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With

Mr. Evelyn's Couplet

NOTES
ON
THE PILGRIMS' WAY,
IN
WEST SURREY.

BY
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ROYAL ENGINEERS.

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THESE NOTES ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

AS A MEMENTO OF THE

EXHIBITION HELD IN SHALFORD PARK, IN THE YEAR 1871,

TO

The Right Honorable the Earl of Cork and Orrery,

PRESIDENT

OF THE

BATH AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY,

AND

SOUTHERN COUNTIES ASSOCIATION,

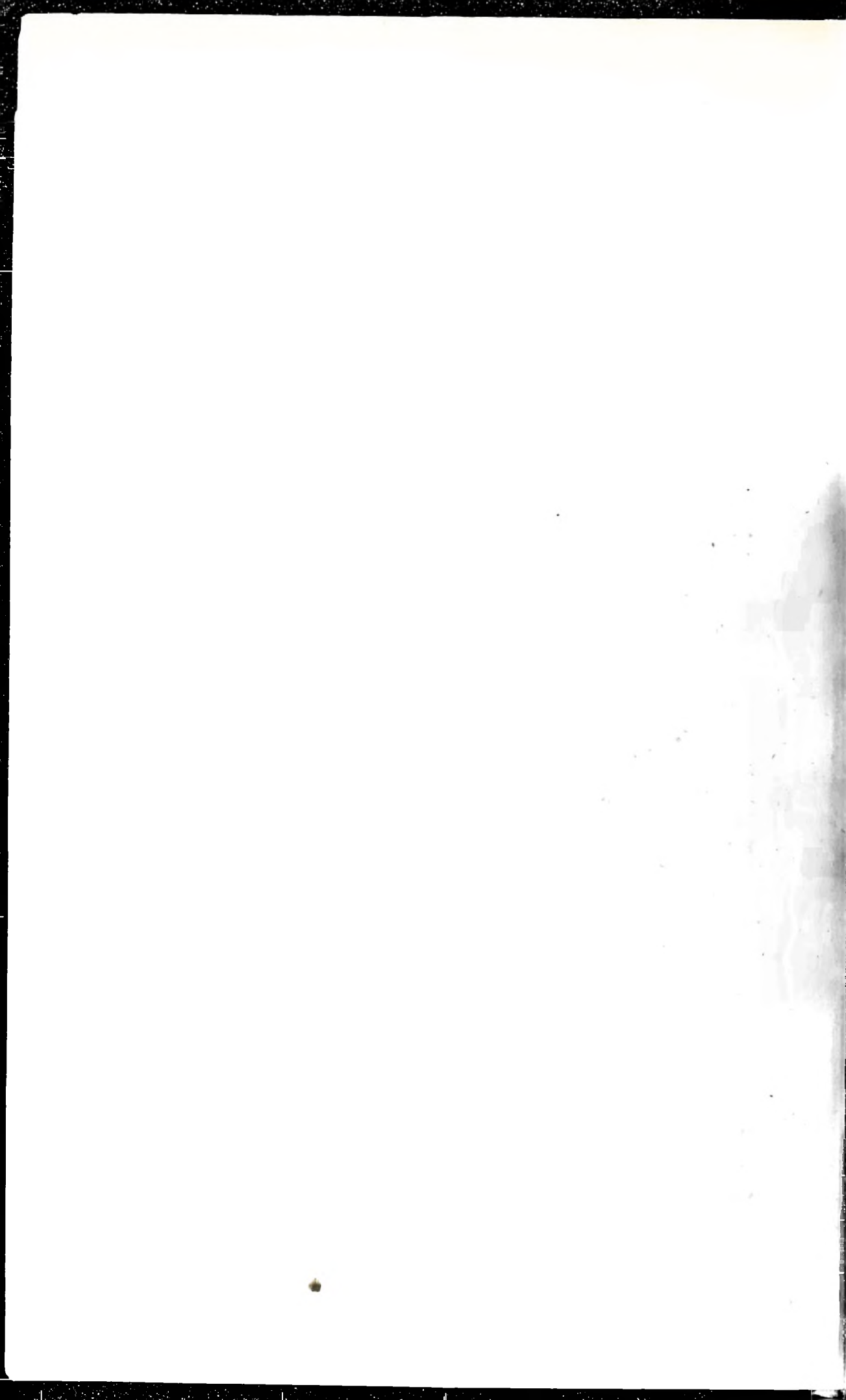
FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE, ARTS, MANUFACTURE,

AND COMMERCE,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBEDIENT, HUMBLE SERVANT,

E. Renouard James.

Guildford, May, 1871.



THE PILGRIMS' WAY.

“ When Zephyrus eke with his sweet breath
 Inspired hath in every holt and heath
 The tender crops
 And smallé fowls are making melody
 That sleepen allé night with open eye.
 Then longen folk to go on pilgrimage,
 And specially from every shire's end
 Of England, to Canterbury they wend
 The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
 That them hath holpen when that they were sick.”

—CHAUCER.

