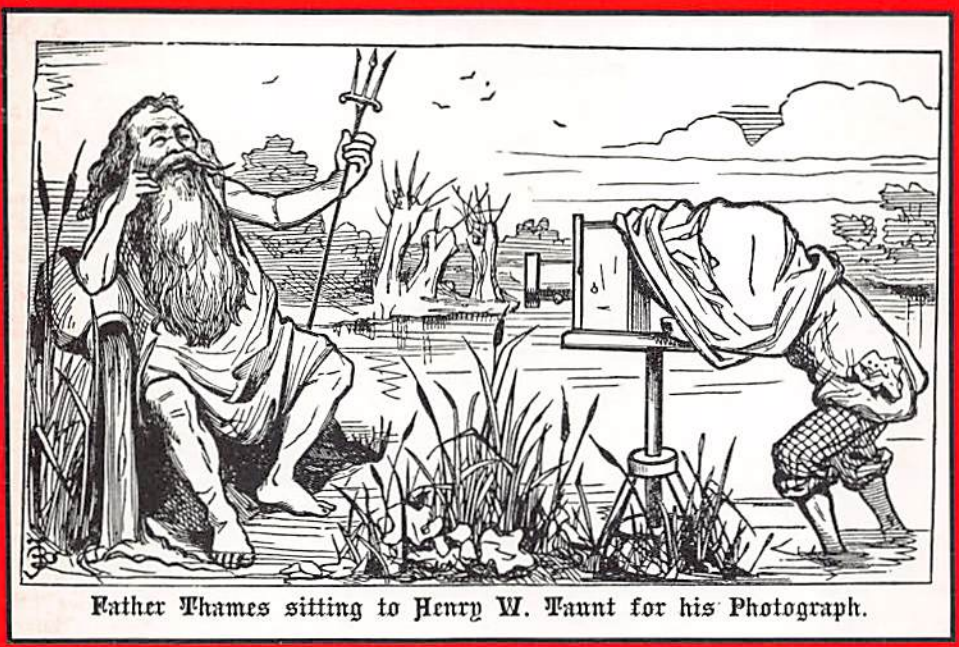
SURREY HISTORY



Father Thames sitting to Henry W. Taunt for his Photograph.

VOL. IV NO. 2

£2-95

SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COUNCIL

The Surrey Local History Council exists to foster an interest in the history of Surrey, by encouraging local history societies within the county, by the organisation of meetings, by publication and also by co-operation with other bodies, to discover the past and to maintain the heritage of Surrey, in history, in architecture and in landscape.

The meetings organised by the Council include a one-day Symposium on a local-history topic, the Annual General Meeting, which includes a visit to a place of historical interest, and lectures. The Council produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time and these are available from bookshops throughout the county.

Membership on the part of local history societies will help the Council to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. The annual subscription for Societies is £ 10-00, due on April 1st., and in return for this they receive a copy of *Surrey History* and three newsletters a year. Members of Member Societies may attend the Symposium and other meetings at a reduced fee and obtain publications at a special rate from the Hon. Secretary. Member Societies may also exhibit at the Symposium and sell their publications there.

Individuals, especially those who live where there is no local history society, may subscribe for £ 3-75. For this they will receive one copy of *Surrey History*, the newsletter and all other benefits of membership, except that they will not be able to vote at the A.G.M. All enquiries for membership should be made to the Hon. Secretary, c/o The Guildford Institute of the University of Surrey, Ward Street, Guildford, GU2 4LH.

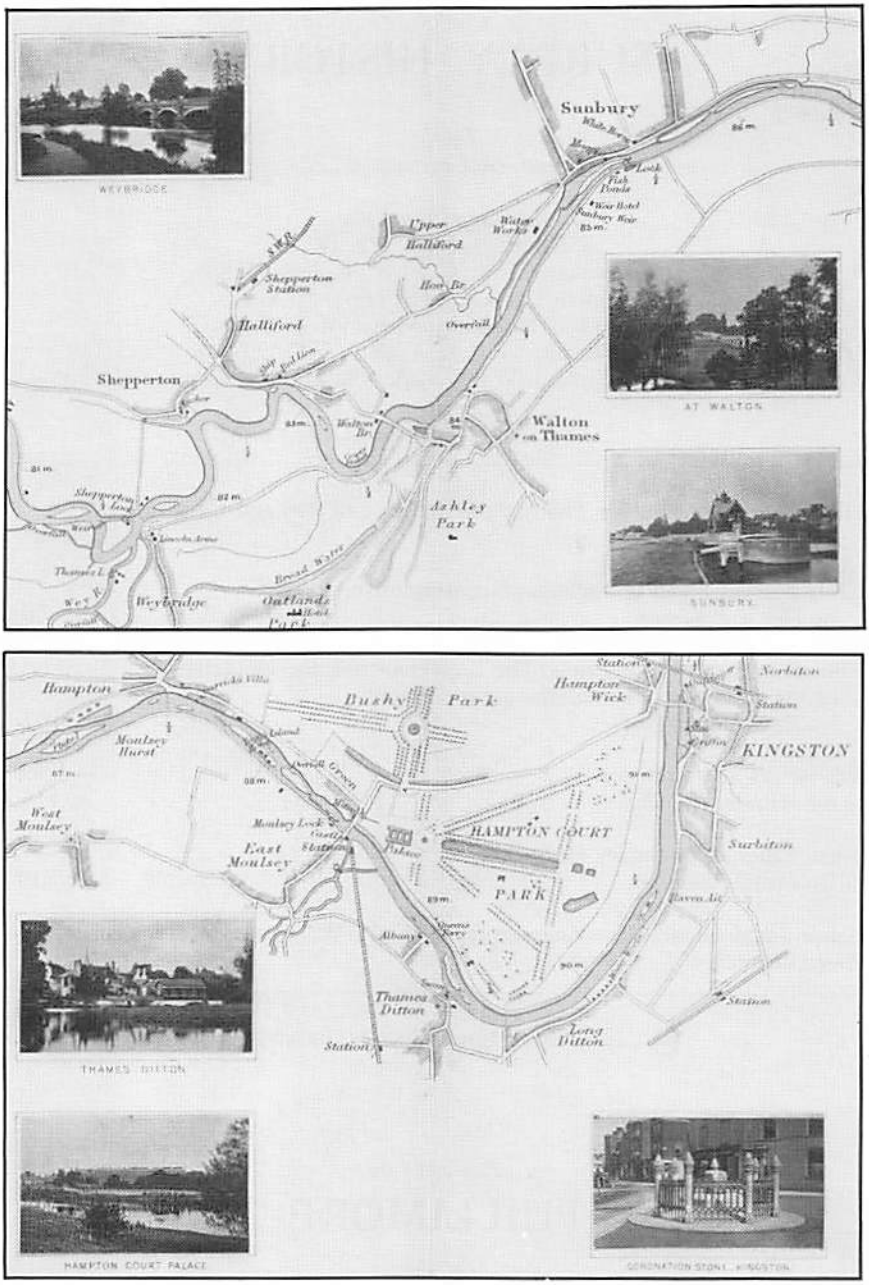
Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intending authors are invited to consult the Hon. Editor for advice before proceeding. To assist in setting the journal, articles must be typed clearly, with minimum errors, in double spacing and with a wide margin on the left hand side. They should be sent to the Hon. Editor, c/o Surrey Record Office, County Hall, Kingston upon Thames, KT1 2DN. Please enclose a stamped, addressed envelope.

SURREY HISTORY

Vol. 4 No. 2

Cover Illustration: Advertisement from Henry W. Taunt, *A new Map of the River Thames.*

Published by
PHILLIMORE
for the
SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COUNCIL



Figs. 1 & 2. Two Map Pages embellished with pasted-in photographs, from Henry W. Taunt, *A New Map of the River Thames.*

HENRY TAUNT & FATHER THAMES: AN ALLIANCE OF PEN & CAMERA

John Wilson
Surrey Record Office

In the one-hundred-and-fifty-one years since the announcement of the invention of photography, books illustrated with photographs have become commonplace. It is only in the last hundred years, however, that the Half-Tone illustration, the process by which this journal is illustrated, has been in use. Whilst Henry Fox Talbot, the inventor of the negative-positive process of photography with which we are familiar, had attempted to introduce such a process in the early 1850s, it was really only between 1879 and 1890 that a sequence of inventions led to the process by which most books today are illustrated.[1] Before the Half-Tone process had been perfected, the only way of illustrating a book with photographs was by sticking-in individual prints by hand. The first book so illustrated was *The Pencil of Nature*, a work issued in six parts by the publishers Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans. The text, and the prints with which it was illustrated were the work of the aforesaid Henry Fox Talbot. Sadly, the work failed as a commercial venture almost certainly due to the problem of the fading of the prints, a problem which dogged the development of photography until the introduction of Swan's carbon process, and the Woodburytype, both in 1864. These two processes yielded permanent photographs which are virtually indistinguishable from photographic prints produced by more conventional methods: indistinguishable except that there is a complete absence of fading, a range of tonal quality and, in the case of the Woodburytype, evidence of the relief process by which it is made. The various processes used in the mid-to-late nineteenth century are far too complex to be more than alluded to in this opening paragraph and anyone wishing to pursue the subject is advised to turn to any of the more comprehensive of the histories of photography.[2]

By 1875, it is estimated that some seven hundred books had been published, everyone of which was illustrated with a varying number of original photographic prints. Although print runs probably varied enormously, a prodigious amount of labour must have been involved in taking and processing the photographs, and then setting them in the books by hand. Amongst this formidable array of books is one which is claimed to be the first photographically illustrated guide book, comprehensively titled, *A New Map of The River Thames from Oxford to London, from entirely new surveys, taken during the summer of 1871: with a guide by Henry W. Taunt.* There were five editions of this work, anyone of which is likely to interest us because of the descriptions given of various places in riverside Surrey, some of which are illustrated by photographs. The photographs were not obligatory, however, and those wishing to embellish the guide with photographs were invited to

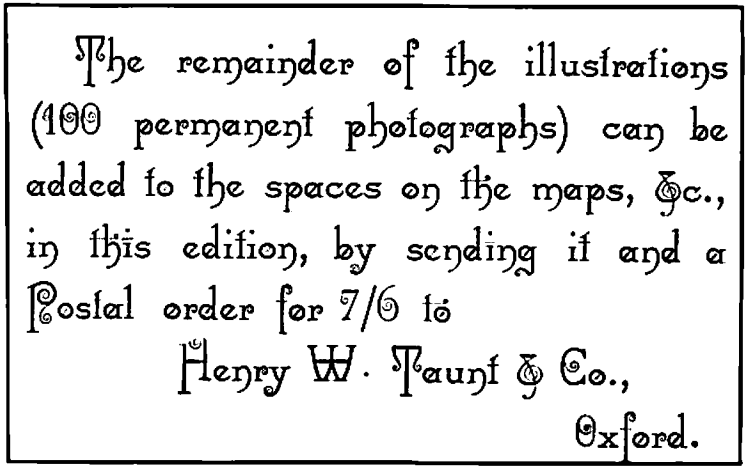


Fig. 3. Label tipped in to the title page.

send 7s. 6d. to the publisher who would return it with the set of 100 photographs pasted in position. The frontispiece photograph was common to both the illustrated and unillustrated editions: it is of Henry Taunt's specially adapted barge in which he and his wife travelled down the Thames. Aloft can be seen his camera on its tripod and below decks was a darkroom for the processing of the plates.

One other full-page photographic illustration was provided; it was of a camping scene entitled, Camping Out In A Quiet Corner. Here we see three men in a boat: Jerome K Jerome's entertaining travelogue of that name was published in 1889. Perhaps this photograph gave him the idea for the book? Amongst the small photographs which embellish the maps are ones of Thames Ditton and the Coronation Stone at Kingston. Of Thames Ditton, Henry Taunt wrote, "From Hampton Court the river is very pleasant, with its fringe of trees skirting the bank; but the earth hunger we Britishers are accused of by our American friends is beginning to line the shore opposite Hampton Court; and the entirely rural charms of the river at ''Appy 'Ampton' will some day be a thing of the past".

