, while the bordars held about 5 acres. Both villeins and bordars held their land by a kind of servile tenure and had to take a share in the cultivation of the lord's land. The serfs were considered as the lord's chattels. On the river were two water-mills, which the lord of Pachesham shared with other lords, and to which the tenants of the manor had to take their corn to be ground, and for which they had to pay.

The land formerly held by the freeman Leuric also belonged to Bishop Odo, was held by one Randulf, and had two villeins. From this Randulf it appears this land was afterwards called Randalls, and became a manor, and its lord eventually acquired Pachesham. Bishop Odo had also obtained possession of Elmer's land; it was now held by a man named Baingiard, and had one bordar and half a share in a water-mill.

Thorncroft was held by Richard de Tonbridge, cousin of the Conqueror, the ancestor of the Earls of Clare, and the largest landowner in Surrey. He kept the manor in his own hands in the charge of a reeve or bailiff and had 4 villeins, 2 bordars, and 9 serfs.

The church was held by Osbern de Ow, of whom something will be said when dealing with the incumbents of the church.

Only a small portion of the lands of the manors were cultivated, the remainder consisting of waste and forest. The manors, also, were practically self-contained, and imported little more than salt and iron.

The population of the parish, as shown in the Domesday Book, consisted therefore of 17 villeins, 11 bordars, and 13 serfs, but in addition there were the household servants of the manor houses, bailiffs, millers, and the wives and children. To form a rough guess, and it could be nothing more, it would be reasonable to multiply the 41 by 6, making a

total of, say, 250 for the population of Leatherhead in the year 1086. It is interesting to note that the population of the parish in 1725 was given by the Vicar as 700, and in 1801 the census return was 1,078.

The formation of the parish, no doubt, took place at the time the church was built; the normal practice being for the lord of the manor to build and endow the church, and to retain the right of presentation of the priest for the bishop to institute to the cure of souls.

In the case of Leatherhead it is quite clear that the king endowed the church, which was built on his own land, and to which he had the right of patronage. It therefore follows that the church was built by the king, and not by any local lord of the manor. Moreover, both these manors belonged to the king, but the church was on the crown manor of Ewell. This was emphasised some two hundred years later, when it was shown that the Rector, or priest of Leatherhead, was not summoned to sit in the court of either of the local manors, but was always cited to attend the court of the manor of Ewell.

It is probable that the king who built and endowed the church was none other than Edward the Confessor, who reigned from 1043 to January 1066, and that the church was erected in the later years of his reign and possibly not consecrated until after the Conquest.

Chapter II

THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH

The building of the Church was a great effort for the small community of Leatherhead, and must have been spread over several years, especially as no work would be done during the winter. The materials, of course, were obtained locally, except the Reigate stone for the masonry of the openings, which had to be brought from the quarries at Merstham by ox-cart, by way of the Downs. The labour problem must have been a very great difficulty. There were no builders and contractors and no men wanting employment. All labour had to be provided by the inhabitants of the district, in what time they could spare from the cultivation of their land, upon which their food entirely depended. No doubt the King's manors at Ewell and Fetcham, and the Queen's manor at Fetcham would send all the labour they could spare, and other nearby manors would assist to some extent, but the greater part of the work was done by the local inhabitants, and even the women and children would assist in collecting the flints and in other ways.

The only craftsman engaged on the work was the mason. What carpentry was required would be done by the local men: it was, of course, very rough and unfinished, and with the tools then used it was a very tedious job to reduce a tree to timber for use. But the mason must have come from outside the district. He was responsible for the design of the building, setting out the position of the work, supervising the work of the other men, as well as working the dressed stonework and setting it in position. He had learnt his trade by working on other churches, and knew the traditional methods and proportions. Probably he brought an assistant or pupil with him.

At Leatherhead it is quite a simple matter to ascertain the plan of the original building, for in spite of later alterations and additions, sufficient of the early work remains to indicate the type of building, and what has been lost can be readily supplied from what may be found elsewhere.

Upon analysing the plan of the present building it is clear that the original church consisted of a nave about 54 feet long and 23 feet 9 inches wide, a chancel about 18 feet 6 inches long and 15 feet 8 inches wide, with a space, or choir, between, over which it was intended to build a tower.