To the visitor to the Exhibition of the Bath and West of England and Southern Counties Association, held in Shalford Park in 1871, the assertion that he comes to a revival of an annual gathering held at the Feast of the Assumption for five centuries, and until a comparatively recent date, by a much more motley crowd than that of which he forms a part, may seem incredible.

The privilege of holding a fair in Shalford churchyard was granted to the Rector of the parish in the reign of King John; but when the number of persons resorting thereto had become so great as to be the cause of litigation between the Rector of Shalford and the Clergy of Guildford, in respect of the fees exacted from the Winchester merchants and others attending the fair (these, on their part, objecting to the payment of any fees whatsoever), an inquisition was held, in pursuance of an order from the King, dated 1287, by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the right to make charges for additional space for the purposes of the fair was conceded to various persons. At the time of its greatest prosperity the fair was held near the church, in three large fields, comprising an area of one hundred and forty acres.

The causes of the foundation, prosperity, and abolition of this annual festival form the subject of this pamphlet; and they are summed up in the fact that Shalford Park is upon the direct line of the ancient road known as the *Pilgrims' Way*. But as very many persons, even in the neighbourhood, are in ignorance of the very name of

the Pilgrims' Way, to them a few brief words upon its history will be useful.

Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in open opposition to Henry the Second in certain matters of Church prerogative, and between whom and the King a personal mutual resentment had arisen, was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral on the 29th December, 1170, by four knights pretending to act under the King's direct orders. Their deed was, however, repudiated by the latter, and such was the feeling of superstitious horror and fear excited throughout England and Normandy by the sacrilegious crime, that, Becket having been canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Henry was one of the earliest in the crowd of barefooted devotees who thronged to the shrine of the martyrdom. He landed at Southampton from Normandy on the 8th February, 1174, and, it is supposed, approached Canterbury by the Pilgrims' Way. From the date of the martyrdom of St. Thomas until the suppression of all the monasteries and shrines in England in 1537 by Henry the Eighth, this route was frequented by crowds of Pilgrims.

For a further account of the murder of Thomas à Becket, and of the remarkable influence this event had upon the religious character of the succeeding age, I must refer my readers to their History of England, to the Very Reverend Dean Stanley's Memorials of Canterbury, and to other works;* my purpose here not being to do more, at any length, than describe the route followed by the Pilgrims in West Surrey. Mr. Albert Way, in a paper appended to the Dean's work, thinks that the evidence of local tradition favours the supposition that a line of road, tracked out possibly in very early times, even before the coming of the Romans, and running along the south flank of the Downs which traverse Surrey from Farnham eastward, was that subsequently followed by the Canterbury Pilgrims.

I have not, as yet, carried my researches far enough to enable me to trace the several routes followed by the Pilgrims through Hampshire; nor, if I had, would the number of pages this would require be patiently read through in a little book of this description. They came,

* Historical Memorials of Canterbury. (Very Rev. A. P. Stanley.)
Bray and Manning (History of Surrey).
Russell's Guildford.

doubtless, in the greatest numbers from the royal and ecclesiastical city of Winchester, where they assembled from Salisbury and all parts of western England, and from thence followed the old Roman road to Farnham. But a very large proportion of their numbers arrived from Normandy, and these, I suppose, landed mostly on the coast between Southampton and Chichester, falling into the main stream of the Pilgrimage at Alton or Farnham. The principal of these tributary streams is indicated to this day by the name "Pilgrims' Place," near East Tisted, Hampshire; this being probably a point on the track from Hamble Creek on the Southampton Water, passing the monastery at Bishop's Waltham, to Alton. I will, then, suppose the Pilgrims to have arrived at Farnham, and endeavour to show how, from thence, they reached Shalford or Guildford, on their way to Canterbury.

Farnham was given to the Bishop of Winchester in Saxon times, by Ethelbald, King of Wessex, to found a residence, and the Castle was for centuries either a royal or episcopal seat. Farnham sent two members to Parliament in the reign of Edward the Second; there was a market here, and three fairs were held in the year—on Holy Thursday, Michælmass, and All Saints' Day respectively. The town was evidently of greater relative importance than it possesses in 1871, and, doubtless, the Pilgrims were glad of excuse for delay in such a pleasant place. I do not wonder, therefore, to find mention of licenses issued to, and regulations made for the conduct of, the ancient hostelries here. Who does not remember Chaucer's Tabard at Southwark, which we may suppose the Farnham inns resembled, where

"The chambers and the stables weren wide,
And well we weren easen atté best."