In addition to a historical sketch of every town listed in the guide, Henry Taunt would list the railway stations, hotels, boats to be let or housed, ferries, give a full account of the fishing to be found, and then list the local fishermen by name. "At Kingston, fishing is fully up to the average for roach, chub, and bream; barbel are to be found near both the bridges; and below the railway bridge, close to the mouth of the sewer, are roach, with splendid barbel in a hole close by.... and fine jack abound all along the reach down to Teddington Weir...." "Those seeking help and advice in their fishing could approach J. Johnson, Senr.; Wm. Clark; J. Johnson, Junr; and W. Wilks". The guide also contained advertisements from establishments along the route.

These extracts and illustrations are taken from the scarce fifth edition of Taunt's book published in 1886. The second edition was published in 1872, and the third in 1878. The second edition contained 79 photographs mounted

Fig. 4. Camping Out in a Quiet Corner.

Fig. 5. Henry Taunt's specially adapted barge - both a home and a darkroom.

JOHN BOND & CO.,

Sun Hotel and Commercial Inn,

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

A First-Class Hotel for Private Families and Boating Parties, with an extensive Garden leading to the River, and facing the Royal Parks of Hampton Court.

Wedding Breakfasts and Public Dinners Provided to any extent.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BILLIARD ROOMS.

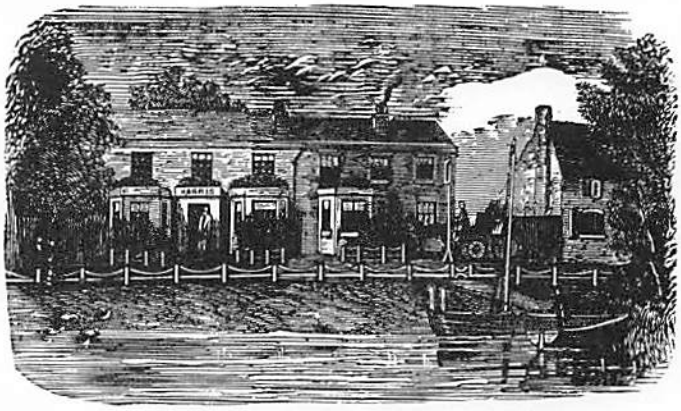
Carriages of every description to Let on Hire.

WHOLESALE WINE AND SPIRIT MERCHANTS.

Figs. 6 & 7. Places to stay by the River.

THE LINCOLN ARMS HOTEL,

WEYBRIDGE.



Close to the river in the backwater turning up from Shepperton Lock.

Every Accommodation for BOATING OR FISHING PARTIES.

FLYS MEET EVERY TRAIN.

Proprietor . . . . . C. HARRIS.

C. AND A. BURGOINE,

Centre-board Yacht & Boat Builders,

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES,

Near the Griffin Hotel and Market Place, and Lower Teddington Road, Hampton Wick, adjoining the Railway Bridge.

C. and A. B. respectfully call the attention of the Nobility and Aquatic World to their improved Centre-board Rowing and Sailing Boat, suitable for coast or river use, thus rendering sailing an attainment not generally to be found in rowing boats. Workmanship and materials warranted to be of the best quality. Their improved Centre-board, when affixed to yachts, does not interfere with the cabin accommodation.

C. and A. B. beg to notify that they have commodious New Steam Launches for Hire: Formosa, 60 ft.; Atlanta, 50 ft.; and Amazon, 55 ft. Cabins 6 ft. high (patent w.c.). They will carry comfortably 24 persons, and are specially adapted for picnics or up-river excursions. The Atlanta is a great favourite, having run 5000 miles in one season, and never failed to give the greatest satisfaction. These launches are not affected by weeds in the summer season; and their light draught of water (2 ft. 4½ in.) prevents the disappointments which so often occur to boating parties. For particulars apply to the Builders, where the launches may be seen.

Boats of every description built on the shortest notice. Photographs may be had on application.

BOATS HOUSED, etc.

Gold and Bronze Medals, Fisheries Exhibition.
Highest Award (Silver Medal), Inventories Exhibition.

WILLANS AND COMPANY,

ENGINEERS

AND

STEAM YACHT & LAUNCH BUILDERS.

Makers of the WILLANS PATENT THREE-CYLINDER (VERTICAL) MARINE ENGINE, which has been fitted to upwards of 200 Yachts, &c., and to Steam Launches in the English and nearly all Foreign Navies. May be used either CONDENSING OR NON-CONDENSING, SIMPLE OR COMPOUND, as desired. The compound type, non-condensing, makes the simplest and most perfect River Launch Engine in the world, being as silent as a condensing engine, without the complication of condenser or air-pump, and extremely economical.

In these Engines the BEARINGS NEVER REQUIRE SETTING UP; it is impossible for them to knock; and lubrication gives no trouble whatever. The working parts are enclosed, and there is NO SMELL NOR DIRT, nor danger of contact with dresses, &c. They START AND REVERSE INSTANTLY, by a lever which can be worked easily from any part of the boat. There are no slide-valves; no eccentrics; no link motion; and fewer working parts than in any other engine.

STEAM YACHTS AND LAUNCHES OF EVERY TYPE FOR RIVER AND SEA SERVICE, IN WOOD OR STEEL.

Special Designs for hot climates. Self-moving Steam House Boats, with large accommodation, and with engines adapted for unskilled attendance.

Launches re-fitted and hauled up during the Winter.

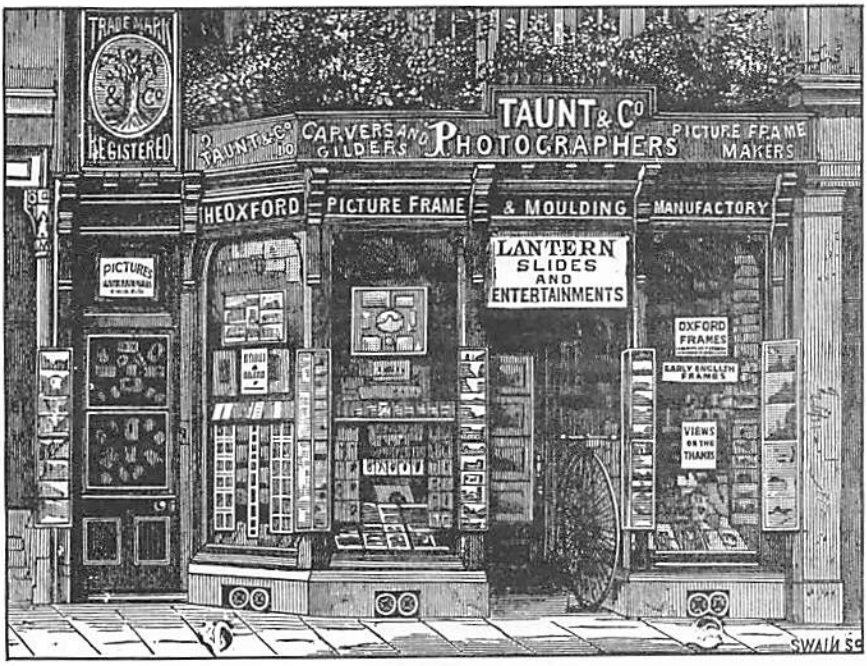
FERRY WORKS, THAMES DITTON, SURREY.

Figs. 8 & 9. **Yacht Builders** and a famous engine works - an aspect of the increased leisure use of the River Thames.

on the 24 maps of the river,[3] but it is believed that only the fifth edition contained the frontispiece of the houseboat. This houseboat had been acquired by Henry Taunt around 1886 when he wrote, "We have had little experience yet in houseboat life, but that little has led us to believe it can be made a thoroughly 'lotus-eating' existence,".[4] It is likely that he used the houseboat in compiling the fifth edition because he declared in the preface, "In compiling this new edition, I have carefully journeyed over the whole of the Thames, noting the alterations and changes which have been silently going on during the past few years." This careful journeying included measuring the distance between the bridges so that he was able to state the distance to Kingston Bridge from Thames Ditton as being 1m. 7 fur. 55 yds.; and to Teddington Lock as 1m. 6 fur. 88 yds.

In large measure Henry Taunt's books stand as a testament to his personality; although not an academic he had a consuming and structured interest in a range of subjects. Indeed, the range of his interests can be assessed by the advertisments that adorn his publications. The fourth edition of the pocket version of his *Map of The River Thames from Lechlade to London*[5] carries an advertisment for Taunt's shop in Broad Street, Oxford; Taunt's home city.[6] As can be seen, not only did he advertise himself as a photographer, but he also made and gilded picture frames: another important line of business was the sale and repair of bicycles and tricycles. Many of the names listed are unlikely to be known to most of us but surely evoke an excited response in those with an interest in vintage cycling. The Entertainments and Lectures offered, by Taunt, must have brought him into contact with many of the local societies. The distinction of being Photographer to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society was one which he proudly proclaimed on the title-page of his, *A New Map of The River Thames &c.*

Henry Taunt's claim that Father Thames had sat to him was not an empty one! To have taken four thousand views, albeit that some may have been by assistants, is no mean feat. There is some value in making a comparison with other books about the River Thames, published in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and which were also illustrated with photographs. Mr and Mrs Hall's *The Book of the Thames, from its Rise to its Fall*, appeared in a photographically illustrated edition in 1867. The 15 photographs in the text, and the small circular one inset in the front board, were all by Francis Frith, the noted photographer of Reigate. Here, however, the conjunction of text and illustrations seems to have been at the behest of the publishers (Alfred W. Bennett; Virtue & Co.)[7] rather than being a direct collaboration between authors and photographer. Commercial photographers often produced a particular image in a number of formats at the same time; as a stereoscopic photograph in both print and glass-slide form, as a carte-de-visite, and as a print obtainable in varying sizes. A second edition of the Hall's popular book appeared in 1869 but on this occasion the publishers were Cassell, Petter and Galpin. The work of another Surrey photographer, Russell Sedgfield appeared in a number of books which were accounts of localities rather than being guide-books *per se*. His work, together with that of such eminent photographers as Roger Fenton and Thomas Ogle,[8] can be found in William and Mary Howitt's *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain*, the First Series of which appeared in 1862 and the Second two years later. Sedgfield was the sole illustrator of Samuel Davies' *Dover*; Robert Pitcairn's, *Harrow*



Figs. 10 & 11. Henry Taunt's Shop in Oxford and the bicycle agency.

School; and the work which appeared in a series of three, *The Thames, from Richmond to Cliefden* ; *The Thames from Cookham to Whitchurch*; and, *The Thames from Whitchurch to Oxford.*[9] In view of their individual territorial association with Surrey, Francis Frith, Russell Sedgfield, and William and Mary Howitt could each be accorded a separate article, but Henry Taunt can claim the particular distinction of having produced this guide book of which he was the author of both illustration and text. In this, and his manifold other activities, he has given us a window both onto his age and on the River Thames when there was a burgeoning interest in it for the facilities it provided for the tourist, the day-tripper, the fisherman, and those who took to it on a wide variety of craft.

REFERENCES

1. A fuller account of the various photographic, and photomechanical, processes can be found in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography From the Camera to the beginning of the Modern Era*, London 1969.

2. The work referred to in note 1, and Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1939 to the present*, London 1982; and Josef Maria Eder, *History of Photography*, translated by Edward Epstean, New York, 1978.

3. Details of the Second edition are given in Helmut Gernsheim, *Incunabula of British Photographic Literature 1839-1875*, London and Berkeley, 1984, serial 558.

4. Henry Taunt, P.S. to *Camping out.-(In A Boat)*. included with his, *A New Map of The River Thames from Oxford to London, from entirely new surveys, taken during the summer of 1871: with a guide by Henry W. Taunt*. The work also contains *The Basingstoke or The London and Hampshire Canal*; *Kennet and Avon Canal and Navigation*; *The Wilts and Berks Canal*; *The Oxford Canal* from Oxford to Napton Junction; *Napton and Warwick*; *And Warwick and Birmingham Canals*, from the Oxford Canal at Napton to the Junction with the Stratford-on-Avon Canal at Kingswood; *The Stratford-on-Avon Canal* from its Basin at Kingswood to its Junction with the Avon at Stratford; *The Warwickshire Avon*; *The Severn* from Tewkesbury to Gloucester; *The Berkeley Ship Canal and Gloucester Docks*; *The Thames and Severn and Stroud-Water Canals*, from Framilode-on-Severn to Inglesham Round House; *Camping out.-(In A Tent)*; and *How To Prepare A Water-Tight Sheet*; and *Conveyance Of Boats By Railway*; plus 63pp. of advertisments.