The mason, as usual at the time, set out the position of the walls by sight, and apparently suffered from a defective vision, as his right angles are very far from accurate, especially those at the east end of the nave, as a reference to the ground plan will show.

The existing north and south walls of the nave above the arcades, or arches, are the original walls, as is also the east wall, but the chancel arch is later and the opening has been widened. The west wall was almost entirely removed when the tower was built at the end of the fifteenth century, but the south-west corner remains and can be seen in the choir vestry.

The floor of the nave sloped up about 18 inches from the west end, as was usually the case with churches built on a hillside, but sloping floors were an abomination to 19th century "restorers", so in 1873 the floor was made level by adding another step up at the east end and raising the floor at the west. This is indicated by the bases of the columns being at different heights above the floor and by the step down in the doorway to the tower stairs. Judging from the abnormal number of steps in the floor of the chancel it would seem that the same thing has occurred here, but the chancel levels have been so tampered with in modern times that it is not quite certain.

The great height of the nave walls, equal to the width of the nave, is an indication of the pre-Conquest date of the building. The same proportion occurs in the naves of the neighbouring churches of Fetcham and Stoke d'Abernon.

The walls are built of flints collected from the adjacent ground, and the method of their construction has a very important bearing on the problem of the central tower. Briefly, the walls were built with an outer and inner facing of large flints, carefully set in mortar to a height of about 18 inches, thus forming a trench. After the sides had set firmly the trench was filled with small stones thrown in and roughly levelled off a few inches below the top of the sides. Mortar, of a very liquid nature, was poured in so as to fill all the interstices between the stones, and the whole left to set solidly before another height was built. This was the same method the Romans used for building the wall of London.

It may be asked, how do we know that the wall above the arches is older than the arches? One reason is that if the arches were built first there would be little difficulty in keeping the walls to a straight surface, either horizontally or vertically, whereas now anyone can see they are so irregular in both directions that they have caused a variation in the width of the under surface of the outer arch-stones, which gives a somewhat twisted appearance when viewed from below.

We now come to the question of the central tower. Looking at the wall above the chancel arch from the nave, it will be noticed that the wall is not carried up to fill the gable end of the roof, but stops about a foot above the top of the north and south walls, leaving an open space above looking into the chancel roof. This is most unusual, and the writer cannot recall any similar example. Further, this wall is 4 feet thick, one foot thicker than the other walls of the nave. Clearly it was intended to build a tower in this position, and the wall we see was its west wall. Was the tower ever built? Archaeological opinion has been divided upon this question. Some believe the tower was built, but fell down when the present chancel arch was built and the opening widened—a not unusual occurrence in mediaeval building; others hold that the tower was abandoned when the wall reached its present height. The latter view is undoubtedly correct, for the top of the wall has not been filled up solid, but consists of the two sides of the trench, with the solid wall about a foot or so below the top of the sides.

Another point about the tower has been overlooked by many previous writers. The existence of the west wall implies that the other three walls were also built at the same time up to about a similar height, although they have been subsequently removed. Any attempt to build one wall of the tower more than four or five feet above the adjoining walls would inevitably lead to unequal settlement and a fracture at the junction of the walls at the least, and might have more serious consequences.

The reason for the abandonment of the tower is an interesting speculation. No ordinary reason will account for the top of the wall not being filled up solid. A pestilence, such as the Black Death of 1349, would be an adequate explanation, but according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle there was no pestilence after the year 1046, which is too early for the work. The only solution which appears to fit all the conditions is the Norman Conquest. If the work was in operation at the beginning of October 1066 when the Surrey fyrd, or call-up of every man capable of bearing arms, was mustered to meet the invader, the work would be left as it stood, and it is very unlikely that it would be resumed after the Conquest, for that event practically put a stop to all parish church building for at least 40 years. But this, of course, is pure speculation.

Because it is clear that the original design of a central tower of flint walling was never carried out, it does not follow that there has been nothing different from the existing arrangement of the chancel roof butting into a vertical timber filling in the end of the nave roof, which is certainly unusual. Neither is it an ordinary proceeding for the transept ridges to die into the slope of the chancel roof. In fact, the present appearance suggests that there was, when the transepts were built, and probably long before, a timber bell chamber with a short spire, similar to those of many other Surrey churches, e.g. Great Bookham, but carried on beams off the top of the chancel walls. Such an arrangement would form a logical abutment for the ridges of the chancel, transept and nave, and do away with present filling in under the end of the nave roof.