While our wayfarers are loitering at its equivalent at Farnham, I will, as they doubtless did, make enquiries as to the onward route. Some of the richer foreigners, actuated by political or commercial reasons, might desire to make for Windsor or London; the former would direct their enquiries with reference to the road to Bagshot; the latter would take the Hog's Back to Guildford, leaving the main body of the Pilgrims at that place. Others might be furnished with letters to the Abbot of Waverley, and leaving their retinues at Farnham, would devote some time at the Abbey in the enjoyment of the monkish hospitality;

these probably rejoined their fellow-travellers in a few days at Puttenham or thereabouts. But the route chosen by the main body depended, I conjecture, on the time of year. If it were winter, an effort would be made, by making an early start from Farnham, to reach Guildford by dusk of the day of departure; the air being too chilly and the weather too stormy for camping, a halt for the night under the shelter of a roof would be desirable; the country would be too soft for a march on the low ground, while one along the hard chalk ridge of the Hog's Back enabled the pedestrians to reach Guildford dry-shod and rapidly, no guide being needed in the event of their being overtaken by night-fall at a distance from their destination. But if, on the contrary, it were summer, the Pilgrims, with their wallets refilled at Farnham, would be content to pass many successive nights in leafy bivouacs. By keeping under the Downs, they gained the advantage of passing a series of churches, each of which supplied an excuse for begging, under the pretence of devotion, or might, if need were, prove a sanctuary against tyranny or injustice. For our Pilgrims were the ancestry of the modern tramp; and cant, hypocrisy or plausible knavery carried as much weight with unsophisticated people as they do still. The very word 'cant' is one record of the Canterbury pilgrimage; and it should be noticed that, on the suppression of the monasteries and shrines of England by Henry the Eighth, in 1537, vagabondage was found to have increased to such an alarming extent, that it became necessary to enact special laws to restrict its evils. Stringent instructions were, in the first place, issued against all pilgrimages; the privileges of sanctuary were abridged, and after some years abolished; the laws against gypsies were made very severe; the 'benefit of clergy' was wholly denied to murderers and robbers; and it is even stated that more than 72,000 robbers, thieves, and vagabonds were hanged in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Truly it would be well if he were alive to deal with vagrancy in our day!

It has been stated that the martyrdom of St. Thomas took place on the 29th December, 1170. The anniversaries of this date were, for fifty years, the occasions when the Pilgrims in the greatest numbers congregated at the shrine of the Saint; but the crowds became so great that the Prior and Monks of Canterbury Cathedral were constrained to consider in what manner the stream could be

best divided. They divided it cunningly enough. The body of the Saint had been deposited in the crypt under the nave of the Cathedral ; for although the possession of the body of a real martyr was an inestimable benefit to a church during the middle ages, yet it was never imagined that the fame of St. Thomas would attain to such world-wide celebrity. It was now pretended that the placing of the relics in their first position had always been regarded merely as a temporary arrangement pending the building of a more magnificent shrine ; and it was affirmed that the time had come for the transfer of the relics to the grand altar in the nave. Four years after Becket's murder, a fire had reduced the choir of the Cathedral to ashes ; and it had been restored with greater beauty than formerly, and with the especial object of providing a new shrine, by the year 1220. But midwinter was a most inconvenient period for the reception of so many visitors ; yet, as the anniversary of the martyrdom of the saint would be sure to continue to attract large numbers, it must still be kept holy. A date for the "Feast of the Translation" must be fixed in *Midsummer*, and encouragement must be given to devout persons to make this the occasion of their pilgrimage to the shrine. For the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury had become so holy, that he was among the best known among the saints in Normandy as well as in England ; and the monks foresaw that summer was the time to make the most profitable market. And they certainly did make the most of it, to the great enriching of their body, and vastly to the strengthening of ecclesiastical power, for four centuries. The "Feast of the Translation" took place, with great solemnity, on the 7th July, 1220, and the anniversaries of this event were thenceforward the principal times of Pilgrimage.

This explanation has been necessary to prove that there were distinct summer and winter streams of Pilgrims passing and repassing Guildford. In days when travellers did not fidget (as we do) if they did not progress on their journeys at express speed, ten miles a day over roadless tracks was not a bad average pace for the pedestrians. Delays in such fat towns as Guildford or Farnham were by no means unpleasant, and the journey from Southampton or Salisbury to Canterbury and back might occupy months. If the Pilgrims could subsist for so long by begging, borrowing, or stealing, they were perfectly unconcerned

as to how long it lasted. The Very Rev. Dean Stanley points out that all evidence proves that every element of society was to be found among those who made the pilgrimage; that, in fact, this and the various pilgrimages common in the middle ages took the place of modern tours. A Pilgrim was a traveller with the same adventures, stories, pleasures, pains, as travellers now; the very names by which we express the most listless wanderings are taken from pilgrimages to the most solemn places. A 'roamer' was one who had visited the Apostles' graves at Rome; a 'saunterer' one who had wandered through the 'Sainte Terre,' or Holy Land; and the easy 'canter' of our modern rides is derived, no doubt, from the ambling pace of the mounted Canterbury Pilgrims.

Going to, or returning from, the winter or summer festival, the greatest number of Pilgrims would be found in West Surrey in spring and autumn; foreign merchants, as well as English traders, would find their advantage in choosing their market accordingly, and, for this reason, local fairs are for the most part fixed, as we know, at these seasons. To this point I shall return when the show ground of the Bath and West of England Association is reached.