5. No date, but the copy from which the advertisment is taken, the Fourth Edition, has an inscription 30.VI.84.

6. For an account of Taunt's life, see, Ed. Bryan Brown, *The England of Henry Taunt, Victorian Photographer*, London, 1973.

7. A number of nineteenth century publishers specialized in the photographically illustrated book, Alfred W. Bennett being amongst the foremost. A survey of the titles in Gernsheim's *Incunabula, &c.* (see note 3) will give an indication of the range published.

8. See Gernsheim's *History of Photography*, (see note 1) for details of the work of these two photographic artists.

9. For fuller details of these three titles, see Gernsheim's *Incunabula, &c.* (see note 3), serials 331, 388, and 389.

ILLUSTRATIONS

All photographs are by the Author from items in his Collection. Since writing this paper, a new edition of Taunt's *A New Map of the River Thames, &c.*, with extra illustrations, but with a shortened text and reduced advertisements, has been published by Alan Sutton, as *The Thames of Henry Taunt.*

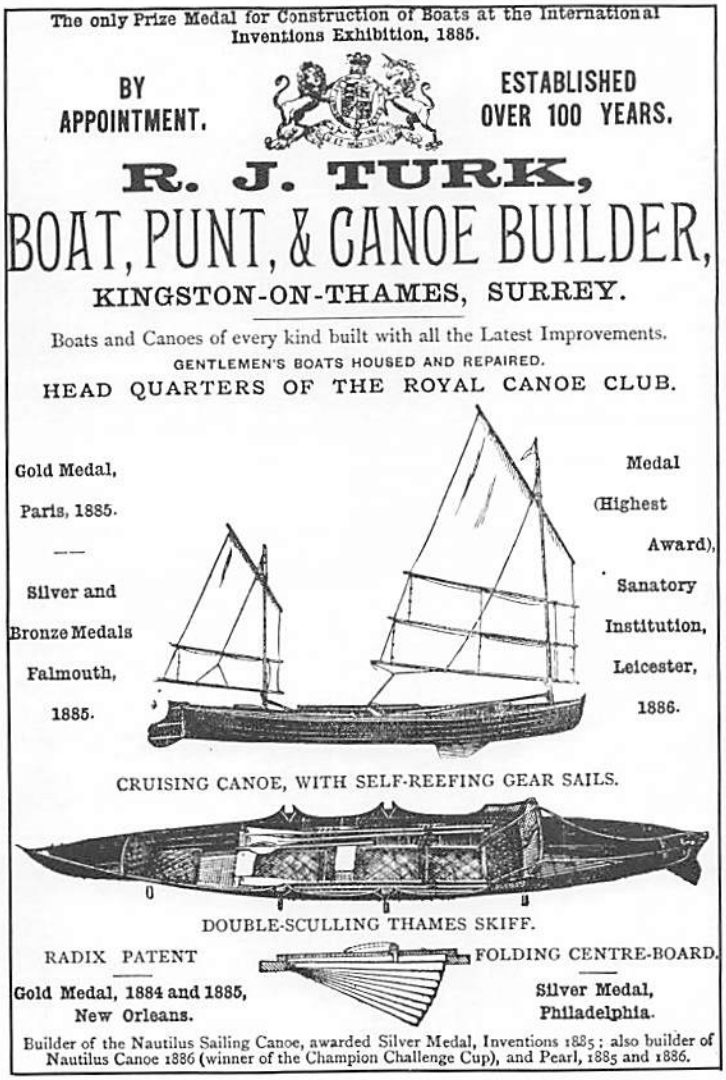


Fig. 12. R. J. Turk's Advertisement. This establishment was a familiar sight in Kingston upon Thames until recent times.

Thameside Surrey in 1871 - from the photographs of Henry W. Taunt:
(Since the original photographs are only as big as large postage stamps, these views have had to be enlarged to about double size).

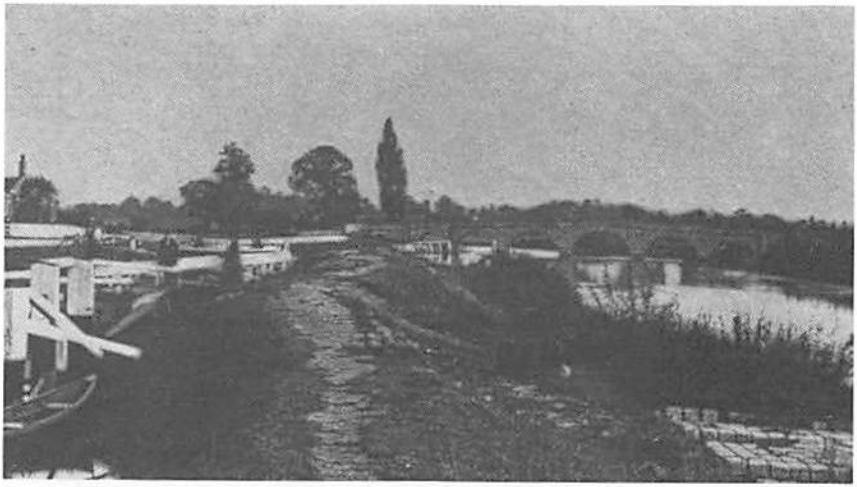


Fig. 13. Chertsey Lock & Bridge.

Fig. 14. Thames Ditton.

Fig. 15. Kingston upon Thames: The Coronation Stone in the centre of the road.

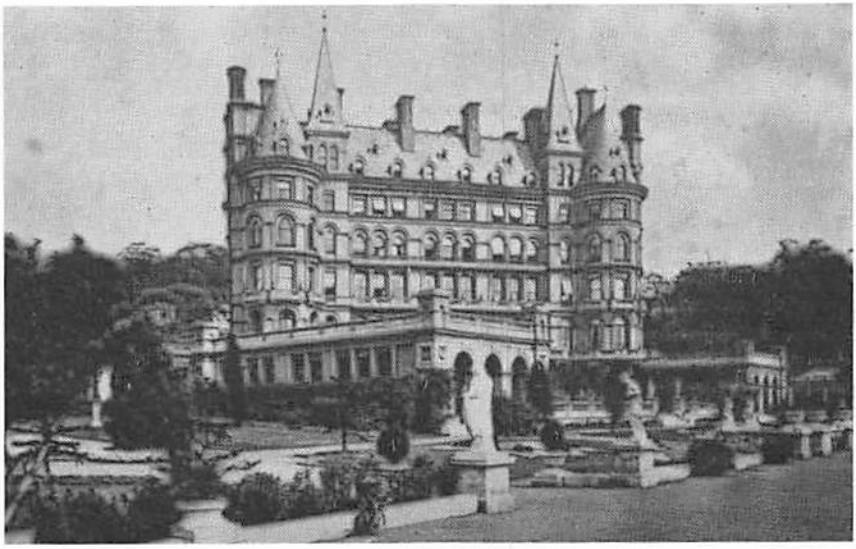


Fig. 16. Richmond: The former Star & Garter Hotel.

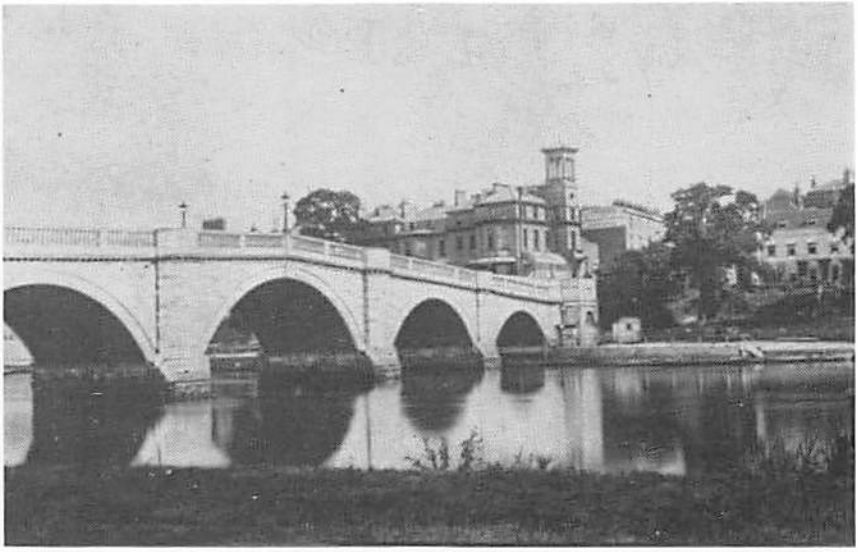


Fig. 17. Richmond Bridge.

Fig. 18. View at Mortlake.

Fig. 19. Old Putney Bridge.

Fig. 20. Putney Church.

CHURCH & CHAPEL IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SURBITON

David Robinson

Surbiton was a new town of the 1840s which grew up in the southern part of the parish of Kingston upon Thames around its railway station on the Southampton railway line. The growth of the suburb gives us an opportunity to examine the way in which churches and chapels were founded to meet the needs of new residents living at a distance from the long-established churches and chapels of the ancient town centre. This article is based primarily on two kinds of source material. The *Surrey Comet* files in Kingston Heritage Centre provide an intimate picture of contemporary purposes and attitudes: the newspapers' own changing responses, for example, to ritual in the Church of England, themselves give an insight into changes in Victorian religious attitudes. The archives of several of the churches provide additional material of value and Rowley Richardson's *Surbiton: Thirty-Two Years of Local Self-Government*, an admirable factual account of the foundation and building of the churches and the growth of Surbiton, is a spine on which the rest of the material hangs. I have concentrated on the first forty years of Surbiton, from 1845 when St Mark's was built to 1882 when the Methodist church was completed, and I am restricting myself to what was then regarded as Surbiton, excluding Tolworth, Hook and Chessington, which became parts of the later borough of Surbiton.

Inevitably in an account like this one tends to have more to say about externals and, to some extent, the criticisms and even conflicts in church life. Behind this, we must remember the very great amount of devotion - public worship, private prayers, Bible reading - which only emerges tangentially in our sources.

The Growth of Kingston

The story begins in the 1830s. The parish of Kingston upon Thames extended over almost the whole of the area of the modern Royal Borough, with the exception of Old Malden and Chessington, which formed the parish of Malden, and Tolworth, which was a detached part of the parish of Long Ditton. The parish also covered Ham, although a district church was erected in 1831. With the exception of Ham, there was only one Church of England church in the whole parish, the parish church of All Saints, in the centre of Kingston. The church looked rather different from its present appearance - most of the windows were classical in style and the outside walls were rendered in cement. More significantly, the interior was very different. The nave was virtually a 'church within a church', with galleries on three sides, an organ in a gallery at the west end, and high pulpit and reading desk. Thanks

to the galleries, the church could hold about 1,800 people. The population of the parish, however, was already sharply increasing: 6,000 in 1821; 7,000 in 1831; 9,700 in 1841. The gentry and farmers of the villas and farmhouses of the southern part of the parish no doubt attended the church. The farmers were presumably like those described by Merryweather: 'farming men were not ashamed to come on Sunday to church in white smocks, cut after the fashion of the garments used by their Saxon ancestors, and broidered and gathered elaborately by their good wives, who accompanied them, dressed gaily in their red cloaks, straw hats and pattens'.

Nonconformist, or Dissenting, churches were also concentrated into the tiny urban centre: the Congregational church in Eden Street, the Baptist church in Brick Lane, now Union Street, a Wesleyan chapel built in Canbury Passage in 1834. Apart from this there was only a Congregational chapel in Ham - there was nothing in the south of the parish.

Why Build a Church?

