



THE PILGRIMS' WAY  
FROM SHERE TO TITSEY  
AS TRACED BY PUBLIC RECORDS AND  
REMAINS.

BY  
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*General Considerations : Eastwell to Titsey.*

THE Old Way along the North Downs, usually called the "Pilgrims' Way," has been the subject of many interesting books, yet not much has been done towards collecting and explaining the evidence available both as to its age, meaning, and continuity, and also as to its actual course in detail. After some years' close study of it, especially in East Surrey, I think that although much can still be done, sufficient evidence can be put forward to support some definite conclusions on all these points. The claims of the Old Way as a continuous through route and also as a Pilgrim route have been recently called in question (H. W. Knocker, *Arch. Cant.*, XXX, 158; Elliston Erwood, *Arch. Cant.*, XXXVII, 2-4), and even the name "Pilgrims' Way" is often said to be without foundation and to be a mere suggestion of the Ordnance Surveyors of the mid-nineteenth century. A careful examination of the available material will, I think, show that these adverse criticisms are largely due to neglect of existing records and lack of close acquaintance with the line of the road.

The more obvious and accepted portions of the Old Way are in Kent, where much more of it remains visible than in Surrey, and it must have originated there if it represents a route from the Continent across Southern England. We will commence at Eastwell Park, since that is accepted as a turning-point of the Pilgrims' route for Canterbury, viâ

Boughton Aluph, Godmersham Park, Chilham Castle and Church, Bigbury Wood and its Iron Age camp, and so into the line of Watling Street just west of the city. Pilgrims too must have turned off the Old Way at Wrotham and proceeded to Canterbury viâ Rochester. Hasted prints the name "Pilgrims' Road" on his map south of Cuxton. Others may have gone by Maidstone. Now we find, both on the ground and on old maps, that a line of old road can be traced westwards from Eastwell Park for long stretches, invariably in the same position, just below the steep southern slope of the upper chalk (Plate I); always in the same alignment, with no immediately apparent destination, and very rarely passing through a village, though connected with many by short branch roads. The modern maps show certain breaks in the line, but if we examine the early Kent and Surrey Ordnance sheets of 1801<sup>1</sup> and 1819 on the one-inch scale we find that no breaks then existed, except two across the parks of Chevening and Titsey. Even at Eastwell the road is shown right across the Park (Plate I). A fine abandoned piece still exists a few hundred yards north of Eastwell church, and is proved by its line of trees to be very ancient. The splendid 2-inch Kent atlas of 1769 by Andrews, Dury and Herbert confirms and carries back the evidence of the Ordnance sheets and also shows that the break at Chevening occurred after 1769. As regards Titsey, we can refer to Rocque's Map of Surrey of 1764-70 which shows the road continuing across Titsey Park close by the Old Church.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, this map may have omitted parts farther west as it seems to indicate only roads open for public use.

<sup>1</sup> Pub. by Faden. I have a mounted sheet for the whole county. Faden's own map of 1802 (25 miles round London) shows the road across Titsey and Chevening Parks, but seems to be a copy of Rocque's and Andrew's maps, not corrected to date.

<sup>2</sup> Manning and Bray, Vol. II, p. 253 (*Merstham*): "A lane in the parish retains the name of Pilgrims' Lane. It runs in the direction of the chalk hills and was the course taken by Pilgrims from the west. . . . It remains perfect in Titsey, a parish to the east of this."

*Idem*, Vol. II, p. 408 (*Tatsfield*): "A new house built at the bottom of the hill near the Pilgrim Road (so called from the passage of Pilgrims to the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury) which is now perfect, not 9 feet wide, and still used as a road. It commences at the village of Titsey and passes on close at the foot of the hill through this Parish into Kent."

PLATE I



The Way in Eastwell Park, looking East.  
The turn to Canterbury on extreme left.



Between Wye and Monk's Horton,  
showing the characteristic position of the Way on the slope.

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We are forced by this evidence to admit that the Old Way formerly did exist as a through route at least between Titsey and Eastwell and that its general character is fixed. We must further admit it to be a long-distance route, for it is invariably, when closely examined, a continuous whole, and not a series of parts joined together at various points either haphazard or intentionally. Such a route must be ancient, since it could never have been constructed or laid out as a whole (if it was falling out of use in 1750) in any period of English history after the Roman organization collapsed. It must therefore have a Roman or earlier origin (*A.W.*, 270, 274) and in the latter case probably originated as a pre-historic cross-country track gradually developed through centuries. Conditions changed so slowly in the retired parts of our country that even its decay as a through route must have been protracted through many centuries before several important landowners could close it completely for considerable distances in the mid-eighteenth century.

We must note that the Saxon villages are not on the road but some distance to the south of it and frequently have their independent east and west communicating roads parallel to the Old Way. Either then the Saxons developed the Old Way after they had established their settlements along a different line to the south, or they found the Old Way already developed and used it for their first progress through the Holmesdale valley. It seems certain that the latter alternative is the correct one. They could not actually site their farms close to the Way because there is seldom any water to be found on it and it was necessary for the farmsteads to be nearer water, on the good corn lands and gentle slopes lower down. There are only two cases of villages, or Saxon or Norman Church sites, on the Way between Gatton and Eastwell—Titsey, and Otford; but we shall find that both of these were settled in Roman times, and Titsey long before that.<sup>1</sup> Compared with these there are twenty or more Saxon settlements not far to the south of the section in question alone. The conclusion will then be seen to be clearly established, that between Titsey and Eastwell the Old Way is a definite through route of pre-Saxon date.

<sup>1</sup> Both had ample water supply.

*The Termini of the Way.*

We can now turn to the question of the extension, if any, of the Old Way east and west of Eastwell and Titsey respectively. We have seen that between those places it has kept a steady course along the edge of the chalk and eschewed any short cut to Canterbury before arriving at Eastwell. This is significant as to the real goal. If the accepted ridge route of the Pilgrims from Eastwell to Chilham had to leave the lower level at Eastwell because of ground difficulties, why did it not do so before arriving there? Both Lenham and Charing were places of great importance back to the earliest Saxon times at least, and had direct access to Canterbury, perhaps through Stalisfield. No sufficient reason can be found for the Way continuing right across Eastwell Park, unless we seek a goal other than Canterbury. This we can at once find by extending eastwards the line along the foot of the hills, when we arrive eventually at Folkstone and Dover. Not only does the existing piece just north of Eastwell Church point due east to Wye and its ford<sup>1</sup> but a separate road is visible pointing towards Canterbury (see Plate I). This road east of Eastwell Park is in fact without a break on the 1769

<sup>1</sup> Furley (who wrote over 60 years ago) refers to this road and to the spot or farm called Coldharbour at Wye, as being on an ancient line of road under the Downs. (*Weald of Kent*, Vol. I, pp. 414, 416, and Vol. II, p. 255.) He also says that one of the many pilgrims' pathways to Canterbury led from Hampshire over the Forest Ridge in the direction of Canterbury on the outskirts of the Forest, and this on entering Kent gave rise to a tradition that this way formed the boundary of the Weald of Kent. He calls this tradition erroneous, but it is correct for West Kent. (See Furley, Vol. II, p. 640.)

Elliston Erwood also states that in 1867 in Harrietsham the Old Way was known as the "Shire Road," which certainly suggests that it was a line of division. In any event, however old the Way may be, it could only be used as a division for tithe purposes so far as it corresponded with a line dividing land densely wooded south of it from fully cultivated land north of it *at the time it was adopted* (i.e. pre-Conquest).

There is much dispute as to the word "Coldharbour" and to its use for places on old roads. At Wye, however, it is clearly at an old road junction. It occurs again at Titsey at a road junction just above our Old Way, and at Gomshall our Way crosses Cold Kitchen Hole close to another junction. (See Furley, as above, Vol. II, p. 744; *S.A.C.*, Vol. VI, p. 83; Payne, *Coll. Cant.*, p. 5; *Archæologia*, Index and Vol. XL, p. 45; *Sussex A.C.*, Vols. XI, p. 139, and XXII, p. 196; Wright, *Wanderings*, p. 276; *A.W.*, p. 274.)

Map, though perhaps east of Postling the oldest track was a little north of the line on the Map. This fact that the Old Way really began at the seaports of East Kent, and was in existence right across the county as late as 1769, is a very important one and helps us very much in inquiring about its age and meaning. Such a fitting terminus for the Old Way is so natural that it is strange that it has not attracted more attention. Evidently the Pilgrimages to Canterbury have been an obsession, though Mr. Belloc and Mr. Way did not fail to suggest it.