Having rested and replenished their small stores, many of the Pilgrims would choose the quiet woodland track under the Downs in preference to the highway leading to the busy town of Guildford. Leaving Farnham, they followed the course of the River Wey, by the line of the present road, until they approached the western end of the Hog's Back. Here the place at which the summer branched from the winter route is indicated by the name '*Whiteway End*,' that is to say, the end of the chalk road. And it should be mentioned in this place, in stating that the summer Pilgrims kept under the hill in the direction of Seale, that their route was continued along the sand to St. Martha's Chapel; and that those who, at the latter point, thought fit to gain the chalk ridge instead of going by the lower road on to Dorking, accomplished their intention at a place near Albury, still known as '*White Lane*.' The origin of these two names (which do not occur again, to my knowledge, in the neighbourhood) is evident and very remarkable. While the upper road along the Hog's Back became in modern times a great thoroughfare, the lower, through Seale past Puttenham and Compton to

St. Catherine's Chapel, can only be tracked along a line of green lanes. In some places the Pilgrims' Way is a parish road not much used now, in others a farmer's communication, and sometimes a grass-grown water-worn lane; it passes through several parishes, forming the most direct communication from church to church, and from its one to its other extremity; but, strangely, it is never used now in its continuity. This continuity cannot, however, fail to be remarkable to the casual observer, to whom, without a knowledge of the history of the Canterbury Pilgrimage, the reason for such continuity is a puzzle.

I trust that this notice of the Pilgrims' Way may lead to further investigation; that discoveries of relics of the Pilgrimage, hitherto unexplained, may be brought to light, and that many derivations of local orthography and customs may be made more clear. In the space between Whiteway End and St. Catherine's Chapel, local tradition has as yet only rendered assistance to my researches in the neighbourhood of Seale and Puttenham. An old road leading through a deep cutting across the common between these places is pointed out as the Way, and, further on, it is said to have passed slightly to the north of Puttenham Church. The names Roberd's, or Robber's Moor, Beggar's Corner and Shoelands, are, as is supposed by the Rev. C. Kerry, of Puttenham, derived from the connection of these places with the Pilgrims; the word "shool" signifying in various dialects "to beg," and "shooler" being synonymous with a lazy, idle fellow.

Seale Church was erected, in the commencement of the 13th century, on the Pilgrims' Way, but the churches at Puttenham and Compton appear to have existed earlier. The rights of sanctuary at Seale were disputed, probably through jealousy of the Abbot of Waverley, to whom Wanborough church, on the opposite site of the hill, also belonged, but these rights were confirmed to him by Henry the Third in 1240. But before I continue the tedious journey let me digress, as the pilgrims so constantly did, to Waverley Abbey and Wanborough.

Waverley Abbey, the picturesque ruins of which are well worth a visit, was founded in 1128 by the Bishop of Winchester, who established there twelve Cistercian friars from Normandy; it vied in influence with Newark Priory, the latter being situated a few miles to the North East of Guildford. The monks of Waverley, who were ever on

the watch for the arrival of personages of distinction at Farnham, extended their hospitality to the more wealthy pilgrims. I find that Henry the Third visited the monastery in 1225, and the Earl and Countess of Leicester in 1245, and I do not doubt that Waverley Abbey gained much by entertaining such guests. Scale Church, as I have mentioned, was held by the Abbot, who in 1144 had also purchased the Manor of Wanborough with the church and ecclesiastical privileges. These privileges were not however held without opposition on the part of the Prior of Newark, (who at one time held Wanborough), but they were confirmed to Waverley by Pope Eugenius in 1147, and further secured in the reigns of Richard the First and Edward the First. There was, it appears, a church at Wanborough at the time of the Domesday Survey, but it had apparently been neglected when, at the commencement of the Canterbury Pilgrimage, it was purchased by the Abbot of Waverley, who undertook to provide for the services. It remained the property of Waverley Abbey, until the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, in 1537, at which time the oblations of the pilgrims and others to the church, together with the profits of the fair held there, amounted to one pound per annum. This did not, however, in all probability, represent by any means the full value of Wanborough to Waverley Abbey. With the cessation of the Pilgrimage, the necessity for a church at this place ceased also; without endowment or congregation it fell into decay, and remained in ruins until its recent restoration by the Rector of Puttenham, who liberally provides for the present weekly services. As I have stated, the Pilgrims along the Hog's Back were less prone to delay than at any other parts of their journey; and Wanborough Church being at the foot of a steep declivity on the northern side of the ridge, the number of visitors to it was probably relatively small as compared with the number visiting each of the series of churches on the southern side. But it is remarkable that the notice of the fair held here, and of the pilgrims visiting the church, are the only instances in which I can find mention of such events in connection with the large incomes of Waverley Abbey, and it would seem that the fair was a bait to attract the Pilgrims across the hill from Puttenham to the church, which our lazy wayfarers could not resist. Let me recross the hill with them, and continue the journey with the