The growth of population led to a number of new churches being built in the late 1830s and 1840s; St. Paul's, Hook, in 1838; St. John's, Kingston Vale, in 1840; St. Peter's, Norbiton in 1842; and then, in 1845, St. Mark's, Surbiton. St. Mark's was different from these other churches. Two of the ones I have quoted were fairly small, 191 seats at Hook, 95 at Kingston Vale. St. Mark's, like St. Peter's, Norbiton, had about 800 seats. At St. Peter's, however, more than half the seats were free: at St. Mark' s only one-third. Further, St. Peter's had been built with grants from various official bodies and a wide range of subscriptions but St. Mark's was built by the banking firms of Coutts and Drummonds. This reflected the basic difference between St. Mark's and the other new churches. The other churches were built to meet the needs of parts of the parish which had gradually grown over a period to need separate church provision and which were not rich enough to provide for their needs entirely themselves. St. Mark's, on the other hand, was built consciously as part of the development of the new town of Kingston-by-the-Railway. It was paid for by the bankers who were developing the area; it was built by their architects; and their house agent, or resident representative, was to be parish clerk for the first 25 years. Why did they do so? Why did they not leave the new inhabitants to build their own church? The answer is probably twofold. On the one hand, there was no doubt a genuine recognition of the spiritual importance of the church: wealthy Victorians built many churches where there was no direct benefit to themselves. But also, a church was an important amenity in a newly-established community. A social, and indeed a visual, point - St. Mark's still stands out in views from north and west - it would attract purchasers to the estate. The caption to at least one early bird's-eye view of the new development in Surbiton gives as the twin attractions the church and the railway station. To quote the *Surrey Comet* of 1858 when St. Matthias', Richmond, was consecrated: 'the sacred edifice will greatly increase the value of property in this part of Richmond besides providing for the spiritual wants of this fast increasing neighbourhood'.

What about the potential resident's point of view? Again, first of all it met his or her spiritual needs. Half the population of the country, and far more

than half of the potential residents of an up-market suburb, attended church each Sunday. They took their worship seriously - the typical morning service of mattins, litany and ante-communion, with long sermon, took a good two hours. Attendance at church could be a source of intellectual stimulus, through the sermon; increasingly it offered aesthetic stimulus, although this was more true later in the century; it was a place for social gathering and, for some, a place to exercise authority. Could they have been attracted to All Saints? No doubt some could be, and perhaps were. But at All Saints, even if there were room to spare, the best seats were probably already assigned: the professional men and tradesmen of the town were already established in authority, the journey was not easy, and in general both old townsmen and new townsmen were probably satisfied that a separate church was provided to attract not just the poorer classes of Surbiton but the bulk of residents.

New Church, New Parish

The church was built by Coutts' architects, Stevens and Alexander. They were not career ecclesiastical architects like, for example, George Gilbert Scott, the architect of St. Peter's, Norbiton. They were the architects to the estate, and, as such, built the estate church. The church was very unusual for its period. The cost was between £5,000 and £5,500, almost all met by Coutts and Drummonds - a few hundred pounds were subscribed locally. It imitated the parish church in being cruciform. It also imitated it in having a central tower, which was rare as a new feature in any church after the very early middle ages

Fig. 1. St. Mark's Church: *c.* 1850 *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre).*

and was normally avoided on grounds of expense and structural problems. The endowment for the minister consisted of a small endowment of £30, £20 fees, and the balance, £177 in 1851, derived from pew rents. Pew rents, the payments made for exclusive possession of a pew in church, also paid for the repairs of the church, the clerk's salary and other expenses. There was thus a strong secular, as well as spiritual, incentive for the vicar to attract a congregation.

A parish was assigned for the church out of the ancient parish of Kingston: the boundaries extended from the Thames up to the Waggon and Horses, down to Clay Lane (now Villiers Road), along Lower Marsh Lane, across to the Old Malden parish boundary and down to the Long Ditton boundary near Seething Wells. It is an interesting comment on the relationship of secular and ecclesiastical life that when in 1855 Surbiton gained its local government independence of Kingston, the boundaries of the new Improvement Commissioners' district were the same as those of the parish, and the local government district was actually called St. Mark's Surbiton. It kept that name until 1881, when it became simply Surbiton, partly because, of course, by that date St. Mark's was only one of three parishes in Surbiton. The Improvement Commissioners took the winged lion of St. Mark as their seal, and it became part of the crest of the Borough's coat of arms.

The first vicar of St. Mark's was Edward Phillips, a former curate of Clapham. Phillips stayed for twenty-five years, during which he established the church and its schools. It is a comment on his role in the community that when, in 1854, the Kingston Corporation attempted to enlarge the borough boundary to cover the whole parish, thus taking in Surbiton, Phillips was one of the leading, and successful, opponents.

In 1851, in connexion with the national Census, a census of religious worship was held. It was based on returns by clergy of the numbers of people attending worship in their churches on 30th. March, the Census Day, 1851. At St. Mark's, Surbiton, there were 502 at the morning service, comprising 378 adults and 124 Sunday school pupils. In the afternoon 338 attended, 240 adults and 98 Sunday scholars. An attendance of 840 in a day, perhaps 5-600 different people, would seem impressive nowadays, but it was probably on the low side; the day was a wet one. St. Mark's was at the time the only church in Surbiton. Congregationalists, Methodists and Baptists had to travel into Kingston to attend church.

By 1853 St. Mark's was too small and needed to be enlarged. Coutts again aided the building and the famous philanthropist Angela Burdett Coutts herself subscribed £2,000. £1,400 was collected in the district, including 310 given by the incumbent and his family. This would have more than met the original estimate of £3,490, but by the time the tower and spire were completed in 1860 the cost had risen to £4,920. The enlarged church held 1015 people, of which 217 sittings were free. The number of free sittings, it will be noticed, had not been increased. The architect, Philip Hardwicke, was the successor to Stevens and Alexander as architect to Coutts' estate: St. Mark's was still very much an estate church.

The building was in some respects more conventional than its predecessor: its west end tower still survives. Its location and visibility made it the best place in Surbiton when the Improvement Commissioners wanted to provide a public clock, and the clock was duly placed on the tower, matching Kingston's

Fig. 2. St. Mark's Church: Chancel *c.* 1900 *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre).*

town clock on All Saints' tower. The clock was intended to be particularly useful for railway passengers and to be set to railway time, although at least once in the early years a correspondent in the *Surrey Comet* complained that it was six minutes slow, and as a result he had missed his train.

'Puseyite Gimcracks' - Worship at St. Mark's

What was the worship like? As curate of Clapham, Phillips' background would have originally been Evangelical, but in fact the worship seems to have been fairly 'high' by the standards of the time. This does not mean high church worship as we might now understand it, with vestments and ritual: probably most modern Anglicans would find the normal worship of the 1850s extremely simple, with the clergyman vested in a surplice for the service proper and a gown for preaching; no robed choir at the east end and probably just a few metrical psalms as music, no cross or candlesticks on the altar or processional cross. The pulpit, not the altar, was the centre of attention. By these standards the worship at St. Mark's was 'high'.

In November 1856 the *Surrey Comet* contained an attack on the worship at St. Marks. A correspondent calling himself 'A Churchman and No Mistake' and dating his letter, perhaps significantly, 'Guy Faux Day', criticised the 'Puseyite gimcracks and the discordant chanting of the prayers': 'I thought I must have got into a Romish Chapel instead of an English Church: close to the door is a handsome font covered with crosses, and I think the stone pulpit was similarly ornamented; near to which was stuck up a brass fiddle-stand: the communion table, approached by 5 or 6 steps, is covered with handsome velvet with a large cross in front and 3 gold plates standing on it like a gentleman's sideboard. From this elevated position the senior clergyman came down to read the lessons from the fiddle stand [the lectern], returning each time to his seat, so that "such a getting up stairs I never did see": then there were a number of men and boys ranged close to the communion-table, who I suppose call themselves singers, but I don't think them so, for worse discord I have seldom heard in a Church. There was an organ somewhere but I could not see it unless it was behind a screen, which seems to divide the chancel from the body of the Church. I cannot say anything about the sermon, as I sat in the free seats, and as the poor do not pay, it is not to be expected that they should hear.'

The *Comet* observed the following week that this was one of the mildest letters they had received, and was printed because 'it levelled its sarcastic shaft not at religion but at.... those novel forms which have but recently been introduced into the English Protestant Church.... away with altars and pictures, candles and crosses, surplices and lecterns - they are unworthy of Protestants, of men of education, whose boast is that they live in the 19th. century in which the intellectual faculties of men have been wonderfully developed'. The *Comet* admitted the following week that there were in fact neither candles nor pictures in St. Mark's, nor was the surplice worn by the preacher, but claimed that they were attacking examples of ritualism in general.

The innovations were the use of a lectern, rather than the minister reading the whole service, including lessons, from a reading desk; the east end choir,

the greater stress on the altar - up steps and ornamented. St. Mark's was in fact an example of what until recently would be thought of by many as a traditional Anglican church layout, which in most respects dates from the Victorians. Although its worship did not appeal to all, St. Mark's was well attended: in part no doubt because it was the only Anglican Church of a growing suburb. In 1857 it was, wrote an 'English Churchman', 'a well-known fact that no new sittings [could] be obtained there, and as to the free seats, inconveniently crowded as they always are, if you do by chance obtain one, but a very small portion of the service can be heard and less understood; the shuffling of feet, the crowd together with the offensive smell of tobacco, etc. certainly engrossing the largest part of one's senses. It has been said, we may go to the chapel, but I for one prefer the beautiful services of our incomparable liturgy to any extemporaneous effusion however eloquent or powerful'. The letters make plain that the best seats were the rented ones. The free seats for the poor were mostly at the west end with poor sight and hearing. Part of the objection was to the chanting or intoning of parts of the service. St. Mark's was in company, at this time, with All Saints, where chanting had also been introduced and where there was criticism that the vicar, H. P. Measor, was increasing the ritual. The music at St. Mark's was a source of continued concern. For a time during the rebuilding of the church, while services were taking place in the school and in a small temporary building of corrugated iron erected against the south wall of the church, there was a harmonium played by the well-known musician John Parry, who also acted as honorary organist and choirmaster for a time after the reopening of the enlarged church. He was succeeded by one Samuel Gee, whom he apparently recommended. Gee lived in Surbiton Terrace, near the church, and advertised his services as professor of harmony and composition, piano and organ. By November 1856, however, he was being criticised severely: the pew renters, who subscribed towards the cost of the organist and choir, said that they would not subscribe again if Gee was retained. Gee himself wrote a 'very piteous letter' stating that he lived in Surbiton, had established a connexion and had pupils; if he was dismissed it would be fatal to his prospects as far as Surbiton was concerned. He also wrote to the paper pointing out the practical problems: the organ was at a distance from the choir and he could not therefore hear them. Gee left the church soon after, but seems to have done quite well for himself, becoming organist of St. Peter's, Chertsey, and conductor of a choral society there which gave concerts throughout the Thames valley. In 1858, at least, he was still visiting Surbiton weekly to give lessons.

Protestant feeling made church decoration a sensitive matter, but by the late 1850s and early 1860s Christmas and, a little later, Easter, had become acceptable as times to decorate the church even when more permanent decorations were frowned on. At St. Mark's by 1865 the decorations were designed, said the *Surrey Comet*, with great taste and executed with great skill to follow the lines of the architecture. The arcades and chancel arch were outlined with evergreens and the windows canopied with evergreens and framed with ivy tendrils. Circles interlaced in everlastings and holly berries hung from the corbels. On the arch to the north of the chancel, in black and red letters on a white ground bordered with laurel leaves, was written 'Behold I bring you good tidings', and, on the opposite arch, 'Which shall be to all

people'. The blank spaces above the arches were relieved by Maltese crosses in variegated holly. Over the altar, in crimson velvet on a white ground, was written 'Unto you is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord' Font, pulpit, reading desk and lectern were all wreathed. 1866 was the first year the church was decorated at Easter, with flowering azaleas on the window sill above the altar, the pots hidden by the text 'Christ is risen from the dead', and there was a cross of white camellias at the centre of the reredos.

There were those who feared that this gave an entree to more permanent decoration and was a stalking horse of ritualism. Nevertheless, Christ Church, Surbiton, a firmly Evangelical church, also had its decorations. The *Surrey Comet* suggested, *a propos* All Saints, in the later 1860s and early 1870s, that in Evangelical churches only the ladies decorated the church because of the Low Church horror of flirting! Only in High churches could you get a man asking 'What do you want next, Miss de Vere?' and the reply 'Yew, if you please'! Incidentally, all the Anglican churches in Surbiton have their yew trees, the ancient churchyard tree of England and, as an evergreen, symbolic of undying life. They all also have their holly trees or hedge - a symbolic, and useful, evergreen.