The original roofs have, of course, long since disappeared, but they were of rough timber covered with reed thatch, and with a flat ceiling; perhaps, as at Stoke d'Abernon, forming the residence of the priest.

The outside of the church must have presented a very striking appearance, as its lofty walls were covered with plaster. In fact the outside of all the walls, except those of the north transept and possibly the tower, were always plastered, some of which still remains on the north and south aisles. This external plastering made a neat finish to the rough walls and protected them from the weather.

The windows were narrow openings high up the wall, and being without glass, would be fitted with shutters to keep out the rain. If the present plaster was stripped from the nave walls, probably traces of the old windows would be found blocked up, as at Fetcham and Great Bookham.

No doubt the church was very dark, but as no one, except the priest, could read, this would not matter very much, especially as the time of the services was varied to suit the daylight. Candles would supply any necessary light to the officiant.

The entrance was probably at the west end of the nave, and like the openings to the choir and chancel, very narrow.

The inside of the church was devoid of seats, the congregation stood or knelt, and it was not until the 13th century that benches began to be provided for the laity.

According to the English custom there would be three altars in the church; the high altar in the chancel, and two in the nave, one on either side of the entrance to the choir. These nave altars would be enclosed with screens.

There was probably a rood, or carved crucifix, on the wall over the entrance to the choir, and it may have had the usual attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John, as was certainly the case later.

The font would be a large tub-shaped stone with some ornament of shallow carving, and stood in the nave near the west end. This font probably continued in use until it was replaced by the present font at the end of the fifteenth century.

It may be as well to mention that in the middle ages there was no strict line drawn between things religious and secular, and the nave of the church was the meeting place of the inhabitants of the parish for the transaction of their civil affairs, the last trace of which has recently passed away with the Vestry meeting, which now only assembles with the Parochial Church Council to appoint the Churchwardens. The nave was also used for the performance of the miracle and mystery plays and for the parish feasts.

There is a record of a will of Joan Leicester of Karsalton, widow, proved in the church of Leatherhead 1st October, 1487.

In bringing to an end this story of the foundation of the church of Leatherhead it may not be amiss to recall the debt we owe to King Edward the Confessor for the gift of a church, which has served as the place of worship for this parish for nearly nine centuries. Some may care to remember this with gratitude on October the thirteenth, the day set apart in the Calendar of the Book of Common Prayer for the feast of the Translation of Edward, King and Confessor; the day on which his mortal remains were removed from the grave and placed in the shrine prepared for them, in the chapel at the east of the high altar of Westminster Abbey.

(*To be continued*)

JAMES DALLAWAY

Antiquary

Vicar of Leatherhead, 1804–1834

By F. B. BENGER

JAMES DALLAWAY was born February 20th, 1763, in the parish of Philip and St. James, Bristol; the son of James Dallaway, a banker at Stroud in Gloucestershire. He was educated at the Grammar School of Cirencester, under Rev. James Washborne, and in due course became a scholar on the foundation of Trinity College, Oxford. When at the university he displayed a talent for poetical composition, mixed with a taste for satire which he indulged at the expense of an influential member of the college, thereby losing the chance of a fellowship. He left the university, having taken his degree of M.A., December 3rd, 1784, and officiated as curate of Rodborough, Gloucestershire, from 1787 to 1793. From 1785 to 1796 he was engaged in editing the Gloucestershire historical collections of Ralph Bigland, Garter King of Arms, of which the first volume is dated 1791, though it had probably appeared in parts, as the dedication to Charles 16th Duke of Norfolk bears the date 1786. Possibly as a result of this work, Dallaway was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1789. In 1793 was published his *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of Heraldry in England*, which he dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, who was ever after his warm friend and constant patron; and through the duke's introduction he was appointed Chaplain and Physician to the British Embassy at Constantinople, under the then Ambassador Sir Robert Liston. To qualify for the latter part of this position he took the degree of B.Med. at Oxford on December 10th, 1794. His tour of duty at Constantinople can only have lasted a year or two, but it seems to have made a considerable impression on him, for not only does he mention it more than once in his book on Leatherhead, which will be discussed later in this article, but he edited the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband was ambassador to the Sultan in 1716–18 and who brought back from there the practice of inoculation for small-pox which remained the standard medical method of prevention until replaced by Jenner's introduction of cow-pox vaccination. In 1797 Dallaway published an account of Constantinople ancient and modern which is still regarded as a serious study. In the same year he was appointed Secretary to the Earl Marshal (the Duke of Norfolk): he was re-appointed to this position