stragglers who have now rejoined the convoy from Waverley, along the lower or summer way. Other delays might be made at Puttenham Church, concerning which I do not find much information in histories, and at Compton Church, which existed at the time of the Domesday Survey, and all through the Pilgrimage, and of the ancient structure of which a considerable portion is said to stand to this day. Every churchyard was, in fact, a lounge for the Pilgrims; but I cannot delay as they did. At Puttenham the small village fair held annually still remains as evidence of the Pilgrimage. The Way passed about an eighth of a mile to the north of Compton, near Conduit Farm, along a green lane between the Hog's Back and the present site of Loseley to Littleton Cross, (where a bare-footed friar with his money bag probably accepted thankfully the smallest offerings at the road-side shrine), and thus by Sandy Lane and Pickards to St. Catherine's Chapel. Here progress was arrested by the ancient ferry over the shallow ford across the river Wey; the river was not banked up as at present, and ran in numerous channels, so that a space of some hundreds of yards, partly of morass, had to be traversed between the foot of St. Catherine's hill and the rising ground opposite. A piece of still unreclaimed marsh near the same place serves to show what the character of this passage might have been, and that a man on foot would experience some difficulty in crossing. Hence I presume the necessity arose for maintaining a flat-bottomed boat at this place; and a toll from passengers was claimed by the Lord of the Manor of Brabœuf, by virtue of a deed of the 16th year of Henry the Third. But it would appear that the Prior of St. Mary, Bishops-gate-Without, to whom the church and lands at Shalford belonged, also claimed the right of conveying passengers over the river; and I find that a bridge, which had been erected by the Lord of the Manor of Brabœuf, for the fair on St. Matthew's Day, 1376, was destroyed by order of the former; this led to litigation, and it was alleged that a bridge had existed there time out of mind; but this was denied, and judgment was given "that there had been no bridge except '*per unum battellum*' (plank) at the mill belonging to the heirs of Henry de la Poyle (a mile lower), laid for convenience of Pilgrims (*peregrini*) going to the Chapel of St. Katherine at the time of the fair." The ancient ferry is still used, but I doubt if the tolls are of

sufficient value to make its ownership worth quarrelling for now! Before I leave the river, let me speculate for a moment on its name. The Pilgrims had kept within sight of it from Alton to Guildford. Is it not possible that they called it the *Way* river from this circumstance, substituting this pronunciation for that of the more ancient Celtic *Wye*?

But the passage of the Wey was not the only cause of delay. A priory or nunnery (it is not clear which) existed in connection with St. Catherine's Chapel, the remarkable ruins of which may be seen on the low hill overlooking the 1871 Show ground from the west. Mr. Bray conjectures that this chapel was erected by Henry the Second, but it is not mentioned in records until the reign of Henry the Third, when the stipend of the curate appears to have been paid by the Crown. I apprehend that, like Seale and Wanborough Churches, its building or restoration was a consequence of the Pilgrimage; for the parson of St. Nicholas, Guildford, fearing to lose his profit from the Pilgrims who avoided the town, purchased the freehold of the site of the chapel in 1308, from the Lord of the Manor, and the chapel was re-built and re-consecrated 19th May, 1317, (10 Edward II). The revenues were valuable, it is clear, for the grant to the Rector of St. Nicholas was annulled by an intrigue, and the Rector of St. Mary succeeded to the rights in 1324. But this was only a temporary loss to the former, who claimed the property with such pertinacity that, in 1329, the chapel was again consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester, and re-attached to St. Nicholas parish. On the original purchase of the site the Rector had obtained a charter for an annual fair of five days at the time of the Feast of St. Matthew; this was confirmed by Letters Patent of Henry VII., and the fair (a blackguardly affair enough, it must be confessed, in our day) is still held on the chapel hill on the 2nd October in each succeeding year. How remarkable is the coincidence of all public events—festivals or fairs—held along the Way with a time of year which would suit the convenience of the Pilgrims. "Becket's fair," as it was called, which lasted seven days, commenced at Canterbury on the 7th July, the 'Feast of the Translation.' Across the river, in Shalford parish, the temptations of another fair (a much more important one, I should say, in its day than that held on St. Catherine's Hill), would be offered to them. But I must not forget to allude to the

celebrated spring of pure water by the ferry on the St. Catherine's bank of the river. The existing tradition is that it was believed to possess miraculous healing powers, and was dedicated to the Holy Virgin. This is not, to my knowledge, authenticated; but any one may test the goodness of the water for himself, and it is very probable that such a reputation would attach itself to such a spring in such a place in superstitious times. I am at last in Shalford Park; but let me leave for a while the Pilgrims, who have arrived there by the summer Way, and return to those left on the upper road.

The town of Guildford was approached, by the winter Pilgrims especially, as I have stated, by the Hog's Back; which no visitor to Guildford, if he have but one hour to spare, should neglect to rush to, for the purpose of inhaling the pure air while enjoying the view from this remarkable chalk hill. It is aptly described by its name, being an elevated ridge of green turf, not much wider than the road along it, extending seven miles, with a glorious double view,—that towards the south embracing the Hind Head range, and the beautifully wooded intervening country, and that towards the north the rich valley of the Thames. It is supposed to have been an ancient British way, and the student cannot persuade himself that it was not a Roman road also; but the histories of Surrey do not point to any trustworthy authority for such suppositions. The probabilities that Guildford was either the Roman *Ardanaon* or *Noviomagus* are discussed in Russell's, and Manning and Bray's histories, and even old Salmon cannot refrain from speculating on the Roman occupation of the town; but I regret, after consultation with modern archaeologists, to be obliged to reject all the evidence the old writers bring forward as not proving their case; hoping, however, that the researches of antiquarians will at some future day establish beyond doubt that which seems so probable. I am, personally, very anxious for this proof, that the speculations I have advanced, in another article, with respect to the Chalk Caverns at Guildford, may be supported. But putting the question of the British or Roman occupation of Guildford aside, there is sufficient proof of the existence of a town here in Saxon times. It is not, however, my purpose in this article to touch on the history of Guildford; I cannot add much to what is known, but I can, I trust, establish a connection between