The Coming of the Congregationalists

By this time, St. Mark's was not the only church in Surbiton. The Congregationalists, the strongest Nonconformist denomination in Kingston, had recognised the need for a church or chapel in Surbiton. The first initiative was taken by the minister at Eden Street, Laurence Henry Byrnes, who issued a circular on the needs of Surbiton, and the Surbiton congregation began when Rev. R. H. Smith, seeing Byrnes' circular, moved from Halesowen and opened his house for worship. At the first meeting, on 25th. September 1853, three people attended, but Smith went on to erect a temporary building in his garden for 130 persons. In 1854 Smith built the church which still, as a building, survives at the corner of Maple Road and St. Leonard's Road. This simple building, which, including the land, cost £2340, served for twelve years. The members of the congregation were drawn from a variety of denominations, not just Congregationalists.

The later growth of the church owed a great deal to the minister who came to the church in 1862. Alexander Mackennal, twenty-seven years old at the time, had had one previous 'settlement', at Burton-upon-Trent, where his liberal views did not appeal to Calvinists in his flock. In the same year as he arrived at Surbiton, a weekday infants' school was founded. In the following year an organ was erected in the church. Interestingly, the choir of All Saints sang at the opening of the organ, which was seen at the time as what we would now call an ecumenical gesture. A new church followed in 1866, which Mackennal is said to have largely planned. In the eight years Mackennal served here, he worked with Churchmen of national stature, notably Dean Stanley and the Birmingham Congregationalist R. W. Dale, in seeking to 'commend Christianity to working people'. It is typical of Mackennal's scientific interest that when he left Surbiton the parting present of his congregation was a microscope. His predecessor, Smith, had been an artist and art critic who used art in his preaching.

The church also benefited from the services of a leading Congregational layman. The Church Secretary, John Carvel Williams, was for half a century 'the chief strategist of the nonconformist force, in its steady advance upon the privileged practice of the Church of England' and was later Liberal MP for Nottinghamshire constituencies. Both Mackennal and Carvel Williams became Chairmen of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Mackennal was first secretary of the National Free Church Council.

The new church was anything but the traditional nonconformist chapel, which was rather small and usually classical. Twenty years before, Gothic would have been the mark of the Church of England or Roman Catholics. Now an Early Middle Pointed church with stone corbels of graceful foliage and a tower and 134ft spire was acceptable and even desirable. The layout was different from that of an Anglican church. At the end of the nave there was a stone screen, with organ gallery above and pulpit in front of the screen. But the pulpit itself, of Bath Stone on a central pedestal with shafts of polished Devonshire marble, was not the sober wooden one of earlier generations: it had more in common with a Victorian Anglican pulpit. In front of the pulpit was the communion table on a dais and above was a circular window with stained glass. The church was crowded for its opening. One problem, unexpected to the modern mind, was coped with admirably, it seems: 'Successful precautions [were] taken against pickpockets, who too often ply their trade on these occasions. Printed cautions were freely distributed among the congregation, and at the door of the church were stationed a detective of the A division and Sgt. Parsonage of Kingston police. These vigilant officers had their suspicions aroused by the manner, the one of a man, the other of a woman, who entered the church separately. Presently, however, the gentleman beckoned the fair lady out, and on receiving a word in his ear from the detective, he took himself and his companion to some more promising field for their exploits'.

The church had two Sunday services, at the even now traditional times of 11 am. and 6.30 pm., and a Thursday evening service. The Communion was celebrated at the end of the Morning Service on the first Sunday of the month and after Evening Service on the third Sunday. There were Bible classes on Wednesdays: the Children's Class at 2.30, the Young Ladies' Class at 3.30 and the Servants' Class at 7.30. By 1869 the day and infant school had 135 scholars, who paid 2d. per week fee, or 3d. including writing in copy books. The curriculum was reading, writing and arithmetic, geography and scripture knowledge with needlework for girls.

The church also ran Surbiton Provident Society, a club or bank in which members deposited 3d. a week, collected at their houses, between April and November, when work was good and expenses low; a premium of 3d. was added to each 1s. collected, paid from interest and the donations of subscribers. The depositors then received their savings in the form of orders on tradesmen for clothing and materials. They themselves were nominated by the subscribers - the more you subscribed the more 'depositors' tickets you received. The church also supported the London Missionary Society's work in inner London and in 1870 set up a ladies' working party to assist French peasants and the families of French Protestant ministers who were suffering from the Franco-Prussian War.

South of the Railway: Christ Church

By 1860, the population of Surbiton was about 5,000 and St. Mark's was again too small. The vicar built a temporary iron church, St. Andrew's, opposite the National Schools in North Road, and services were held there from Advent 1860. At the same time, inhabitants on the other side of the railway, in particular evangelicals, wanted a new church. The vicar and some residents wanted any such church to be a daughter church of St. Mark's, but the supporters of the new church sought full independence and in 1862 Christ Church (a significant Evangelical dedication, not to a saint) was built. It was consecrated in August 1863, having cost £4,500. There was some dispute as to the best site. Robert Curling, who was developing the Southborough estate, offered a site there and the surveyor to the estate argued that the Berrylands site first chosen was expensive and not central, and 'the question is whether they will accept the valuable site offered at Southborough, or be stowed away against their wish on some out of the way place in Berrylands'. If the committee had accepted the Southborough offer, they would have been tied to the estate architect Dalton as architect and to Curling's choice of design. Dalton coolly commented that he would send the committee a copy of the plans when Mr. Curling had finally decided on them. They might also have been tied as to the first incumbent, because Rev. Charles Arch, curate at Ewell, had promised a contribution of £1250 on condition that he received the right of first presentation. No committee of Victorian gentlemen could

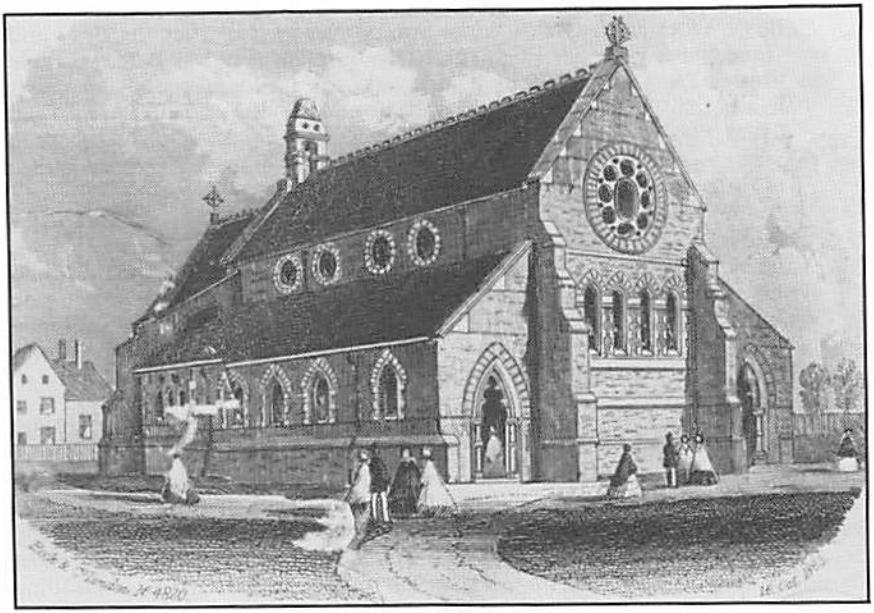


Fig. 3. Christ Church: shortly after consecration, 1863 *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre).*

suffer dictation of that sort. They stuck to their guns, built at Berrylands, and the church was a success. More seats were needed within six weeks of its consecration. Within a year a new chancel aisle was opened and nearly all the seats in it were already taken. At the anniversary of the church the minister could contrast the scene presented in the crowded church with the worn-out wheatfield which alone marked the spot little more than eighteen months previously. By 1866 the church was further enlarged, so that even without galleries it seated 1,200 persons. The extension included sittings at a very low rental 'to meet those of the working classes who like to have a spot where they know they can be seated' as well as a large increase of free seats.

The first vicar was Edward Garbett, forty-five years old at the time, a noted Evangelical who, in addition to his church duties, was editor of the 'Record', a leading Evangelical newspaper. He was a select preacher at Oxford and in 1867 Bampton Lecturer there. He is described in the Dictionary of National Biography as 'a clever but candid controversialist'. He was a leader of Surrey evangelicalism and twice stood unsuccessfully as the evangelical candidate to represent the archdeaconry of Surrey in Convocation.

Garbett founded a tonic sol-fa singing class and a brass band, primarily for working men. Christ Church was also the focus of an active Choral Society, perhaps more middle class than the tonic sol-fa class and brass band. Indeed the full list of what the 1875 Annual Report and Accounts, a substantial printed booklet, describes as 'Societies and Institutions established in Connection with Christ Church' runs as follows:

> Day and Sunday Schools for Boys, Girls, and Infants; Night School for Boys; Working Class for Girls; Sunday School Libraries for Boys and Girls; Sunday School Fund for Native Orphan Child at Benares; Bible Classes for Ladies, Young Ladies and for Children over Ten Years; Instruction Class for Men; District Visiting Society; Clothing and Coal Clubs; Provident Club: Band of Hope; Maternity Society; Needlework Society: Annual Parents' Tea Meeting and Children's Treat; Cottage Flower Show; Young Women's Confirmation Society; Young Women's Sunday Bible Class; Young Men's Christian Association; Workmen's Club; Parochial Library; Choral Society; Tonic Sol-Fa Singing Classes; Workmen's Band; Auxiliary to the Church Missionary Society and Juvenile Association and Girls' School Working Party for CMS; Auxiliaries for the Jews' Society, Church Pastoral Aid Society, Colonial and Continental Society, Irish Church Missions and Zenana Missions; Working Party for the Goulburn Mission; and Bible Society Depot.

The library had 775 volumes and 164 members, of whom at least 100 belonged to the working class for whose benefit it was primarily intended. Scientific works were especially in demand. The church also contributed £150 a year to the support of a clergyman in St. James', Bermondsey. This support gave rise to some concern when the clergyman, Mr. Keitch, needing a holiday, arranged for a neighbouring ritualistic clergyman to take his place. Even though it was agreed that the service was in all respects as usual, leading members of Christ Church congregation visited him more than once. They agreed that he had acted very improperly but he acknowledged his error, expressed his great sorrow for it and was forgiven.

Both when Garbett left and when his successor, Bardsley, left, concern was expressed that the successor should be a 'thoroughly evangelical man'. Bardsley left when his doctor advised him that for the sake of his health he ought not to live in a relaxing place like Surbiton - he moved to what was called 'the fine bracing air of Huddersfield'.

St. Mark's and St. Andrew's; Worship, Music and Education

In 1870 Phillips left St. Mark's. He looked back over his quarter-century and remembered that 'when I first went to Surbiton there were neither church nor schools'; now there was both church and an 'all but perfect school establishment'. He thanked his parishioners for their trust and confidence and material help, 'during a period of great religious excitement, when the Church was, as it is still, in a transition state, and when party feelings were strong, and party Shibboleths, the exponents of those feelings, were rife. I can only feel thankful for the measure of success which has attended my earnest efforts to subordinate party predilections to the common call of unity on the broad and comprehensive basis of the Church, as represented by the Prayer Book, honestly acknowledged as the common standard of reference; and in taking my leave, which I do with a deep sense of the personal kindness and affection manifested towards me, as well as the ready support given to me in every effort for the good of Surbiton, I would as a last word press upon you the importance of steadily striving to maintain union on the basis I have named,

Fig. 4. St. Andrew's Church: in the early twentieth century *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre)*.