Regarding a possible extension of the Old Way westwards through Surrey, we have seen that Rocque's Map continues the line of it from Chevening as far as and across the Park at Titsey, but the only maps I have yet found showing any continuation west of that Park are the O.S. Map of 1819 and Laurie's Map of 32 miles round London (1861). Our task is therefore much more difficult than it was in Kent, as the presumption is, that if the road did go farther it had largely disappeared before 1764, or was then so little used that it was not shown by Rocque. There are indications that the latter explanation is the true one. We know that it was not formally closed across the Park until about 1775 (*S.A.C.*, IV, xv; VI, 301), and it is quite possible that the portion farther west was not legally closed until the same time, though it may have been out of general use long before, a fact which was indeed the probable reason for closing the Way inside the Park. Then, it is recorded in *Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey*, page 90, that down to 1875 the Way continued as the farm road across Lodge Farm west of the Park and both its hedges were still in existence; its width was given as 10 feet. I have ascertained by personal inquiry that the farmers of the land in question (part of Lodge Farm) have retained the tradition of it and believe they encounter its hard surface while ploughing. Sir G. Scott (*S.A.C.*, VI, 301) refers to this tradition and states that the true course was known there for a little distance to the west of the Park. This supports Laurie's Map. Apparently the same fate—ploughing away—befell the missing part here, as destroyed portions near Blechingley and Merstham and again below Box Hill. Nevertheless, we have found sufficient proof that

the Way neither stopped at Titsey nor deserted its usual line, and therefore on the legal principle (explained later) that any public road must be making for some definite place, we shall find ourselves carried on to Whitehill Camp, the sole place of any importance between Titsey and Merstham along this formerly very desolate stretch of Surrey. The Roman Villa and prehistoric finds in Titsey Park, and our ancient direct road thence to Roman Otford, also suggest a westward road to the Roman district of Godstone and the prehistoric and Roman camps at Whitehill. West of Titsey we have however to examine for the first time a large section with remains of a much more doubtful character than those to the east, and this is in fact the East Surrey portion with which we are principally concerned.

*Some General Principles of Establishing Ancient Ways.*

We may here make use of certain general principles which are of importance in connecting up parts of an ancient road which is no longer complete. It is a principle of English law as to public roads that they must be considered as leading from one definite public place to another. The law cannot admit that a public way can either have originated at, or can be bound for, no particular place. A private way may lead to a field or a house and no farther, but a public way must connect places where the community has a common interest, even if there be no habitation. The old general meetings on Penenden Heath (itself near Boxley and the Old Way) give a useful illustration of a public purpose not necessarily connected with habitation. It is a reasonable deduction that the longer such a public road, if direct and continuous, is found to be the greater must be its object and importance, so as to explain the time and trouble involved in the journey, unless it can be explained as merely connecting a series of small settlements.

If we suddenly find it, after running straight for some miles, apparently ending in a field or a chalk quarry or against an enclosure or a river, we cannot accept any of these as its actual end unless the circumstances appear in our judgment adequate. How strong must be then the necessity of an adequate explanation when, as in the case of the Old Way, it

can be often traced for many miles without a break and in places where local need for it is difficult to understand. Even where such breaks occur, if we can pick up beyond them a road proceeding in the same direction and with the same characteristics, the probability of continuity is overwhelming. As a fact however, my examination of the Old Way shows that any apparent breaks of a mile or more in length can generally be reduced to much below their apparent importance by identifying along the line portions of the original Way. The remaining blanks can invariably be explained. Other observations are corollary to the legal view of the public road: that the existence of any settlement implies road communications with other contemporary settlements in the same district, except in case of permanent hostilities or natural barriers; and that every settlement implies the occupation and use of a tract of country round it bearing some relation in size to the importance of the settlement. Long experience has shown that any such occupation tends to extend principally along the line of main roads, as we find in village streets. If we find at any spot that the Old Way forms a local boundary of any considerable age, and particularly if it be a parish boundary, there is a strong presumption that it goes back to early Saxon times at least. The old Saxon charters constantly refer to roads as boundaries. Occasionally also early Norman deeds mention the actual road we are dealing with—as at Thurnham (about 1214—Elliston Erwood, *Pilgrims' Road*, p. 39), and at Reigate (in 1235?—Manning and Bray, I, 288, note).

*The Name "Pilgrims' Way."*

The next problem is the popular name "Pilgrims' Way" or "Pilgrim Road." We shall later mention the great West Kent tithe case of 1810, when a large number of leading men of that district gave evidence that the name and position were even then of immemorial antiquity. It would be impossible to obtain stronger evidence that the name is far older than 1810; but further evidence is available both in Kent and Surrey. Colgate's Map of Kent (1804) uses it near Lenham. Hasted prints it on his map of a somewhat earlier period near Otford, and on the branch leading from Wrotham

to Rochester. The great Kent Atlas of 1769, as well as Faden's Map of 1802, print it on the road a little east of Otford, and a map in the 1834 *History of Maidstone* gives it for the whole section Kit's Coty House to Hollingbourne. As to Surrey, Manning and Bray (II, 253) refer to it in connection with Merstham, and the *V.C.H.* states it is old both in Merstham and Chaldon. Apart from the mere use of the name the tradition of the pilgrims' use of the sand ridge route from Farnham eastwards to Gomshall is well established. (*A.W.*, 270; Lasham, *Three Surrey Churches*, p. 116; *V.C.H.*; and Brayley's *History of Surrey*.) It is said there is little real evidence from the Reigate district of the use of the name, but since this use is established from Gatton to Eastwell and from Farnham to Gomshall, it is reasonable to conclude that the pilgrims passed through the Reigate and Dorking neighbourhoods. The occurrence of the name at such long intervals in both Kent and Surrey in the eighteenth century is ample evidence of the early use of the name for a through route.

#### *The Age of the Way.*

Among the most important kinds of evidence from which we may deduce the age of the Way may be mentioned (*a*) its frequent use from at least Saxon times as a boundary; (*b*) its effect upon the lay-out and working of agricultural operations on the Downs; (*c*) the West Kent tithe case of 1810; (*d*) the series of important prehistoric centres upon its line.

The formation of Saxon and Manorial plough banks immediately above the Old Way is still generally visible, and must be governed by the position of this right of way all along its course, while the line of the road repeatedly corresponds with the boundaries of parishes and manors. These are very strong indications of pre-Saxon age, since a road would only be selected as a boundary if it were a recognized highway; this road must therefore antedate the making of the fields and boundaries. A long boundary by road implies not only an early continuity for the road for the whole of that length, but that there were places of at least equal age which the road connected. The importance for our subject of a long

line of ancient plough banks must be emphasized. A good deal of attention has been devoted to plough banks since Mr. Seebohm's time (Seebohm, *The English Village Community*; see also *Sussex A.C.* for some years past), and the usual occasions for dealing with them are in connection with the common field system of agriculture or the earlier cultivation of the Downs. For our purpose however it is sufficient to understand the main cause of their existence. So long as animals were used for ploughing on the chalk slopes it was imperative to plough across the slope and to turn the soil of every furrow downhill, so as to get the most level track and to prevent the sod falling back into the furrow; the result being in course of long periods gradually to move the whole surface soil down the slope. For convenience of farming operations, and because of different ownerships, especially under the common field system, the hill slopes were divided up by boundaries both down the slopes and across them. The effect of this ploughing across the slope above a boundary was to cause an accumulation of soil just above the latter; at the same time the lowering of the level at the top of each field until the chalk subsoil was reached caused another but lesser bank to appear there also. The latter, due to denudation only, is usually called a negative lynchett, and the larger bank, due to accumulation, a positive lynchett. As the positive lynchett got higher it gave rise to a terrace formation above it, which allowed ordinary ploughing in both directions and so gradually arrested the growth of the lynchett. For this reason the fields are occasionally called "Platts," in the sense of "plateau"—as just north of the Camp at Whitehill. On the chalk slopes both in Kent and Surrey several more or less parallel lines of lynchetts can still be seen—as east of Merstham quarry and in the Harestone valley north of Whitehill Camp. As a rule the field boundaries were not continuous either down the slopes or across them, and the positive lynchett of each field was not in alignment with those of the fields to right and left of it, frequently curving uphill at each end where the oxen had to turn round. If, however, there were a continuous boundary across the slope, such as a road or wood or other unploughable ground, there was nothing to prevent the plough banks just above such

boundary being in alignment and in fact continuous. Now since the usual position of our old road is precisely at the foot of the upper slope of the Downs for most of its course, we should expect to find, and do find, such a continuous plough bank or positive lynchett just on the north side, and a lesser negative lynchett on the south. Since nothing but such a road as this could give rise to a *continuous* bank at this particular position, and we constantly find the bank where we can still see the road, we may, where occasionally we find the bank only, confidently assume the road was once there also. The accumulation of soil in positive lynchetts leads to a natural growth of scrub and yews, but these can be found in any line of banks and are not confined to the line of the Old Way.