the history of the town and the Canterbury Pilgrimage. In my notice of the Caverns, I have mentioned the torture of the followers of the Saxon Prince Alfred in the 11th century. He came along the Hog's Back, and his pleasurable sensations on perceiving suddenly the lovely view of the Wey valley from Guild Down are recorded. I find that Henry the Second also arrived by the same route in 1154, having been received by the Cardinal Legate on Guild Down; and there is other evidence to show that this road was in use before as well as during the Pilgrimage. The goodness of the road caused the journey from Farnham to be quick and uneventful; this being the reason why, here and elsewhere on the route to Canterbury, the traditions (which are fresh enough in many of the bye-paths whose history is comprised in the Pilgrimage alone) have died, or been swamped by the succession of historical events, in parts of the Way still used as a high road. For the last two miles before arriving at Guildford the road skirted the Royal Chase, the site of which, extending to the northern limits of the parish of St. Nicholas, is now occupied by the three estates of Guildford Park, Wilderness, and the Old Manor Farm.

I commenced this article by alluding to the Shalford fair, and have had occasion to mention the fairs at Farnham, Wanborough, Puttenham, and St. Catherine's. With its royal castle and chase, its churches, its two friaries, its hostelries, and its hospital, Guildford had reasons enough to delay the Pilgrims; but the townsfolk did not neglect to obtain charters for fairs also; and the dates on which these events are fixed are strongly confirmatory of my views as to the fairs being among the results of the Pilgrimage: The original feast of the dedication of the ancient church of the Holy Trinity was observed at Christmas; but this being attended with much inconvenience to the parties resorting to it, it was ordained in 1312 that henceforth it should be kept on the *24th September*. Other fairs were held in Pentecost week under charter of Edward the Third, confirmed and renewed by Richard the Second and Henry the Seventh; and by the same charters fairs in the town were appointed at the Feasts of St. Martin the Bishop, and St. George the Martyr. Two fairs continue to be held annually in Guildford, under the ancient charters, on the 4th May and 22nd November; but these remnants of old customs, so profitable to the townsfolk once, have

become such a nuisance to them now, from the manner in which the High Street is blocked up by pedlar's vans and booths, to the hindrance of trade of the more legitimate sort, that the Town Council has resolved to remove the fairs to some less public part of the town. In the centre of the space which has been occupied to this time may be seen, one on either side of the street, two crypts; these contained probably shrines, established by the two friaries in the town, and were open to all pious passengers, reaping doubtless a rich harvest at the fair time.

The humours of a fair on the Pilgrims' Way, supposed to have been held at Albury on May-day, 1186, are related in *Stephan Langton*. It is to be regretted that the author of that book did not condescend to quote his authorities more frequently; but he well imagines the nature of the motley gathering of monks, nuns, and begging friars; pilgrims, palmers, and men at arms; knights, esquires, and yeomen; jugglers, ballad singers, mountebanks, and gypsies; the quoit flinging, hatchet hurling; the quintain, the popinjay, and, chief of all, the maypole dancing, as being the features of such a meeting. But whatever may have been the case at unimportant points, I think the fairs held at Guildford and Shalford involved more serious business than this. The manner in which the river Wey bursts through the chalk backbone of Surrey always tended to make Guildford important. In the old times, foreign princes or merchants, landing at Chichester, Arundel, or Shoreham, would make for this point on their way to Royal Windsor, London, or Central England; whilst the natives of the Weald, that large tract of forest land in South Surrey and Sussex, would come to Guildford to trade with those of the rich arable and pasture district extending over the valley of the Thames; and all these would meet the current of Pilgrims going to or returning from Canterbury in a cross direction; these causes would contribute periodically to the assembling of vast crowds in the busy town of Guildford, or upon the wide meadows of Shalford.

The Shalford fair on the 15th August (the Feast of the Assumption), and the days preceding and following it, from the fact of its happening more in summer than other local fairs, and being so fixed as to precisely suit the time of the return of the Pilgrims from the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, on the 7th July,

would be the most crowded event of the kind in Surrey. It was, at first, as I have stated, held within the churchyard, but was eventually extended until it covered 140 acres of ground. This is a large space, and I may suppose that the fair ground was bounded on the north by the Pesthouse, or Ciderhouse Lane (it is known by both names), on the east by the Chantrey Woods; on the south by Shalford Church, and the Tillingbourne; and on the west by the edge of the marsh; in fact, that the area occupied was very much the same as that of the Exhibition of the Bath and West of England and Southern Counties Association in 1871.