Reproduced from the original portrait in the Cottonian Collection, Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery.

on the death of the Duke in 1815, and again in 1824. In 1799 the Duke presented him to the living of South Stoke, near Arundel in Sussex, and in the following year he married Harriet-Anne, daughter of John Jefferies, alderman of Gloucester. On one of the windows of South Stoke Vicarage he scratched the following lines:—

Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto
Jamque petit placidam sub libertate quietem

which may be roughly translated "He who has been much cast about in different lands now seeks to enjoy his freedom in tranquility." The old vicarage has been demolished, but there is a photograph of the inscription in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, February 1930. He resigned the living of South Stoke in 1803 to take up the vicarage of Slinfold in the same county; he held also the rectory of Llanmaes in Glamorganshire, given him by the Marquess of Bute, and this he exchanged in 1804 with the Rev. Richard Harvey for the vicarage of Leatherhead. He held the benefices of Slinfold and Leatherhead until his death thirty years later, living and officiating in Leatherhead. He was appointed a prebendary of Chichester in 1811, and in the same year the Duke of Norfolk commissioned him to "work up" Sir William Burrell's manuscript collections for the history of the three western Rapes of Sussex, of which he published the Rapes of Chichester and Arundel in 1815 and 1819; the work for which he is now, perhaps, principally remembered, but he

resigned the completion of the task to Rev. Edmund Cartwright. This monumental work, displaying wide reading and patient enquiry, has been criticised for marks of haste and inaccuracy. Whether these strictures are well founded I am in no position to judge; there is an excellent account of the book by Mr. Stanley Godman in *The West Sussex Gazette*, February 28th, 1963.

The sixteenth Duke of Norfolk (Charles Howard) had renounced his Roman Catholic faith and there was therefore no impediment to his performance of the duties of Earl Marshal; but at his death in 1815 his successor Bernard, the 17th duke, holding allegiance to the Roman creed, was debarred from acting in that capacity until the passing of an enabling Act in 1824 and Lord Henry Howard was nominated Deputy Earl Marshal. It may justly be assumed that the burden of organizing the extremely colourful coronation of George IV in 1820 must have fallen to a great extent upon Dallaway as Secretary to the Earl Marshal. This was the last coronation of the wholly mediaeval pattern, the Abbey service being followed by a Coronation Banquet in Westminster Hall, into which rode on horseback the King's Champion to throw down the gauntlet, accompanied (also mounted) by the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Norfolk. Perhaps it was Dallaway's love of antiquarian lore coupled with the king's flair for the magnificent which produced an event which Sir Arthur Bryant tells us (*The Age of Elegance*, 1950, p. 397) "cost a quarter of a million pounds, and was attended by every romantic excess of pageantry of which he [George IV] and his age were capable." No doubt the tax-paying squirearchy did feel that it all went rather too far; but its colour and gaiety after long years of war must have been welcome to the ordinary citizen. It must certainly have been a very considerable undertaking for the quiet country parson from Leatherhead.

At Leatherhead, the earlier years of Dallaway's incumbency covered a difficult period during which the vestry was much concerned, as were all other local authorities of this country, with the problem of pauperism which had commenced to become a national one in the mid-18th century, due to the Inclosure Acts, and which had been accentuated by the economic changes consequent upon the Napoleonic Wars. Each parish was responsible for its own poor, and there was a constant struggle to prevent the intrusion of "alien" poor into the parish, which could have had a disastrous effect on the work of the Overseers of the Poor. The Vestry Minute Books in the Parish Chest illuminate this local problem (see *Proceedings*, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 163), and from them we learn that Dallaway and his vestry erected a "House of Industry" for the poor in the northern part of the parish, where free medical attention was available for the sick.