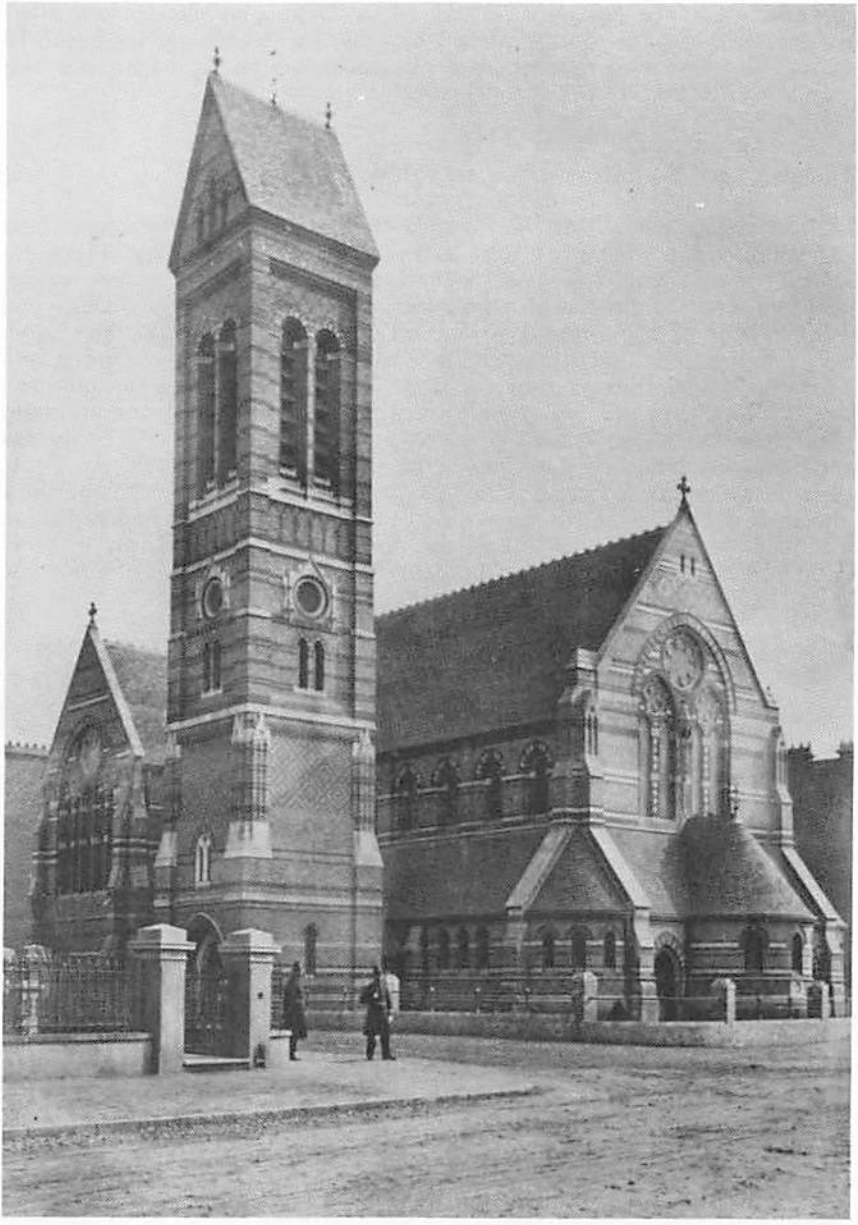


Fig. 5. St. Andrew's Church: in the early twentieth century *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre)*.

Fig. 6. Archdeacon Charles Burney, second vicar of St. Marks *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre).*

upholding indeed, uncompromisingly all essential principles, whilst making charitable allowance for diversities of opinion on non-essential points, instead of making such diversities of opinion a ground of uncharitable division'.

One major job remained to be done, and Phillips' successor, Charles Burney, quickly set about doing it. St. Andrew's iron church was proving inadequate for the needs of the surrounding area, and Coutts again gave a site. This site, in St. Andrews Road, was later changed for a site in Maple Road which belonged to the developers, Corbett and McClymont, who were developing St. Andrew's Square opposite. Although much of the surrounding development was of large houses, the site of St. Andrew's was seen as being specifically 'within easy distance of the numerous poor, for whom the present provision in St. Mark's church is lamentably inadequate,' most of the pews being rented. In St. Andrew's there would be no pew rents and the vicar would depend on voluntary offerings for the expenses and for 'the additional staff of clergy required for the efficient spiritual care of the parish'. Additional curates were readily available. Certainly by the 1880s, if not earlier, there were three assistant clergy in St. Mark's parish. The church was in no way skimped. It was by an up-and-coming church architect, A. W. Blomfield, and is architecturally the most interesting and stylish of the Surbiton churches, with its almost detached tower and broad square proportions inside.

Reactions to the services in St. Mark's and St. Andrew's varied. In 1872 the services at St. Mark's were described as 'choral and best left alone'; they had been good but, although there was little change of personnel, they were now poor. A member of the choir wrote a pained letter the following week to explain that it was difficult to maintain unvarying excellence with a voluntary choir but that the standard at St. Mark's was usually good. The controversy continued for further weeks - the singing was frequently very slovenly - the acoustics were poor for the choir - the Kingston Congregationalist minister, commenting on church attendances, said that at St. Mark's they 'bowed to the clergy and choir' but admitted that St. Mark's was the only crowded church in Kingston and Surbiton. At St. Andrew's in 1873 the choir was said to have received new accessions of strength and the services were said to be rendered in a highly creditable manner, but a correspondent the next week complained that although the choir could be equal to a London choir with the talent in Surbiton, the singing consisted of only a minimum of hymns and chants and the Eucharist was bereft of all musical accompaniment. The following week other correspondents criticised the lack of church music in the Surbiton churches. The psalms were read. The lack of music was a cause of poor offertories and people were driven to travel up to London for a decent service. Yet St. Mark's had in Julius Rost the choirmaster of the Richmond

and Kingston Church Choral Society - indeed, only St. Mark's and St. Andrew's of the Kingston and Surbiton churches attended festivals at this time because they were regarded as rather high church by the Evangelical vicars of All Saints and St. Peter's in Kingston and Christ Church, Surbiton - and in Dolling and Goddard they had two choirmen who performed at nearly all the functions in Kingston - venison dinners and such like. Members of the choir also assisted in major services in other churches, for example, a highly-praised harvest festival at St. Paul's, Kingston. In September the Richmond and Kingston Church Choral Association held its harvest festival at St. Andrew's, under Rost's baton, and with their president, Sir John Goss, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, present. At Christmas there was a full choral evening service at St. Andrew's with the choirs of both churches.

The church was also of course the fount of education, and although nonconformists were unhappy at its dominance, the churches in Kingston and Surbiton worked hard to ensure that their schools met the needs of the area and avoided the need for the dreaded elected, non-denominational School Board with schools paid for by the rates. They did so successfully. St. Mark's, Christ Church and St. Matthew's all had schools built within a very few years of the building of each church. St. Mark's schools were built in 1848. The ethos of the school is shown in its trust deeds. It was for the education of children and adults, or children only, of the labouring, manufacturing and other poorer classes of the district - tradesmen and upper classes would send their children to private schools or the grammar school - and it was to be in communion with, and conducted upon the principles of, the Established Church. The controlling committee must all be Church of England, the minister being chairman, and no master or mistress should continue who was not Church of England. Christ Church schools were similar, being under the control of the Church Council. Education in Kingston and Surbiton remained church education throughout the nineteenth century, and most of the schools founded then have survived to the present day.

St. Matthews: Expensive and Evangelical

South of the railway the tradition was firmly Evangelical, and on this side toc more accommodation was needed by the 1870s. In 1874 a site was given at the bottom of the hill on the fringe of the then built-up area for the new church of St. Matthew's. The site was in fact given by Robert Curling - and its district included Southborough estate and the whole of Tolworth. The cost of the church was a massive £15,500 - the total cost with fittings and vicarage was £24,000 - and all was paid for by William Matthew Coulthurst, senior partner of Coutts, in memory of his sister Hannah.

The church, like Christ Church, was built by G. L. Luck who was a leading member of the Christ Church congregation. There was an apse with stone vaulting at the east end. No expense seems to have been spared. The chancel was paved with black and white marble, there was stained glass by leading artists, the organ cost £1,000, and the opening service comprised 'music of the best description', with a London choir. One of the leading Kingston musicians of the time, F. J. Hunt, a fine tenor, former student at Leipzig Conservatoire, a pupil of the pianist Moscheles, and a former choirmaster of St. Peter's,

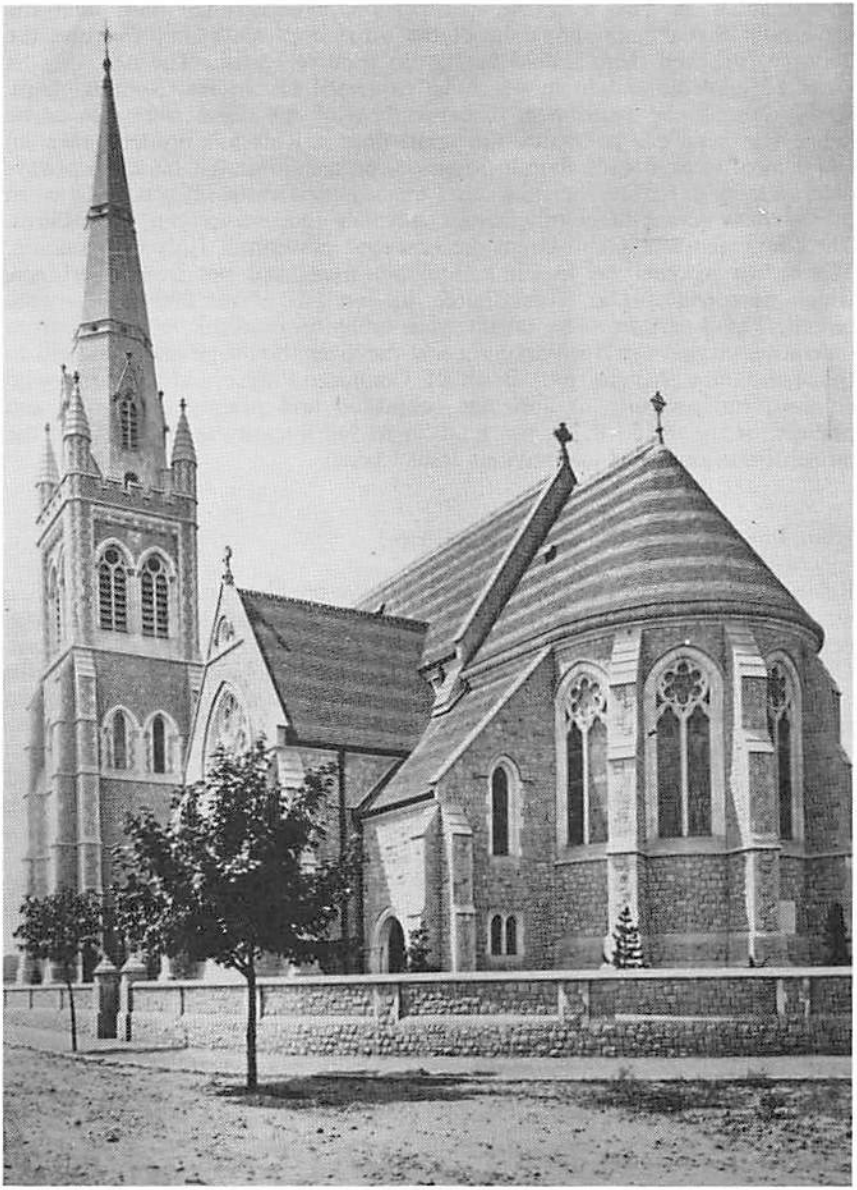


Fig. 7. St. Matthew's Church: in the early twentieth century *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre)*.

Norbiton, was appointed organist and choirmaster. But St. Matthew's was, despite its opulence and its music, a firmly Evangelical foundation. Coulthurst, at the lunch he gave after the consecration, expressed the wish 'that the services in that church should be of the simplest possible character and the doctrine preached there should be the doctrine of Christ'. The next day he executed a memorandum in which he expressed his wishes. No full choral services should be performed. The members of the choir were not to be habited in surplices [at about the same time a Kingston resident gave an endowment to St. John's church, Kingston, on condition that the choir always wore surplices]. No sacrificial or other unauthorised vestment was to be worn by the vicar or any other officiating clergyman. Incense was not to be burnt. The clergyman was not to adopt the Eastward position at Holy Communion. The vicar's income was to come from pew rents and not from offertories, which were regarded as High Church: all but 125 of the 800 sittings were rented. The doctrines to be taught were to be 'evangelical' as distinct from sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism and the vicar should be one who held to the Thirty-nine Articles and Book of Common Prayer and not one who enjoined the necessity of auricular confession and priestly absolution and prayers for the dead, or did not hold 'in its full integrity the doctrine of the atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'.