The ancient Pesthouse (Ciderhouse Cottage, as it is also called) is still to be seen; for the Pilgrims, among whom were the refuse of the lower orders, carried in their train foul disease, of which the fairs were centres of distribution. The town of Guildford had also its Pesthouse—St. Thomas' Hospital, at the top of Spital Street—and would jealously keep the sick from Shalford out of harm's way, by establishing a sanitary cordon; while the Shalford authorities took similar precautions during the Guildford fairs.

The Pesthouse Lane is precisely in the line from St. Catherine's Ferry to St. Martha's Chapel, which is well proved to have been resorted to by the Pilgrims; and I therefore come to the conclusion that the lane was the Pilgrims' Way itself. But I cannot track the connecting link between the ferry and the site of the modern toll-bar; this is not however of great consequence, for the occurrence of the various fairs when the Way was most crowded would cause the Pilgrims to stray to right and left, some to Shalford Church and some into Guildford, and I may therefore assume that a straight line from point to point was nearly the central track of the Way.

At the end of the Pesthouse lane, the summer Way entered the Chantrey Woods, keeping nearly in the bottom of the valley, between the Chantrey Downs and Pewley Hill; this portion, which is still a bridle way, was a continuation of the nearly straight line from Whiteway End, and following it they arrived at St. Martha's Chapel, passing, however, by Titing or Tithing Farm (where there are remains of a chapel, and which was probably the residence of the officiating priest for the church on the hill), and through Farthing and Half-penny Copses, probably so

called from the imposts levied from the passers by the Priory of Newark. Down the hill to the south in the rich wooded valley, lies Chilworth Manor, the residence, no doubt, of a body of monks in the days when one brother from Newark could no longer celebrate alone the services at St. Martha's. The modern house still comprises parts of the old monastery here, and the old-fashioned, terraced, square garden, with its fish stews, offers evidence enough that catering to the spiritual wants of Pilgrims was a thriving business.

St. Martha's Church is one of the most remarkable points on the whole line of the Pilgrims' Way, being at an elevation of 575 feet above the sea, and visible from all directions for many miles. Tradition supposes the hill to have been the site of of a British Camp, and in old deeds it was called Martyr's Hill, from a legend that some Christians suffered death here. A church on this hill is considered to have been one of three in the Manor of Bramley, mentioned in Domesday Book, but it had fallen into decay when (in 1150, or thereabouts, as was considered by the date of a small portion of the old church), the estate was granted to the Prior and Convent of Newark. Newark Priory, situated near Ripley, at a distance of six miles as the crow flies, was founded by a body of Augustine monks during the reign of Richard I., when Ruald de Calva gave a site for building a church to the Holy Virgin and St. Thomas of Canterbury. The ruins of Newark are worth a visit, although scarcely any remains of ornamental architecture are left. On the seals of the Priory, attached to a deed of the time of Henry VI., the assassination of Becket is represented. The Prior of Newark divided the ecclesiastical influence on the Pilgrims' Way in West Surrey with the Abbot of Waverley; disputing Wanborough, as I have stated, with the latter, but holding undisputed sway at St. Martha's Chapel.

In the Register of Bishop Waynflete, of Winchester, it is stated that the benefice of St. Martha's was appropriated to Newark Priory in 1262, but the necessities of the Pilgrimage caused its enlargement and re-building; and I find, by the same Register, that in 1463, "forty days' indulgence were granted to such as should resort to this chapel on account of devotion, prayer, pilgrimage, or offering; and should there say Paternoster, the Angels' Salutation and Apostles' Creed; or should contribute,

bequeath, or otherwise assign anything towards the maintenance, repair, or re-building of the same." The church was dedicated to St. Martha and All Martyrs, and it is said that a large quantity of relics of martyrs, especially of St. Thomas of Canterbury, were collected here by the Prior of Newark. The Priory, with its collection of Relics, was surrendered to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed at the suppression of the monasteries and shrines in the reign of Henry VIII. in 1537, from which date the decay of both the Priory and St. Martha's Chapel commenced. The latter has been restored in late years, and one service is performed in it each Sunday, attracting from a distance a few visitors, who come to enjoy the magnificent view from the top of the hill.

There were large fairs on the hill, and these and the bountiful indulgence, induced, no doubt, most of the Pilgrims by both the summer and winter routes to visit St. Martha's; those by the latter, leaving Guildford by the foot-path to Pewley Hill, came across the fields to Half-penny Copse, and they, if they preferred the track along the Downs to the road along the valley, would regain the ridge, after leaving St. Martha's, by the *White Lane* referred to by me before.