In the parish church, between 1820 and 1826, Dallaway initiated and superintended a quite extensive repair of the fabric, particularly of the chancel, the east window of which was filled with old stained glass which he had collected at Rouen, and where he erected an altar piece embodying as a central feature the Chi-Rho, the early Christian emblem. The erection at that time of what was to all intent a reredos was a courageous act; and one wonders whether it arose from architectural enthusiasm or theological leaning. If it was the latter then he anticipated the Tractarian Movement by some ten years, and one wonders whether he had come into contact with Pusey, Keble, and Newman. It is a great pity that none of his work in the church survived later restorations, but fortunately it may be seen in contemporary water colours of the interior made by John Hassell and his son Edward, now in the local branch of the County Library. In 1818 he gave to the church a large silver cup, hallmarked 1661, which he had embossed with decoration on the cup and base and inscribed "Jacobus Dallaway. Minister MDCCCXVIII. Humillime offerebat."

It must not be overlooked that throughout his life Dallaway was engaged in antiquarian research, the fruits of which are represented by the list of his publications appended to this article. In 1821 Dallaway and his wife published privately (for the delectation of their friends) a volume in which thirteen etchings by Mrs. Dallaway of the vicarage and its garden, the church, the Running Horse Inn, and glimpses of the countryside around,

were accompanied by a text by the vicar which constitutes the first separate printed history of Leatherhead. Its literary style, though outmoded, is capable of giving much pleasure to the reader; and he displays a very real feeling for the natural features of the district, which are fortunately still recognisable from his descriptions of them. The genuine value of the book, both on its own account and as a foundation stone for the work of later local historians, has tended to be overlooked by reason of several inaccuracies. The most obvious of these, and the one which has been the target of most criticism, is Dallaway's statement that when the court of Henry VIII was at Nonsuch Palace (which is now known to have been built between 1538 and 1545), John Skelton as Poet Laureate (Skelton died in 1529 and could not therefore have visited Nonsuch) sometimes visited Leatherhead for a day's fishing: hence the poem *The Tunning of Eleanor Rummyng*. It appears to have been completely overlooked that this statement was abstracted from Manning & Bray's *History of Surrey* published twelve years previously (Vol. II, pp. 664/665) and that these historians enjoyed a reputation in Dallaway's day which was as great as it remains to-day.

Dallaway does not appear to have practiced medicine in Leatherhead; indeed the Vestry Books contain an indication that there were several physicians working in the district at that time.

A page from the 15th century manuscript Book of Hours formerly owned by Rev. James Dallaway

One of his most valuable possessions still exists. This is an illuminated manuscript Book of Hours of the 15th century from a Parisian atelier (some of the miniatures are thought to be in the style of Bourdichon). It contains a note by Dallaway that it was procured from some library in Paris during the Revolution and brought to England in 1816 by Robert Heathcote, a well-known collector. Dallaway purchased it in 1830, and it was sold by his widow to Sir S. R. Meyrick, the antiquary and writer on ancient armour. In 1873 it passed into the possession of another well-known collector, Jonathan Peckover of Wisbech, and it is now the property of his great-nephew, Dr. L. S. Penrose, F.R.S., and on loan to University College, London.

Dallaway died 6th June, 1834, and by his own wish he was buried not in the church, as was customary with incumbents, but in the churchyard with his friend Richard Duppa (author of a life of Michelangelo published in 1806), to whom he had addressed his book on Leatherhead. The position of the grave had become lost sight of until it was discovered by accident in 1963, when the lettering, which had become almost illegible, was re-cut to mark the bicentenary of his birth.

Two years after his death, William Cotton, the then owner of The Priory in Leatherhead, published a descriptive catalogue of his own collection of pictures, books and *objets d'art*. In this is included a curious but entirely fictitious account of the history of The Priory as a mediaeval religious house which is attributed to Dallaway under the date 1824. The authenticity of this has been a matter of discussion for many years, but it should be noted that the late H. E. Malden (editor of the *Victoria History of Surrey*) wrote of it "James Dallaway (distinguished antiquary, etc.) did *not* write the *jeu d'esprit* upon the alleged Cicestercian Priory, *de ripe Molae*, signed J.D. which has taken in some people. Relations of his have told me he was incapable of any joke." Poor Dallaway! One wonders which is the worse sin; to write spurious history or to be incapable of a joke!