As to the long portion of the Way in West Kent between Surrey and Wrotham, we have on record that in the West Kent tithe case over 100 years ago (*Lord le Despencer v. Eveleigh*, 1815, Wickham & Cutbush, Maidstone) definite evidence by a number of important witnesses (including Lord Stanhope of Chevening Park) was given that the Old Way was at the foot of the chalk slope, that it was known traditionally as the Pilgrims' Way, and had been regarded as the boundary of the Weald for the purposes of an old legal custom by which certain woodlands, being in the Weald, were tithe-free. We may deduce that the road was a well-established boundary for the whole of that distance long before tithes were payable, *i.e.* well before Norman times. The evidence of age of the settlements on the road itself can be found in *V.C.H., Kent and Surrey*, and in the recent *County Archaeologies* (Methuen); but it may be stated shortly that for the whole distance between Folkestone and Farnham a constant succession of Roman settlements is established, and several Bronze Age finds of importance occur at intervals as well as numerous Neolithic and Eolithic finds.

A few places deserve special mention. Folkestone and Dover go back to prehistoric times, when they even had river harbours. Wye was the most important centre south of Canterbury (Furley, I, 235-8, 416). It was evidently the original centre of authority for the whole of South-east Kent, comprising 22 hundreds making up the 3 lathes of Shipway, Milton and Scray. It was a royal possession in Saxon times

and the estate comprised many properties stretching across the Weald to the Sussex boundary. Probably its importance was due to its being one of the great road crossings, since besides the Old Way itself the place was close to the old roads from Canterbury and Faversham and from the north-east coast ports of Kent to the south. These, coupled with the good lands of the wide Stour valley, would combine to give it wealth and traffic. Lenham was one of the chief Saxon estates and the meeting place of several very ancient roads from the north coast leading south into the Weald. There is evidence also that Megalithic stones existed here and at Charing at one time (*Coll. Cant.*, 130, 145). As regards Eccles and the Medway valley below Aylesford it is clear that this part of Kent was thickly inhabited farther back than we can estimate. I select Eccles because it was a Roman town (Aiglessa) (*Coll. Cant.*, 176) on our direct line between the well-known dolmens Kit's Coty House and Coldrum (Plate II) and furnishes, I think, strong corroboration of the old statement that at one time a line of megalithic stones existed between them, like those in the Megalithic district of Brittany. (Wright, *Wanderings*, 172-89; *Arch. Jnl.*, I, 263; *Arch. Cant.*, Vols. V, VI, IX, XIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXXIV; *V.C.H., Kent*, 314; *Coll. Cant.*, 132-50; Windle, *Romans in Britain*, 203; *Arch.*, XXX, 536; XX, 384; and LII, 317.) Early in the year 1930 I passed along the road from Kit's Coty House to Burham and noticed that some similar stones were being uncovered by road widening works at the corner where the road to Burham leaves the line to Eccles. It is certain that a Roman town on the river here must have had an easy crossing. What has to be emphasized is that the two famous dolmens are merely survivors of a large number of megalithic monuments which have now disappeared and which older observers have recorded as existing all over that neighbourhood. (*V.C.H., Kent*; Bennett, *Ightham*, 42-50; Finch, *In Kentish Pilgrim Land*, 258-318; map in *History of Maidstone*, mentioned earlier.) There still remain near Kit's Coty House several similar relics, such as the Countless Stones, the White Horse Stone and the General's Tomb, and several others are noted on the Ordnance maps near Coldrum and near Addington Park. All the way from the Oldbury region

down to Dartford and Rochester, finds of Neolithic, Palæolithic and even Eolithic implements prove conclusively the persistent occupation of this district back to remotest antiquity. (Bennett, *Ightham*; *V.C.H., Kent*; *Arch. Cant.*, XI, 121; XV, 89-103; XVIII, 306.) The Roman remains show that later, too, this area was most extensively exploited. (Payne, *Coll. Cant.*, 173-94; Record Map in Maidstone Museum; see also Furley.) They cover the whole of the Maidstone district, which possibly caused the southern boundary of Aylesford Lathe, as also the tithe boundary, to be extended well into the Weald. Being anciently settled, such a district had no freedom from tithe.

Our next centre is Otford (*Arch. Cant.*, II, IX, XI, XXI, XXIV, XXXI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL; Payne, *Coll. Cant.*; and *Arch. Jnl.*, XX), where the finds indicate that this district also was attached to the Medway region and, though not perhaps so important, was an equally ancient settlement. The Roman Villa here, on the line of the Old Way, indicates that the enormous domain attached to Otford when given to Canterbury by Offa in 790 was even then a royal estate of large extent and value, comparable to the similar royal gifts of Wye made by William I to Battle and of Farnham long before to Winchester. Titsey in Surrey has again a Roman Villa, and there have been prehistoric finds near the same spot, some actually on the Old Way; a large estate there is mentioned in Domesday. In addition, numerous Neolithic remains are noted on the Ordnance Maps all round the Park, and the neighbouring districts to north and south have produced many finds of ancient times. Here, too, the Old Way was crossed by the late Roman road from London forming the Kent-Surrey boundary, which has been traced south to Edenbridge and across Ashdown Forest to Maresfield with its Roman iron works, and Titsey may have also been thus connected with Pevensey and, by a branch at New Chapel, with Portslade (Dunning, *The Roman Road to Portslade*; *S.A.C.*, IV, 217; *Sussex N. and Q.*, Feb. 1930; O.S. Map, *Rom. Brit.*). It is not too much to say that between Titsey and Maidstone on the south, and West Wickham and Rochester on the north, we have to deal with a district of over a hundred square miles which has been strongly occu-



The Megalith of Coldrum, on the Way, which is seen in the distance.



The Countless Stones (fallen Dolmen) near Aylesford,

*facing page 12]*

pied for some thousands of years. Around Walton Heath, Redhill, Reigate, Merstham, Gatton and Headley we find another district where both Roman and prehistoric finds of all ages have been noted (*V.C.H., Surrey; Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey*), and the Old Way is again directly connected with it. The evidence shows that Roman occupation here was more important than the prehistoric, but Bronze Age and Neolithic finds at these places show that the more ancient civilizations were well represented. (*S.A.C., XXXVII, 90; ibid., XXXVIII, 75.*) The next place of importance is the Mole valley at Dorking. This was on the crossing of the Roman Stane Street from Chichester to London. A few finds of pre-Roman date have been made in Dorking itself (*Whimster, Arch. of Surrey, 227*); to the south we have the strong prehistoric camps of Anstiebury and Holmbury; and numerous finds and tumuli of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages have been reported from Westcott, Wotton (*S.A.C., XXIX, 1; ibid., XXXVII, 144 and 220*), Abinger (a Roman Villa), Mickleham and Leatherhead.