A very few in the latter days of the Pilgrimage, but the greater number at first, would, on starting from Guildford, keep along Pewley Hill, avoiding St. Martha's, and passing by the ancient yew grove, mentioned in Domesday Book at the place now called Newland's Corner, reach Dorking and Box Hill, with those coming up the White Lane, by the ancient drove road still to be seen along the ridge of the chalk hills. There were few causes for delay here—no fairs, and no churches; so haste was as necessary as it had been on the Hog's Back. But the road was not so good as that between Farnham and Guildford; delays would often arise and food sometimes fail. This brings me to a curious fact. Along this ridge naturalists tell of numerous specimens of the large white edible snail, "*Helix Pomatia*;"* it is locally sometimes called the *Roman snail*, and is traditionally supposed either to have been introduced by the Romans as a source of food supply, or, by Mr. Howard, from Italy, in the 16th century. But this very variety of snail having been during the last

* Jeffrey's British Conchology (vol. 1, p. 177).

few years employed by the gastronomers of Paris as a substitute for the oyster, the supply of which it was feared was failing, and it being abundant in the north of France, it would not be unreasonable to speculate on the probability of its presence on Albury Downs being one more relic left by the Norman travellers of their Pilgrimage to Canterbury.

They would be the winter Pilgrims; the summer loiterers would reach Dorking by the old plan of sauntering from church to church, and from fair to fair. They passed old Albury church, Shere, Gomshall, Abinger, and Wotton, and delayed at each place. It would be tedious, however, to follow them further in the precise manner hitherto adopted by me. At Dorking the summer and winter streams rejoined, and, from this place to Canterbury, the Way, regaining the side of the chalk downs, passed by Gatton, Merstham, Titsey, Chevening, Otford, Wrotham, Cuxton, Woldham, Deptling, Hollingbourne, &c., to Charing, and thence direct to Canterbury, by a strongly marked track known to this day as the Pilgrims' Way along its greater length, and which may be distinguished on any good map. In nearly every parish through which it passes the names of various objects are additional evidences of its ancient use.

Details need not be entered into along this portion of the Way; that would be beyond my present purpose. But it will be well to state that on arriving at Cuxton, in Kent, the difficulty of crossing the River Medway would induce many to continue their journey about three miles down the river to Rochester, where they would fall into the stream of Pilgrims going to Canterbury by the old Roman Watling Street, known as Chaucer's route from the Tabard at Southwark, London; and this would be the easiest way to those who were wise enough to choose it.

My own pilgrimage on paper must now end; but the patience of my readers is solicited while I add to the historical notes I have collected in the foregoing pages, a speculation on the origin of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," which has occurred to me with much interest in the course of my enquiries into this subject.

Bunyan, who was born in 1628, and died in 1688, became at the Restoration subject to the legal pains and penalties imposed on all Nonconformists. A travelling tinker by trade, of the sect of the Baptists, and self-taught,

he spread his peculiar opinions far and wide among the rustic population by open-air preaching, becoming, in consequence, a personal object of persecution. It is said that he frequently selected the hilly districts of South Surrey as his hiding-place; two houses, one on Quarry Hill, Guildford, and the other known as Horn Hatch, on Shalford Common, being pointed out as among those he occupied. His trade would give him a thorough knowledge of the means of communication throughout the district he travelled in. As is well known, he was at last arrested and imprisoned at Bedford, and, while in goal there, wrote that beautiful allegory which is familiar to every one in the land.

In the age in which he lived religious controversy excited every mind; and the Canterbury Pilgrimage being a fresh tradition, does it not give additional interest to the perusal of "Pilgrim's Progress," if the supposition be permitted that Bunyan selected the worldly and historical Pilgrimage as the basis for his allegory of the life of a Christian? This speculation might be easily carried too far; and it would be idle to attempt to prove that the continuity of events and places in the worldly and spiritual Pilgrimages could be compared. But to take a few instances: the struggles of the pedestrian through the Shalford swamp might have given Bunyan the original idea of the *Slough of Despond*; the Surrey Hills he loved so well might be called the *Delectable Mountains*; St. Martha's Hill would answer perfectly his description of the *Hill Difficulty*; the vale of Albury, amid the picturesque scenery of which he passed so many days of true humiliation might be considered the *Valley of Humiliation*; and, lastly, the name *Doubting Castle* actually exists to this day, near the Pilgrims' Way, being approached, as its namesake was supposed to be, by a path near Box Hill. It is right, however, to state that the antiquity of the last name quoted is not verified, nor would it be difficult to claim other sites for the whole of the places referred to. But as a climax to the argument may it not be supposed that Bunyan's description of *Vanity Fair* referred actually to the ancient fair which was held at Shalford on the same site as the Agricultural Exhibition of 1871; and that his account of the persecution and sufferings of the Pilgrims Christian and Faithful, is almost an unexaggerated description of the indignities inflicted upon Bunyan himself at this place? For the fair in his time inherited probably all its evils without

any of its benefits, and was as a mart of commerce in a decaying state. At *Vanity Fair*, "no newly erected business, but a thing of ancient standing," wares of all countries and kingdoms were vended. "But as in other fairs, "some one commodity is as the chief of all the fair, "so the ware of Rome and her merchandize is greatly "promoted at this fair; only our English nation, with some "others, have taken a dislike thereat."* So as "the ware of Rome" ceased to command a sale, the fair itself ceased to be, and, passing away like all vanities, its very name is almost forgotten.



* Pilgrim's Progress (John Bunyan).