Mrs. Dallaway appears to have been still living in 1864, according to Lower's *Worthies of Sussex*. Their only child, Harriet-Jane, married in 1839 William James Grane, solicitor. Of this union was born Rev. Canon William Leighton Grane, who was vicar of Cobham, Surrey, from 1903 to 1923, and who died at the age of 97 in 1952.

Apart from estimates of Dallaway's writings, I know of only one personal estimate of his character. This is not contemporary, and appears in a small book on Stroud by P. H. Fisher, published in 1871: "He had great abilities; but was pedantic and satirical". Whether this is a just estimate we shall probably never know. We must be content to value Dallaway by his writings, and of these Mr. John Harvey, F.S.A., has written: "John Britton's *Chronological History of English Architecture* (*Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. V, 1826) has as Appendix I the earliest list of mediaeval architects in this country that I can trace; but on the other hand a good number of the masons (as distinct from clerical patrons of works) included are taken, with acknowledgments, from Dallaway's edition of Walpole or his *Observations* of 1806. Dallaway's own list in *Discourses*, 1833, is a better list as regards real architects than Britton's. Besides, without wishing to take away credit from Britton, to whom our debt is enormous, he was far more a compiler than Dallaway, who was a real scholar. Justice should be done to his standing as an historian of art. His *Anecdotes of the Arts* (1800), *Observations on English Architecture* (1806), and *Discourses upon Architecture in England* (1833) are important. He was in many respects a predecessor of Rickman, and one of the few intelligent and unfreakish continuators of the work of Horace Walpole on the history of art and artists, and more especially upon Gothic architecture and mediaeval architects. In that field he was quite a great man, now virtually forgotten (Paul Frankl's enormous book on *The Gothic*, purporting to deal with the whole literary development, does not even mention him). His attempt to divide the Gothic style into periods and to produce lists of contemporary buildings in each style is a good one, and really deserves some of the credit commonly given to Rickman. It is indeed odd

about Dallaway's reputation as a scholar. Pretty certainly he was one of those misfits born about a century or more ahead of his time. I should guess that he found the stuffy speculations of his typical contemporaries very shallow, and vented his satire on them; and ever since 'they' have been having their own back."

Consult: *Gentleman's Magazine*. New Series, Vol. 2, 1834. pp. 318–20;
Brayley. *History of Surrey*. 1850. IV. pp. 438–39;
Lower. *Worthies of Sussex*. 1865. pp. 250–53;
Fisher (P. H.), *Notes and Recollections of Stroud*. 1871. pp. 213–14;
Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XIII. p. 398.

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LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1963

1962	RECEIPTS	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£ s. d.			
13 18 3	Bank Balance at 31st December, 1962		130 3 6
85 14 0	Subscriptions		76 5 6
	Grants:—		
	Surrey County Council	25 0 0	
	Leatherhead U.D.C.	15 0 0	
40 0 0			40 0 0
	Donations:—		
	General	3 12 6	
	Lecture Fees	2 2 0	
137 18 6			5 14 6
— — —	S. G. Blaxland Stubbs bequest ..		50 0 0
22 0 3	Sale of *Proceedings* and Binding Cases		30 18 4
	Visits and Meetings:—		
	Receipts	3 15 0	
	Expenses	2 15 0	
3 0			1 0 0
— — —	Bank Interest		2 2 7
£299 14 0			£336 4 5

1962	PAYMENTS	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£ s. d.			
134 0 0	Printing of *Proceedings*		162 10 0
15 0 6	General Printing		12 4 6
— — —	Library		2 2 0
18 9 0	Postages, Stationery, and Sundry Disbursements		14 10 5
	Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees:—		
	Surrey Record Society	1 0 0	
	Council for British Archaeology (1959–63)	5 0 0	
	Field Studies Council	1 1 0	
	Leatherhead Parochial Church Council (James Dallaway's Grave)	1 1 0	
2 1 0			8 2 0
	Bank Balances at 31st December, 1963:—		
	Midland Bank Ltd.	86 0 11	
	Surrey Trustee Savings Bank ..	50 14 7	
130 3 6			136 15 6
£299 14 0			£336 4 5

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

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

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

BURFORD BRIDGE & BOX HILL.

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1821

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