Passing now to the Wey valley near Guildford we find the same conditions repeated on a larger scale. In this centre and to the south we note many remains of both Roman and prehistoric times at Merrow, Farley Heath (*S.A.C., XXXVII, 180*), St. Martha's, Shalford and St. Catherine's, Compton, Puttenham and Crooksbury. Lastly, when we reach Farnham we find again that the place has a very ancient history. It was always a meeting place of natural lines of roads, being the end of the long Holmesdale valley which, though not so called for its whole length, may be said to extend all the way from the sea at Folkestone, ending here as the lines of chalk and sand-hills approach each other. The Wey and the Blackwater valleys form easy routes, southwards to Winchester and Portsmouth and northwards to Bagshot and the Roman main roads. From here the Old Way, under the name of the Harrow Way, led on to Stonehenge and Avebury and all the West of England. Further, there is reason to believe that in Roman and perhaps earlier times there was a route south by Midhurst to Chichester and the other Sussex ports, and northwards also. (*Allcroft, Downland Pathways, 277.*) Remains of all ages have been frequently found in this dis-

trict and in early Saxon times it was the great estate of the Bishop of Winchester who owned the whole hundred of Farnham as far as the Sussex boundary. We may be sure that as in the cases of Wye and Otford this was not a waste and unknown property but a well-developed and valuable estate purposely selected as a suitable gift for the head of the Church in Wessex, whose diocese reached to the Kent border until our own days. The long line of Bishops who ruled at Farnham would have used the Old Way to get to Canterbury, and the other radiating routes to inspect their diocese.

We need not dwell here upon the importance of Stonehenge and Avebury as regards ancient roads. (See Belloc, *The Old Road*.) There are still diverse views as to the age of the great monuments. Recently expert views tend to settle on the Bronze Age and a date of 1700 B.C. or thereabouts, but Mr. Allcroft lately maintained (*The Circle and the Cross*) that nearly all our megalithic monuments are Celtic and more than 1,000 years later. On the other hand, the new technique of air photography and skilful examination have proved that at Stonehenge there were predecessors of the megalithic circles, so that the age of the site itself and consequently of the roads leading to it is even greater than had been supposed.

This short examination of the main stations along its route has shown us that the Old Way connected with each other a succession of important settlements with large appendant districts, each of which has been continuously inhabited from the earliest times. Every one of them was a crossing place of important roads and, with the exceptions of Lenham, Titsey and Stonehenge, of cross valleys too. A single failure to prove the ancient line across one of the valleys would wreck the whole case for an original east to west route, and give some support to Captain Knocker's suggestion that the routes along the north to south valleys are the earlier; but in each case the line is proved and so the great length of the Way, its persistent adherence to the same line and its directness, point strongly to the conclusion that it is a through route and as old as any settlements on it. If the settlements were earlier we should hardly expect to find them in every case on the same line. In fact we may conclude that the Way follows its own line while the settlements have come

to the Way. The most significant circumstance of all is that the Old Way leads direct from the megaliths of the Medway to those of Stonehenge on the west, and to the Channel ports on the East. As the megaliths were about equally distributed on both sides of the Medway and of the Old Way they form a complete refutation, and in the widest valley of all, of the suggestion that the Old Way merely acted as a connecting link for valley roads running north and south.

*Details : Titsey to Whitehill Camp.*

We will now notice the detailed evidence of the position and age of the road itself in East Surrey. In Titsey, Stone Age relics and a beaker of about 2000 B.C. have been discovered. (S.A.C., IV and XXXV.) The site of a Roman corridor-house is to be seen in the Park, across which the Old Road ran as late as 1775, close to the old Church and mansion. We find on the east side of the Park and on our line an ancient farmhouse called Pilgrim Lodge long before the days of our late distinguished antiquary, Mr. Leveson-Gower, whose family owned the Titsey estate for many generations ; and on the west side another called Lodge Farm, close to which our Old Road passed ; its hedges were still visible on this side in 1875 and its usual width of 10 feet is recorded. (Wolfeland, 144 ; S.A.C., VI ; Manning and Bray, II, 403.) There is hence westwards a continuous line of plough banks and quarries at the expected level of the Way, and a deep gorge and spring would have made it pass above the mouth of the modern railway tunnel, for the ground lower down is very bad in wet weather (Fig. 1). After a stretch obliterated by ploughing, but still marked by the plough banks, we find the Way again at a point in the old lane (itself a parish boundary) on the east side of Hanging Wood and at the only point where this lane could have been crossed. It still exists across the wood, as a sunk lane with plough banks and pol-lards ; this part also is still the parish boundary and appears from Rocque's Map to have been open in 1764. The road went over Tandridge Hill, and not at the foot of the south slope, because this hill projects too much to the south and the lower slopes are too wet. The direct line was best as there was a natural and gentle rise leading to the wood from

the Titsey side. On the west side of the wood the line falls into and is continued by the present road to Dial Bank Wood. No other is possible on the ground, and for most of the distance from Hanging Wood its claim to great age is proved by its being selected for parish boundaries. In Dial Bank Wood there is still a track leading a little upwards to cross the Roman road on the floor of the chalk valley near a still existing field gate. A direct line thence west points to a lane coming down the opposite hill which has been widened and stoned in modern times but was severed when a deep

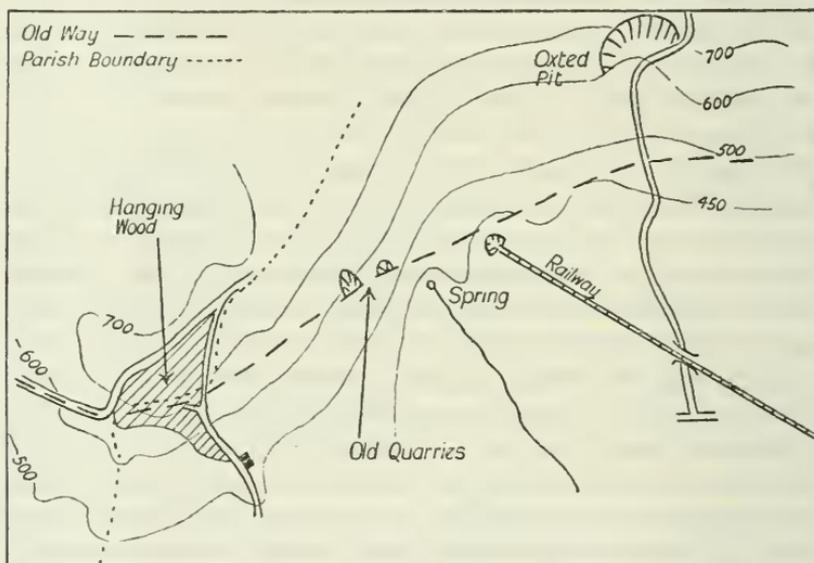


FIG. I.—OXTED PIT TO TANDRIDGE HILL.

cutting was made for the new main road. The fact that the Old Way did cross here is further proved by an eighteenth-century Tithe Map at Caterham Council Offices (Fig. 2), and the farmer has come across it. It is interesting to note that close to Dial Bank Wood there still remain several old houses, some on the Roman road and some on the Old Way. The Caterham Tithe plan is of importance as showing that the Old Way had direct communication from Dial Bank Wood with the existing lane leading up to the large Godstone Quarry on Fosterdown (Fig. 3) which lane, without this connection, has no apparent meaning. This quarry is approachable solely

by the Old Way from both sides and was excavated from the same level. It is referred to in the Bounds of Blechingley

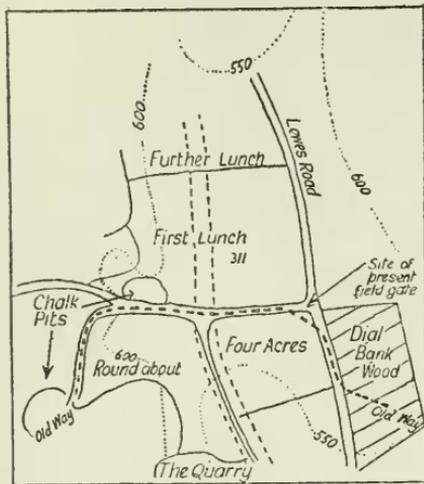


FIG. 2.—DIAGRAM OF FIELDS AND ROADS IN THE GODSTONE GAP AS SHOWN ON THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CATERHAM TITHE MAP.

The modern high road is shown dotted; the "Lewes Road" is now the lane known as "Roman Road."