High, Low and Rational; Church and Chapel

Relations within the Church of England between high and low churchmen were touchy. It was not simply a matter of ritual; doctrine lay behind it. At a conference of the Church Association, an Evangelical body, at Surbiton, Garbett attacked the High Church beliefs regarding the sacrifice of the Lord's Supper and the power of the priesthood to give absolution: 'The Evangelical portion and the sacerdotal portion were like Israel and the Philistines, standing with their armies encamped against one another. Since that time there had come out of the army of the Philistines, not one Goliath, but several, and, said the rev. speaker, I do think that every member of the Church of England, though he be as feeble as ruddy-cheeked David, ought to endeavour to sling a stone into the head of that giant.' For good measure he also attacked the 'rationalists', the broad churchmen who were anathema to High Church and Low Church alike and 'who wish to sweep away the doctrinal basis of the Church, to take away her dogmatic articles, and resolve her bond of union into a floating, undefined, shapeless, dream-like residuum'.

Relationships between the Established Church and Nonconformists were variable. In general, the two remained very separate and at the farewell tributes when Carvel Williams left Surbiton in 1871 he observed, after reviewing the achievements of the past twenty years that 'in some other respects the retrospect was less satisfactory. When he came to Surbiton he did not know a single Episcopalian, and he knew very few now he was leaving it. This rigorous exclusiveness, which had prevented almost all co-operation in either religious or benevolent work, was, no doubt, the result of faults on both sides: but he had none the less regretted that fact, and that regret he did not care to conceal.' Carvel Williams was a strongly political figure, and a strong supporter of disestablishment, so that he may have been less easy for

Episcopalians to work with than some other nonconformists, but he was an amiable and genial person and his strictures were probably justified.

Later in the 1870s there was some joint action. A series of united prayer meetings was held in the schoolrooms of Christ Church Surbiton, Surbiton Congregational Church and Kingston Parish Church, and Anglican, Congregational, Baptist and Presbyterian ministers took part: but, as was soon pointed out, it was only one section of the Church of England, the Evangelicals, who participated. Garbett was himself active in national negotiations between Evangelicals and Nonconformists over the vexed question of the right of Nonconformists to be buried in churchyards by their own ministers and with their own services, but even he could rouse Nonconformist hackles. In a speech just before he left Surbiton, he referred to disestablishment as 'that unutterable calamity' and was strongly attacked by a correspondent in the *Surrey Comet*.

Relations between the Nonconformist churches were quite close, especially since the Congregationalists in general, and Surbiton Park in particular, were fairly liberal in approach. At the first anniversary celebrations of the new church in 1867, leading Congregational, Baptist and Presbyterian preachers preached, and in the 1870s the minister inspired at least one joint mission, with the Kingston Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches.

'Damnation was all of Men; Salvation was all of God' - Spurgeon and the Baptists

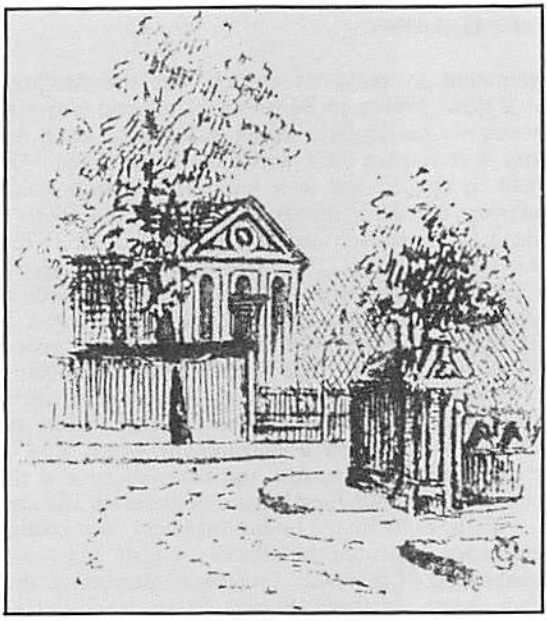


Fig. 8. Oaklands Baptist Chapel: from Richardson's *Surbiton. . . .*, 1888.

Two more Nonconformist denominations were established in Surbiton in the 1870s. The Baptists were gaining a presence by this time. At first they used a Temperance Hall, the Good Templars' Hall, but in 1874 they built the Oaklands Baptist Chapel in Oak Hill Road. The new chapel seated 400 people at a cost of about £1,600 to £2,000, and the London Baptist Association gave £1,000 of this. The chapel was opened by the greatest Baptist preacher of the day, C. H. Spurgeon, of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Spurgeon kept his sermon 'as short as possible' because of the intense heat of the crowded chapel on a hot July day, but it was fiery stuff, and not particularly short. It was strongly Calvinist: 'damnation was all of men; salvation was all of God'. Apart from his theological message, he used his sermon as a skilful fund-raiser. He himself gave £100 and, he went on, 'I see a good many friends here and I hope they have brought their purses with them. As pick-pockets generally come on these occasions I hope the friends will put their money on the plates to make sure that it is not lost'. The pickpocket menace will be remembered from the opening of the Congregational church.

Spurgeon also preached on the second anniversary of the Baptist church, two powerful sermons to very large congregations. His theme was the need not to postpone a decision for Christ: 'tomorrow they might be in hell'. The Baptists stand a little apart from the other denominations at this time. As evidence of this, theirs is the only one of the churches not in Gothic. They perhaps remained suspicious of the mediaeval connotations of Gothic longer than other denominations did.

The Coming of the Methodists

The last denomination to build its church was the Methodists. Wesleyan Methodism had a slow growth in Surbiton. A mission had visited it in 1850 but Methodism was not particularly strong in Kingston or in Surrey generally. In 1858 a society was formed in a home in Alpha Road. The first Sunday services were held in about 1860 in a building in Ewell Road which seated 115 persons and was rented for use as a chapel. In the 1870s the Methodists felt able to build a larger church on the Ewell Road. In 1872 they bought a site with 95ft. 6in. frontage and 217ft. depth for £1500 - even then, the price of land was a large proportion of the total cost. Methodism was a fairly centralised denomination, and two-thirds of the cost was met by the London committee. In 1875 they still had only the site, but in that year they were able to buy for £300 an iron church from Spencers Hill, Wimbledon, which they saw advertised. It cost another £437 19s. 11d. to dismantle, remove and re-erect it, and to build a new vestry, fence the site, make paths and plant shrubs. In 1878 they were given a harmonium worth £35 and there was evidently already stained glass, because the harmonium and the stained glass were insured for £100. In 1880 they were able to place the contract for their new permanent church, built by a London architect, and costing £5,160. The President of Conference dedicated the church on 11th. May 1882.

The social background of the early Trustees is interesting: three were called 'gentlemen', although one of these, Robert Scase, worked his way up so to speak, from being described as 'builder' in an earlier list of Trustees. The others included a tailor, bootmaker, clerk, gardener, grocer, butcher and

relieving officer. There were also a lodging house keeper and a shipbroker, but both of these were removed from office as 'unfit'.

'Ignorant as any Hindoos' - The Poor of Surbiton

One of the grounds for the Methodists' public appeal for their church was that 'the alarming spread of infidelity, irreligion and vice among the working classes of our land must be viewed by all thoughtful Christians with apprehension'. Despite the provision of churches, the Victorians were aware that they were not attracting the poor. A church needed to raise enough money to pay the minister and maintain the fabric and that generally meant renting out most of the pews in the churches to those who could afford to pay for them. Surbiton Congregational Church did not adopt this policy. Pews were reserved for regular attenders, but they paid voluntarily, according to their means. St. Andrew's was founded as a 'free and open' church, using collections as the means of raising money, although as a daughter-church of St. Mark's its needs were presumably rather less than those of an independent parish church. Even where payments were voluntary, the poor, it was thought, might be deterred from attendance by their clothes and obvious signs of poverty. A preacher from Norwood, at the public meeting after the laying of the memorial stone for the Surbiton Congregational Church, described those attending as a 'highly respectable congregation and he did not know anything worse than a highly respectable congregation. He wanted to see the halt, the maimed and the blind in the church - to see the poor provided for. They must have large galleries in their new church where the poor could creep in unobserved. It had been his own case to have a church with pews, which excluded all but the highly respectable. A gentleman laid down the money and galleries were built, and the effect was that he now had numbers of the poorest class of the neighbourhood'. This frank acceptance of poverty was shown when St. Mark's introduced Sunday evening service for the poor - morning and afternoon were the 'respectable' service times - and the first sermon was on the text 'the poor have the gospel preached to them': highly apposite, but perhaps too frank for modern ears. At St. Andrew's original iron church, once gas was laid on in 1870, evening services were introduced, because 'the inhabitants of the cottages which are so thickly built around the iron church, are far more likely to attend an evening service than one in the afternoon'. Another means of getting the poor to church was suggested by one correspondent. Writing about the giving of charity he said that 'the charitable to the body should also consider the soul - many labourers and others never enter a place of worship from year's end to year's end'. Those who give to foreign missions, he proposed, should remember that 'there are hundreds in Surbiton as ignorant as any Hindoos'. They should make a point of seeing the poor in church and speaking to them -'this will sort the humbugs out'. Although this proposal to use charity to get people to church may seem typically Victorian his was a lone voice in the debate.

By 1882, when the Methodist church was opened, the period of growth was slowing down. There was still a lot of house building - the population was 10-11,000 - but the main church provision was in place. North of the railway, St. Mark's, St. Andrew's and the Congregational Church; south of the railway,

Christ Church, St. Matthew's, the Baptists and the Wesleyan Methodists. Presbyterians still worshipped at the Presbyterian church in Kingston, first in Fife Road but soon in the new one in Grove Crescent Road. For Roman Catholics there was St. Raphael's church, originally described as Surbiton, when Surbiton often meant the Surbiton Road area of Kingston, but actually within the Kingston borough boundaries.

Conclusion

It is often difficult to get inside the religion of a locality from the sources available. We can recognise it in the sheer expenditure on churches, and the sacrificial giving that must have cost. £24,000 cannot have been painless even to the senior partner of Coutts' bank, representing as it did not less than £1 million at today's prices. The smaller donations of the Methodists and the Baptists to their churches were no doubt even more sacrificial in relation to their incomes. Yet we may find it difficult to appreciate a piety which accepted that pews were rented in accordance with the wealth of the renter, and which actually discouraged voluntary collections, as at St. Matthew's.

Churches were important to the Victorians. A church was necessary on a newly-developed estate. Coutts and Drummonds needed to build St. Marks when they developed the original Surbiton. Curling, developing the Southborough estate, tried to get Christ Church built there and then gave the site for St. Matthews.

Churches were important as places of worship: about half the population attended. There were controversies about worship, but these were signs of change, signs of life, and signs that people cared. Christianity was central to people's beliefs, and disagreements over doctrine and church order were also signs of life. Garbett himself said that, although controversies in the Church of England gave fruitful occasion for offence, they were more favourable to the supremacy of truth than mental and spiritual indifference. Churches were central to social life. Schooling in Kingston and Surbiton remained under church control. Welfare depended on the churches: district visitors helped the poor; coal and clothing, maternity and provident clubs helped them to help themselves. Churches were central to the arts; anthems and stained glass inside the churches, choral societies and tonic-sol-fa societies and brass bands outside them. Other activities like the cottagers' garden show were instituted to keep the cottagers at home and out of public houses.

Yet churchmen themselves were aware that there were many, especially the poor, who were not touched, directly, at least, by Christianity. They were aware that there were new reasons for doubt as scholarship raised questions over the Bible in particular. We can quote Garbett on this. The prevalence of physical study and the marvellous discoveries of natural science, he said, were the two principal factors moulding the course of thought. In criticism also the scientific test became all in all and 'in religion it had not only torn the Bible to pieces, but claimed to re-arrange the torn fragments, and construct, not only a new history, but a new Christianity'.

Surbiton was not typical of Victorian church life overall; no single place could be. But it was typical of several strands of church life, as neither country parish nor slum parish could be. Two of its ministers, Mackennal and

Garbett, and one leading layman, Carvel Williams, were of sufficient stature to be included in the Dictionary of National Biography. It had its higher, though not exceptionally ritualist, churches and its distinctly Evangelical ones. It had a fairly liberal Congregationalist church and a firmly Calvinist Baptist church. Surbiton gives us a reasonable opportunity to study certain aspects of Victorian Christianity in action.