Manor in 1680, of which I have an ancient copy. From the quarry the road entered the Norman deer park and followed

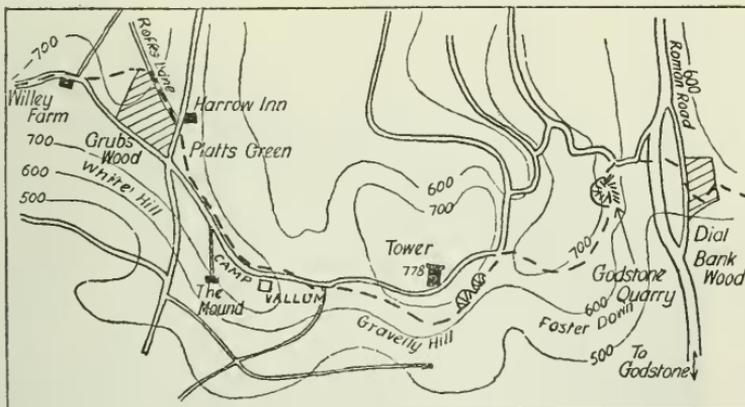


FIG. 3.—DIAL BANK WOOD TO WILLEY FARM.

the boundary round the face of the hill with the Park bank above it, which no doubt served for the deer fence as mentioned elsewhere in the Bounds. It then passes through the

beech wood into Blechingley parish and follows the Park and parish boundaries westwards to an existing gate space in the hedge mentioned in the Bounds, which also refer to a cross which was formerly there. At this point the old bank and pale of the Deer Park turned to the north and enclosed about 100 acres of Caterham parish, and the parish boundary runs westwards along the ridge of Gravelly Hill; but our Way took the only level course, as shown in the Blechingley Tithe Map and Ordnance map of 1818, and went round Gravelly Hill (Fig. 3 and Plate III) through the two quarries, and joined up with the lane shown on the modern Ordnance map. The small unquarried space between the two quarries still shows its own piece of our track, and a fine deserted portion with old yews exists hidden away east of the first quarry. West of Gravelly Hill we find a narrow ridge between it and Whitehill, and along this runs the old track just south of the modern lane and on the parish boundary. The Blechingley Manor Bounds speak of a gate here where the Way left the Deer Park. The slight road diversions here and for the next half-mile are shown on the Land Registry Map, and the Caterham Tithe Map (1838) shows the old line at both places. Immediately we cross the narrow ridge we are looking straight on to the prehistoric Camp and the modern lane actually now runs between two of the ramparts. (*S.A.C.*, V, 177; in 1871 Prof. Flower seems to imply that it wound round the north-east corner of the Camp as shown on the old maps.) The best remaining parts of the Camp ditches are inside the oak fence south of the road, near the stables. The Old Road at the corner here swerved from the south to the north side of the hill so as to keep to the same level and avoid the precipitous southern slopes, and it is now enclosed in the gardens of the small houses north of the road. The line of ramparts, the modern lane, and the Old Way continue to run round the north of the Camp until we reach the avenue gate of a house called "The Mound" within the Camp. The Old Way from this point ran across Platts Green (as shown on tithe map—the name Platt for fields round here evidently refers to the flat-topped old plough banks in them) straight into Roffes Lane, an ancient boundary between Chaldon and Caterham. It was diverted by the Caterham Enclosure Award



Gravelly Hill,  
West of the chalk pits, looking West.



Gravelly Hill, looking East.  
The arrows indicate position of the Way.

and the present road was made slightly to the west, joining Roffes Lane farther down.

The camp at Whitehill has always been considered Neolithic. It appears to occupy the whole of the hill-top and was defended except on the north-east by the naturally precipitous slopes of the hill, aided perhaps by occasional scarping. On the highest point of the hill there appears to be a much smaller square camp with a single vallum and rounded corners which still coincides with the enclosure of a school house garden, and the south vallum and ditch of this make the parish boundary. The best preserved side is on the west. This smaller camp certainly suggests a Roman work within the prehistoric defences; evidence of a Roman villa was found a mile below. (*V.C.H.*) It is also probable that the old name of The Mound (still attached to this part of the hill), coupled with the point that an urn (mentioned to me by Dr. Sibley, whose family found and kept it) was turned up when the house was built about 1874, indicates that there was a burial mound on the hill. Other prehistoric finds have been made in the vicinity. (*Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey.*)

It is of interest that the land within the north-east corner has been called "War Coppice" at least since Aubrey's time. The name is discussed in *S.A.C.*, V, 183. The correct derivation is, I think, "War Cop," "an enclosed or fortified hill." See Edmund's *Names of Places*, under "War." "Cardinal's Cap," another name for the hill, alludes to Wolsey. Blechingley Palace, built about 1510 by the Duke of Buckingham, passed through the hands of several of Henry VIII's courtiers. It is only from near the palace that the allusion to the cap or berretta, owing to the line of the hill-top, would have been apt.

#### *Whitehill to Gatton.*

The Harrow Inn is at the spot where the Old Way was crossed by a very ancient lane coming from the north past Caterham Old Church and making by a direct line along the Stanstead ridge to the castle site at Blechingley. Passing on its way close to the Roman Villa site, this lane is the western boundary of the Camp, running downhill in a deep

gully, and is also the parish boundary between Chaldon and Blechingley. Note also that it is impossible adequately to explain the existence of the long section of our Way between Dial Bank Wood and the Camp except as part of a through route, as the district was in early times uninhabited, and without farms. The Old Way from the Harrow runs down Roffes Lane, another parish boundary, to the bottom of Grubs Wood, and then evidently turns a little west near the line of the existing footpath, and crosses the field to Willey Farm (Fig. 3 and Plate IV), meeting there, close to the dew pond, the long section of the old green lane still existing, but which ends at present both at Willey and Tolsworth with abrupt turns which are evidently modern. The actual approach to Willey Farm may formerly have been past its south side, which would better agree with the line farther west. The modern lane to the south-east of the farm was no doubt designed to connect up with the present road between Platts Green and the Camp, after the Old Way across the Green was enclosed. Willey is an ancient Manor House and actually on the Old Way. The existing lane from Willey to Tolsworth takes us due west towards Merstham Church. This portion of the Way has been called the Pilgrims' Way since before the first Ordnance sheets; the name is also old in Merstham. (*V.C.H.*; Manning and Bray, II, 253.)

On arriving at Tolsworth there is now a sharp turn to the right to the present farmhouse and a swerve to the left and down the hill-side towards Merstham by Dean Farm. There was formerly a cottage on the right of our Way just before reaching the turn to the right (Rocque's Map and Tithe Map of Chaldon, 1837. The latter shows the former cottage on the Way and the deserted pond south of the farmhouse.) It seems certain that the Old Way used to proceed straight forwards on the ridge, for the hedge in front shows a reduction in its thickness just in the line of the Way. The large chalk quarry on the left probably explains the reason for the swerve to the left as the excavated material could thus be carried downhill below the quarry. Moreover, it seems possible that the older farm or Manor House of Tolsworth has been moved from a position close to the Old Way to its present place and has carried the road with it. This is sug-

gested by three points. First there appears to be a rectangular raised site just inside the hedge and north of the quarry and the Old Way. Secondly there is the deserted old pond close by this, and thirdly on the west side of this old site and thus beyond the hedge there is a well-marked sunk lane coming from the farm to join the Old Way. This lane would be difficult to explain unless at one time the Old Way continued on its route to Merstham; it would then have been the natural access, for dwellers on the farm, to the Old Way westwards. Farther on we pass south of two abandoned quarries which indicate the old line of the road; the second of these two quarries is ancient, as "Pit Field" is mentioned in the Merstham Manor Rent Roll of 1524 (*S.A.C.*, XX, 97) and can be identified by the Merstham Tithe Map of 1839 with the field in which this quarry is found, a fact which proves the quarry itself to be older still. (See also *ibid.*, 108, for a reference to "Ridgeway" Gate.) The Tithe Map shows also the existence in 1839 of a road coming from Merstham Church, across the large quarry, and turning up to Alderstead Farm just to the north, and the Rent Roll of 1524 also refers to it. This road has almost disappeared, after two alterations close to the Church, due to the Brighton road and two deep cuttings for the railway lines, besides being partly excavated by the quarry itself and partly covered by the spoil heap resulting from it. Fig. 4 shows the arrangement of roads in Merstham village in 1815, after the new turnpike had been built, but before the coming of the railway. We have several maps showing the condition of the road system before the new highroad and the railway were built: the first Ordnance Map of 1816; the Tithe Map and Engineer's Map of 1810 (J. Rennie, *Report for Gt. Southern Canal*—Blackader, London); Laurie's Map, 1861; maps attached to the Justices' Orders for closing the Old Way to Gatton and the old London road crossing it in the grounds of Merstham House; Rocque's Map of 1764; and Lord Hylton's Estate map of about the same date (small photo copy at Castle Arch, Guildford; original with Lord Hylton at Ammerdown). These show that, from west to east, the Old Way passed direct from Gatton Church to Merstham Church inside the present park of Gatton, through the grounds

of Merstham House to the south of the lawn, and then along what is now the rectory drive. It skirted the south side of

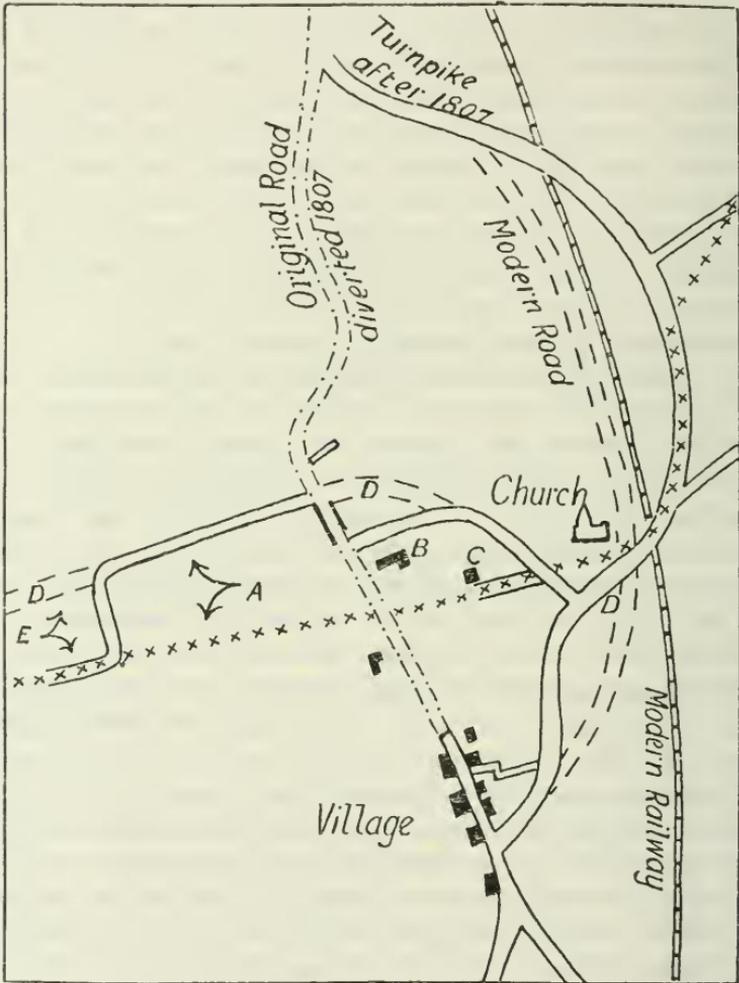


FIG. 4.—MERSTHAM VILLAGE 1815 (FROM TITHE MAP).

- A Old Way diverted to north in 1789.
- B Merstham House.
- C Rectory.
- DDD Modern road to Reigate Hill.
- E Subsequent diversion of Old Way in 1816.
- x x x Old Way.

Merstham churchyard and ran under the present embankment of the Brighton road, across the new cemetery, where the banks are visible, across the first railway, and bore to



At Willey Farm.  
The Way is the left-hand path.



The Avenue, Gatton Park, looking East.

the left under the spoil heap ; then ascended the hill slope by an existing and abandoned old sunk lane, which crossed the site of the large quarry directly towards the existing part which we found blocked at Tolsworth. Of this portion of the Way from Gatton the following parts remain : a fine avenue running east from Gatton Church (Plate IV) ; the actual corner of the road banks in Merstham House garden where the Old Way crossed the original road to Croydon ; the Rectory drive which, referred to as "part of the old road to Gatton closed when the new one was made," was presented to the Church in 1816 (S.A.C., XXIV) ; the remains of banks and terrace across the strip of new cemetery opposite the eastern lych-gate ; the old sunk lane leading up to the quarry edge ; and one yew tree in the field above the quarry. Along the top of this field runs an old and extensive plough bank through which can be found the sunk way formerly leading up to Alderstead, which appears to have been pierced through the bank after the latter had been formed. The eastern end of this plough bank, which corresponds with a cross hedge leading south, would be the likely spot for the Old Way to have reached and passed the bank. The Merstham Tithe Map shows a field footpath passing close to the abandoned quarry and making direct for the modern Tolsworth Farmhouse. The ploughing away and total disappearance of the part of our old road, shown on the Tithe Map as existing less than a hundred years ago, is a striking object lesson as to the influence of the plough. The position of Merstham Church, lying quite apart from the village, formerly approached only by the Old Way, and on a prominent knoll of chalk rounded on the north by scarping, should be specially noticed.

#### *Gatton to Boxhill.*

The Church of Gatton lies, I think, below the Old Way and was probably on the branch way to Reigate by Wray Common, while our main road kept to the higher level and has been ploughed up or re-formed just north of the Church, but it clearly made for a point south of the spur or knoll on which stands Tower House, inside the Park, beyond which the road still exists for half a mile up along the old drive leading to the stone lodges by the gates on Reigate Hill.

I think, however, that the Old Way when near these gates would have kept a little lower down the slope and, leaving the Park just south of the lodges, would have been on the line of the parish boundary and making direct for the site of the modern bridge, at both ends of which the old sunk lane is well marked. This line would be better for directness and level and correspond with the fact that the boundary of Reigate continues to follow the Way for a long distance west from this point. The closing of this section from Tower Lodge to Merstham Church is on evidence by Justices' Orders of 1756 (see Appendix A) and 1789 (at L.C.C. Offices, Newington Causeway) and of 1813 and 1816 (at Kingston). These give full particulars of this part of the road and of the making of the present road outside the Park on the north to replace it. There is also evidence of the making of the bridge over the main road on Reigate Hill according to the minutes of the Turnpike Trust of a hundred years ago, which are at Reigate. This bridge and the minutes prove a well-established right of way at that date. Before the cutting and bridge were made the main road to Reigate ran close to the lodge gates of Gatton, then crossed the Old Way and regained the present line below the bridge. The cutting gave a shorter route but the older line still remains. From the bridge to Walton Heath the Way is still a public right of way besides being the boundary of Reigate (good evidence of pre-conquest date). Passing along Reigate Hill the Way forms the northern boundary of a 60-acre piece of ground next a well-known open space on the south slope. This land is surrounded by old roads all described in a grant (Manning and Bray, I—see Appendix B) probably of early thirteenth-century date by Lord de Warenne to Reigate Priory (or Hospital of the Holy Cross, as it then was). The Old Way is referred to as Kingswood Lane, no doubt with reference to its forming the boundary of Reigate against the liberty of Kingswood. This deed, coupled with the lane being a parish boundary, carries the Way back to an authentic past of at least Saxon date.

On arriving at Walton Heath we find two deep ravines in front running down south into the valley. The first takes Buckland Lane and the second, Pebblecombe, the important road from Walton to the Weald. Neither of these ravines

could have been crossed on the slope by the Old Way ; the direction of Buckland Lane is quite opposed to our line, but if we test Pebblecombe we see it is a commodious way down and, far more important, there still exists, when we reach by it the foot of the hills below the quarries, the unmistakable continuation of our road in its usual position and well preserved for 2 miles towards the foot of Boxhill (Rocque's Map ; and Plate V). Testing this conclusion further by drawing a line direct from the south-eastern corner of the Heath to the top of Pebblecombe, we can at once pick up well-preserved traces of the road and find it clearly marked on Rocque's Map, Faden's Map 1802, and the first Ordnance Map. It also passes some likely pits for hut dwellings or dene holes, runs past several old buildings, and then is enclosed within the Hermitage gardens, the northern portion of which is known by the owners to have been taken in from the Heath.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Belloc prefers to suggest a shorter and more difficult line avoiding Pebblecombe and descending the sharp slope diagonally farther south, but no good track seems possible there. The choice of the hill-top rather than the usual level on the slope, for this section between Gatton and Betchworth, was evidently dictated by the steepness and irregularity of the hills here ; but there is evidence that at some time a route, though irregular and not keeping to the chalk foot, did exist along the base of the hills. Its line is traceable from Gatton Park along the foot of Reigate Hill westward to the junction with Colley Lane coming from Reigate Heath. Beyond this point also, Mr. Clifton of Reigate, who farmed Colley Farm sixty years ago, told me he found traces of it, with large stones built in on the south side to prevent it slipping down the slope, for the whole width of the next field west in Buckland—below Juniper Hill. Part of this walling is still visible, and on the top of it are yew trees at least 300 years old. There is also a gateway leading west from this field in the direction of Underhill Farm, whence the approach lane is in the expected line for a quarter of a mile. It is said at the farm that this lane used to continue to Kemp's Farm ; there was certainly a way from the latter to Holmes Farmhouse

<sup>1</sup> Information from our member, Mr. Bray of Horsell, whose family resided there.

which was exactly at the junction of the Pebblecombe road and the Old Way to the west. (Cf. O.S. 6-inch 1874, and Tithe Map, Buckland.) This lower road would be used by travellers to the Roman and prehistoric district of Reigate.

*Boxhill to Shalford.*

The evidence for the next debatable section, between the break below Brockham Warren and the existing isolated piece by the railway crossing, north of Combe Farm at the south-west corner of Denbies Hill, is the presumption that, having come downhill at Pebblecombe and gone for a mile and more due west, the Way continued in that direction across the Mole; since if Dorking or the south had been aimed at the existing piece would be pointing to the old ford and bridge where the Reigate road crosses the river and not in its usual westerly direction towards the foot of the hill below Denbies. If then we continue the line of the existing portion towards this point we shall find two gates above the Boxhill farmhouse indicating the crossing over the old London road; farther on, in the grounds of Pixholme Firs, a disused ford of the Mole (Plate V) just north of the point where the Pipp Brook joins it, and just beyond, the usual bank running along the field opposite. The next part of the route has been cut up by roads and railway works, but if we continue this line we shall strike a footpath crossing the railway, and shown on old maps as a road for a short distance (Laurie's, 1861). Then a long prominent spur of the chalk comes to meet us (Belloc), and mounting this by an easy slope and following a line of plough banks and yews, we make for an old house almost inside the mouth of the large chalk quarry below Denbies and just west of the old lane leading to West Humble and Burford Bridge. There is on the north of this house a sunk track leading from the lane straight to the west. It is cut through by the quarry, but we can find signs of its former continuation on the farther side where it crossed the road coming up from Dorking to Ranmore. This alignment is continued by the lower drive of Denbies Park, where we get a long stretch of the Old Way still in private use, with ancient yews along it, as far as the point where the drive takes a hairpin bend downhill. (S.A.C., XIV, 13.) Going



Under Box Hill.  
Clearly marked by plough bank until ploughed away.



The deserted ford at Pixholme Firs, looking West.  
The line of the Way is indicated by arrows.

ahead over a short piece of down turf, we run into the deserted stretch above Combe Farm running along the foot of the chalk as far as the rifle butts at Westcott (Plate VI). This piece is shown on Rocque's Map and the whole section from the quarry is supported by this and the first Ordnance Map.

It is of interest to note that the present road up to Ranmore is a fairly modern improvement of a bad gradient. The old road from Dorking turned left just below the quarry and along the line of an existing footpath, then turned sharp up the hill just west of the quarry and crossed our Way. Its western banks are visible north and south of the place where it was crossed by the present road, which, being cut several feet deeper, severed its line.

From Westcott butts the road is ploughed away for some distance ; but it may easily be traced by plough banks along the hill-side all the way to that remarkable hollow, Cold Kitchen Combe, or Cole Kitchen Hole, as it is variously called, just above Gomshall. Here the Old Way had to face a natural difficulty which is unique along its course. This is a cleft through the lower chalk bank perhaps 40 feet deep, with rather steep sides, forming the narrow flat-bottomed entrance of an extensive hollow combe in the hill-side. There is no doubt that the Way went right across ; its traces still exist. On the east side it continues up to the edge of the cleft ; the line of banks and yew trees is well preserved ; one of the latter on the combe edge is 20 feet in circumference. Crossing the cleft, we find the bank and trees still in the same alignment and the road still in use, as far as Cold Kitchen Lane, as the lower drive of "Round Down." Our member, Dr. Wilfrid Hooper, has found at Kingston a closing order dated so recently as January 4th, 1898, with a map attached which confirms this alignment between the Combe and the lane. Beyond the latter (which has evidently been lowered here considerably) the Way is again to be found, as a private drive, with its bank and trees in perfect condition. Beyond the house to which the drive belongs, and in its grounds, is the most magnificent yew to be found along the Old Way, another tree of some 20 feet in girth (indicated by *b* on Fig. 5) ; and we are led easily on at the same level across a small field and behind Netley House.

We may now refer to the old Field Map in the possession of Mr. F. E. Bray, a reproduction of which is included in the present volume. This plan is dated 1724 and is prepared by Budgen (? perhaps the well-known map-maker) on a scale of 160 yards to the inch. It shows the lay-out of fields (with their names) on one of the farms on this estate, before the making of the Netley Plantation and the erection of the present house. It also shows the main road and the Tillingbourne, called on it "Tillingbrook," and the mill and another old house still standing. The northern boundary of most of the upper fields, being on a steep slope, was formed by extensive plough banks, and these can still be easily traced through the woods. The southern boundary of fields VIII and IX is still represented by a bank in alignment both east and west with the Old Way, and running just north of the modern Netley House, through the lower part of the plantation. On this bank, north-east of the house, is still an ancient yew (indicated by *a* on Key-plan, Fig. 5) of 16 feet girth which must be much older than the plantation. The field boundary north of nos. II and III—but not the same plough bank—can still be traced, and falls into the very ancient sunk lane called London Lane, which gave its name to field no. II. The plough bank and the Old Way kept on a higher level across fields nos. X and XI and probably passed between the quarry west of London Lane and its spoil heap, so that this quarry was first worked from the Old Way; and traces of its sunken track can still be seen running south-west from the quarry and emerging from the plantation on an easy gradient to line up with the banks along the north of field no. 72 on the O.S. 25-inch Sheet XXXII 3.

The London Lane gully must always have seriously interfered with the ploughing of field no. XI (Chalkpit Field), the very steep gradient of which caused it to swerve to the north-east. The quarry in this field was presumably made here so that the spoil could be tipped southwards from the line of the Old Way down the steep incline. A smaller quarry and lime-kiln seem indicated just east of the larger quarry, both being entered apparently from the Old Way.

It seems probable, from the name of the field and the posi-

tions of the two gates on its eastern boundary, that the Way here had already gone out of use in 1724.

In the vicinity of Netley House there may well have been, as Mr. Belloc and others have thought, a way leading to the south-west towards Shere and Albury, but our direct line can be traced by the usual plough banks above the Silent

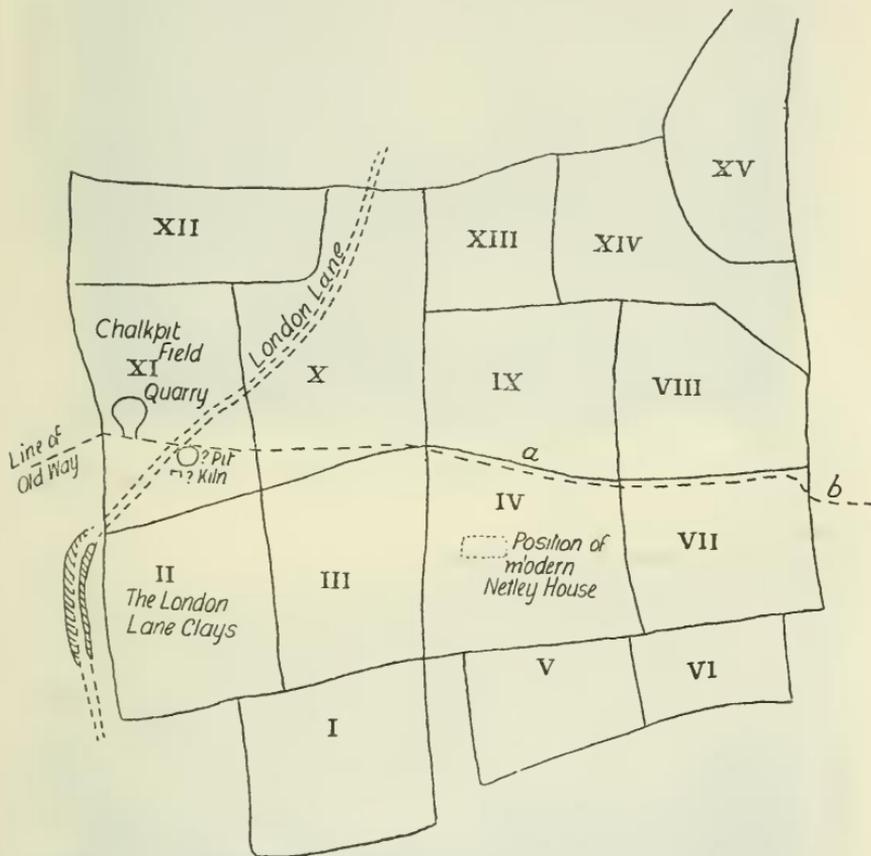


FIG. 5.—KEY PLAN TO FIELD MAP OF NETLEY FARM.

Pool to the crossing of the road climbing to Newlands Corner. The level has been lowered for the modern road, but on the top of the western bank of the latter can still be seen the hollow of the Old Way, and thence the Way is marked by an old bank with scrub and yews, forming the division between the open down below Newlands Corner and the cultivated fields to the south (Plate VI). A considerable distance

farther on the ploughing has been carried higher up the slope and has effaced all signs of the Way. A continuation along the same line, falling gently towards Shalford Ferry, would have conveniently followed the valley between St. Martha's and the Downs, passed through the ancient common fields of Shalford, skirted a quarry now abandoned, and joined the accepted fragment to the east of the Shalford main road, pointing to the ferry and St. Catherine's. It seems possible that such a route continued to be used until the bridge at Guildford diverted traffic to the north and the ferry was then only used in connection with St. Martha's and the villages beyond; the original Way, being no longer used, was effaced where it passed across land of gentle slope which enabled the plough to obliterate it.

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East of Westcott Butts.



Looking West from below Newlands Corner.

*facing page 30]*

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MAPS

*Copies of all these maps are in the Author's possession.*

- Andrews, Dury and Herbert: two inch Kent Atlas, 1769 (in Canterbury Museum).  
 Blechingley Tithe Map.  
 Buckland Tithe Map.  
 Catherham Tithe Map (1838) } (Board of Agriculture.)  
 Ditto (eighteenth century). }  
 Chaldon Tithe Map (1837). }  
 Colgate's Map of Kent (1804).  
 Faden's 25 miles round London (1802).  
 Hasted: Map of Codsheath Hundred, 2nd ed., 1797.  
 Hylton, Lord: Estate Map of Gatton, Merstham and Chaldon (c. 1764)  
 —(photo in S.A.S. Library).  
 Land Registry Map.  
 Laurie's Map of 32 miles round London (1861).  
 Merstham Tithe Map (1839) (Board of Agriculture).  
 Ordnance Survey Maps, Kent and Surrey (1801 and 1819).  
 Ordnance Survey Map (1816).  
 Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inch (1874).  
 Ordnance Survey Map, Roman Britain (2nd ed., 1931).  
 Record of Finds Map (in Maidstone Museum).  
 Rocque's Map of Surrey, 1764-70.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT FROM JUSTICES' ORDER OF 1756 RELATING TO DIVERSION OF THE OLD WAY AT GATTON.

SURRY

AN INQUISITION indented taken at Gatton in the County aforesaid on the Nineteenth day of April in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty-six. BEFORE ME, CHARLES DEVON, ESQUIRE, Sheriff of the said County, by vertue of the Writ of our said Lord the King to me directed and to the said Inquisition annexed upon the Oaths of John Evelyn of Wootton, Esquire, Francis Boone of Tandridge, Esquire, William Belchier of Epsom, Esquire, Richard Morton of Reigate, Esquire, Robert Seavern [? Scawen] of the same, Esquire, William Mabbott of Banstead, Esquire, Thomas Bridges of Headley, Esquire, William Baumont of Buckland, Esquire, Isaac Hughes of Banstead, Esquire, John Hughes of the same, Esquire, John Lam-

bert of Woodmanstern, Gentleman, John Clement of Nutfield, Gentleman, and Henry Clark of Reigate, Honest and Lawfull Men of my bailiwick who have been sworn and upon their Oaths charged to inquire into the matters and things in the said Writ specified and thereby directed to be inquired of do thereupon say it will not be to the damage or prejudice of our Sovereign Lord the King or of any other if he should grant to James Colebrook Esquire Licence that he the said James Colebrook may enclose to his own private use all that part of a certain common highway within the Parish of Gatton in the said County containing in length One hundred and sixty seven perches and in bredth two perches or thereabouts beginning at a certain gate in the same Parish commonly called or known by the name of Wingate and leading from thence South Westerly into through and over a certain Close of him the said James Colebrook commonly called the Lower or Hither Wingate Hill and from thence South Westerly into and across a certain other Close of him the same James Colebrook in Gatton aforesaid called the Upper or Further Wingate Hill to a certain other gate situate at the Western most part or side of the same Close and from thence into an ancient comon highway leading from a certain place called Gattisbraine in Gatton aforesaid in the Borough of Reigate in the said County over the Rey Common at a certain place called the Rey Hill.

.....  
 AND the said Jurors upon their Oaths also further say that it will not be to the damage or prejudice of our said Lord the King or of any other if our said Lord the King do grant unto the said James Colebrook such Licence as aforesaid if the said James Colebrook do at his own expense instead of the said way so to be enclosed set out and make a new highway through his own lands and soyle in Gatton aforesaid of the width of twenty feet into the common highway leading from Cattisbraine aforesaid to the said Borough of Reigate called the New Turn Pike Road at the extent of the park pales of the said James Colebrook that is to say from the said Wingate unto and through the lands of the said James Colebrook called the Sheep Walk by the park pales of the said James Colebrook and erect put and place a new gate at the west end of the said Sheep Walk and make a new Highway through the said gateway and from thence into and through the South side of another close called Buckwood Field adjoining to the said Park pales of the said James Colebrook and from thence into and through the South side of another Close called Windmill Field adjoining to the said park pales of the said James Colebrook and from thence into and over the old comon highway there and so into the said New Turn Pike Road at the place aforesaid. . . .  
 AND the said Jurors further say that the said Highway so to be held doth contain in length One Hundred and Sixty-seven perches or thereabouts and in bredth Twelve feet or thereabouts. . . .

#### APPENDIX B.

##### NOTE AS TO ANCIENT REIGATE GRANTS.

Manning and Bray, Vol. i, p. 288, note.

“ Thomas, son of Albert de Colley by deed without date granted unto the Master and Brothers of the Hospital of the Holy Cross

of Reigate all that parcel of Reigate Hill with the appurtenancies in Reigate containing by estimation 60 acres part of Reigate Hill lying between the highway leading towards Kingston on the West part and the Highway leading towards Croydon on the East part and upon a way called Kingswood Lane on the North part and on the South part next the Highway between the said lands and certain other lands called Brokesfield. These lands are on the highest part of Reigate Hill and the roads mentioned as leading to Kingston and Croydon were used to these places till the present Turnpike Road was made. From the information of Mr. Glover

As to the date of this grant see footnote, Manning and Bray, Vol. I, p. 294, which appears to state that in 20 Edw. I the foundation was styled a Hospital, whereas in a deed of 8 Edw. II by the founder's great-grandson it was styled a Priory. The grant is therefore probably of the early thirteenth century. Further evidence of date and confirmation of the information in the former grant is found in Manning and Bray, Vol. I, p. 296, where it is stated, and again from the information of Mr. Glover (formerly well known as an antiquary of Reigate), that William Clarke of Nutfield by deed dated 23rd March, 2 Edw. III (1329), granted to God and the Blessed Mary the Virgin and to the House of the Holy Cross of Reygate and to the Canons of the same house 50 acres of land with the appurtenancies called Brokes lying in the South part next the common way between Brokesfield and Reygate Hill and lying between the common highways leading towards Reygate, viz. between one lane on the East side and another lane on the West side to hold to the said Prior and Canons and their successors there serving God for ever.

The name "Brokes" is still in use for the land in this grant, which evidently was next the land in the first grant on the South, and all the roads, acreages and names can still be checked on the Ordnance maps. These deeds are most valuable, proving generally the ancient character of old lanes and local names and especially the existence of the Old Way as the boundary between Reigate parish and Kingswood in the early thirteenth century and as an East and West long-distance route quite independent of Reigate itself, and therefore connecting places very distant from Reigate in both directions.