Note: This article is based on the Philip Grevatt Memorial Lecture delivered to Surbiton Historical Society in 1987. Minor amendments have been made to remove the more obvious signs of its origin as a lecture.

Fig. 9. Surbiton Methodist Church: *c.* 1900 *(courtesy of Kingston Heritage Centre).*

POWERBROKERS & FIGUREHEADS: THE LIEUTENANCY & THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SURREY

Deborah Jenkins
Greater London Record Office

The Lieutenancy up to the Eighteenth Century

By the early eighteenth century, the Lord Lieutenant was thought to be one of the most significant single individuals in the county hierarchy. At any rate, to John Aubrey, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, the top layer of the structure of local government was clear:

> The several towns, are, under the King, governed by their magistrates, Lords of the Manor, &c, but the whole is under the direction of a Lord Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum and a High Sheriff. . .[1]

The Tudor conception of the office was that it should be a transient expedient created to cope with specific military crises.[2] The continued threats of invasion of which the Armada crisis of 1588 is the best remembered, helped convert what had been proposed as a short-term appointment into an enduring state of affairs. But it was with the opening of the reign of James I that the office was transformed into a permanent institution.[3] James I's willingness to revive the office was matched by the wish of county families to take up its duties and its prerogatives. In Surrey, one of fourteen counties particularly noted for the hereditary transfer of the function, the pre-Restoration lieutenancy was strongly associated with the Howard family.[4]

Before 1660, however, the practice according to which each lieutenant was exclusively linked to one particular county did not prevail. One person could be Lord Lieutenant in several counties at the same time and several persons could act jointly within one county. For the period from 1636 to 1642, for instance, Charles Howard, second Earl of Nottingham, Thomas Howard, twenty-first Earl of Arundel and Henry Howard, Lord Maltravers were joint lieutenants for Surrey. For a short period between 1636 and 1638, a fourth lieutenant, Edward Cecil, first Viscount Wimbledon, was added to the Surrey commission. By the same token and in the same period, Henry Howard was joint lieutenant for Sussex with Algernon Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland; and Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset, was also lieutenant in Cumberland, Norfolk and Westmoreland contemporaneously. Thus the evidence for a very influential local lieutenancy in the first half of the seventeenth century is not overwhelming, particularly since Surrey was by

no means the only county in which such a complicated situation arose. As long as counties had several lieutenants and individuals were appointed in several counties simultaneously, the authority of the office could not be clear-cut.

The Surrey Lieutenancy in the Eighteenth Century

In the decades which followed the Restoration, the role of the lieutenancy was redefined and the idea of the Lord Lieutenant as an influential figurehead in local organisation and local politics was reinforced. Joint lieutenancies became rarer. The last lieutenant to act in Surrey as well as in other counties simultaneously was appointed in 1701. At his death in 1714, his successors were appointed to act in the one county only.[5] Similarly, joint commissions, that is to say the appointing of several lieutenants to one county, also gradually dissappeared in the second half of the seventeenth century. In Surrey, no such arrangement occurred after 1660.

The increasingly close association of lieutenants with the civil administration of the counties is symbolised by the fact that the office of *custos rotulorum* was, from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, frequently adjoined to the lieutenancy. This practice was adopted late in Surrey. It was not until 1737 that the two offices were held by the same man. In that year, Thomas, Lord Onslow, who had succeeded his father as Lord Lieutenant in 1717, was appointed *custos* on the death of James, Earl Berkeley.[6] When Thomas Onslow died in 1740, his son Richard inherited both offices as a matter of course, as did Richard's successors, George Onslow in 1776 and the fourth Viscount Brodrick in 1804.[7]

By most standards, the first Lord Onslow was ideally suited to become Lord Lieutenant. A Whig but an independent personality, he had a distinguished public career, both as an M.P. (which he was almost without interruption from the Convention Parliament to his elevation to the peerage in 1716) and in government office (he eventually became Lord Chancellor for a short period in 1714-15).[8] As Speaker, an office to which he was elected in 1708, his reputation was more that of a party supporter than an impartial interpreter of parliamentary conventions. He was popular with the gentlemen of Surrey - Evelyn's diary mentions his lavish entertaining of the Surrey squires in 1697[9] - although his position among older established families such as the Westons, the Mores and the Oglethorpes was not as secure as that of his son, the second Lord Onslow, would be. His military experience also fitted him for the office. He had been lieutenant colonel of the first regiment of marines from 1690 and he showed a marked interest in the post-Restoration debate on the militia.[10] His lieutenancy was too short to provide his successors with a blue-print, but his appointment reinforced the status of the Onslow family in the county.

He was sufficiently successful in this endeavour to ensure his succession by his son, whose gaucheries have been unflatteringly described by the latter's cousin, Arthur Onslow, the great Speaker.[11] By his account, the second Lord Onslow lacked most of the social graces and failed to exploit the obvious advantages of his position both at court and in the county. At the local level, he dutifully continued his father's work: the house at Clandon was finished in

the 1730s. The Onslow estates were considerably extended: Guildford Park was bought in 1709 (it was later disparked and turned into four farms), the manor of Somersbury in 1714, the manor of Burpham in 1720 and the manor of Shalford Clifford in 1726. His business projects included the setting up of the Royal Exchange Corporation in 1720. He was M.P. successively for Gatton, Blechingley, Haslemere and Chichester, an indication of the breadth of the Onslow influence, but his political career was undistinguished. Significantly he was not returned as Knight of the Shire.

The third Lord Onslow's career as lieutenant warrants closer scrutiny. By the time of his appointment, the hegemony of the Onslow family in Surrey was unquestioned. He inherited a vast fortune, which like his forebears, he continued to invest in property. In 1752, for instance, he acquired the estate of Walters of Busbridge. His marriage to the second daughter of Sir Edward Elwell, a Surrey Justice and M.P. for Guildford, though unhappy, added to the family fortunes and reinforced the Surrey connexions. [12]

Richard Onslow was rather more comfortable in the role of country gentleman - racing horses and meeting his neighbours - than, in Vulliamy's words, adept at the 'impudent sarcasm of the professional courtier or the talk of men of taste and erudition'. [13] Although no large body of evidence survives to document the lieutenancy in Surrey in the middle years of the eighteenth century, the surviving fragments provide some basis for the beginning of an analysis of the role of the Lord Lieutenant in that county in the middle of the century, in two of its most important aspects, as military leader and as *custos rotulorum*.

The Militia

Of the often ill-defined duties which fell to Lords Lieutenants in the eighteenth century, the responsibility for the military defence of the counties, or more specifically their militia, was probably the most clear-cut and may be used as an indicator of how seriously the office was taken. At any rate, there is little evidence for regular mustering in Surrey after the seventeenth century, a state of affairs which is reported as fairly common in other counties.

When the military challenges of the middle years of the eighteenth century stirred the lieutenants into action, so the lieutenancy became the focus of activity for local defence, and, in Surrey, at Lord Onslow's prompting, an association to raise a regiment of county militia was formed after a county meeting had been held at Kingston-upon-Thames. The regiment, commanded by Lord Onslow as Colonel, was not tested in the field, and in a rather harsh assessment, the fifth Earl Onslow, writing in 1924, commented of his ancestor's regiment that 'it can hardly have been said to have existed except in embryo'. [14]

The latent hostility to the militia, from both men and officers in the county, became apparent on its reconstitution in 1757. Even before the passing of the act which renewed and reorganised it, Speaker Onslow, who was heavily involved in the drafting of the legislation, could not have failed to have been aware of the mood of opposition among the men of the county. In the recess before the passing of the Act, his coach was followed for a distance of fifteen miles from Guildford to his house at Ember Court by a crowd

hostile to the proposed legislation. He could not placate it 'but by promising no further steps should be taken till the next session of parliament'.[15] Thus from the beginning, Lord Onslow was confronted with a serious problem and, indeed, it was not until 1759 that the Surrey militia regiments began to be raised. Three fifths of the quota of men were then chosen and the commissions issued.[16]

Any enthusiasm that the Surrey men may have had must have been dampened by the lack of organisation and the lukewarm response of the officers. The Duke of Newcastle, who was Lord Lieutenant for Middlesex, Nottinghamshire and Westminster, expressed himself unambiguously on the issue in 1761:

> I see a spirit of folly and faction in many counties determined from those principles only - to carry this Militia Act into execution - or rather not to suffer [it] to drop quickly which was certainly the wish and desire of almost everybody. I always fear'd this would happen; tho' I was for the bill.[17]

He went on to explain that this spirit of faction had developed along party lines in Essex and provided a succinct account of the situation as it had evolved in Surrey:

> This is the case in some degree in Surrey, not from the Tories (for I don't hear they have interfer'd) but for your freind [sic] Mr. Hunter (who is a captain) has wrote an animating letter, which has made them all wild, much disquieted the Speaker, & put them in a fuss when they expected none . . .

The row which arose out of Thomas Orby Hunter's action did not, however, have a long-term effect in promoting interest in the militia from either the Tories or the Whigs in the county.[18] The weakness of the officers' support was endemic. Richard Onslow himself resigned his colonelcy in favour of Nicholas Carew of Beddington soon after the raising of the regiment. Carew was confronted with the same problems. When in November 1761 marching orders for the Surrey militia came, one of his correspondents expressed the hope that local pride would encourage an orderly and disciplined march to Salisbury.[19] Significantly, the correspondent then added: 'the towns we march through being very good ones will I hope be an additional inducement for the officers to be present'. The disembodiment of the Surrey militia - along with that of other counties - on the cessation of hostilities in December 1762 must have come as a relief. Symptomatically, James Chambers, clerk to the regiment, was still failing to get the captains to render accounts for their expenses and to pay the balance of the money remaining in their hands in April 1764 and petitioned the Treasury to help.[20] Difficulties of a similar nature were reported later in the century: the quotas were not being met and the officers were either inactive or too old,[21] and special legislation was passed in 1799 in an attempt to alleviate these problems.[22] It is a measure of the poor Surrey response that the county was one of two for which legislation proved necessary, the other being Middlesex, whose large urban population made the raising of levies difficult.

If the failure of the Surrey militia cannot be wholly ascribed to the wavering support of the Lord Lieutenant, Richard Onslow's performance as *custos rotulorum* did demonstrate his administrative ineptitude.

The Custos Rotulorum and the Clerk of the Peace

Richard Onslow was the first Surrey Lieutenant to be appointed *custos rotulorum* from the beginning of his term of lieutenancy. The responsibilities of the *custos rotulorum*, it should be said, were not onerous. In addition to a general overview of the county records (in practice actually undertaken by the Clerk of the Peace), they entailed the appointent of the Clerk himself and presiding at the General Sessions of the Peace, which were very rarely held. Originally in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, the appointment of the *custos rotulorum* was transferred to the Crown in 1688.[23]

The office, like the lieutenancy, offered the government an administrative channel to local government. Thus, in 1711, James, Earl Berkeley, then *custos* for Surrey, received a summons from the Privy Council to provide a safe place in the county to keep the Surrey seamen who had been pressed in the fleet.[24]

The most important perquisite of the office of *custos* was the appointment of the Clerk of the Peace. This latter position was a most significant one since extensive local patronage was vested in its holder. Its influence ranged from the ordering of the agendas of Quarter Sessions and related administrative duties and legal processes, including the discussing of cases with the foremen of juries, to social involvements, as when Robert Corbett, Clerk of the Peace from 1706 to 1742, suggested to Speaker Onslow that one of Justice Barker's daughters could turn out to be a suitable match.

Richard Onslow's selection of Clerks of the Peace displayed an impatience with administrative procedure and a lack of understanding, surprising in an eighteenth-century gentleman, of the expectations of the system of patronage then prevalent. If his first appointment, in 1742, of Thomas Miller of Guildford, as Corbett's successor was uncontroversial, the following appointments caused both difficulty and embarrassment. On Miller's death in 1751, Onslow chose Richard Williams of West Clandon (a close neighbour), who took his oath on 21st. May 1751.[25] The first hint of trouble occurs in the records of the court of Quarter Sessions of Epiphany 1754, when the Bench was apprised of the fact that the position of deputy clerk, orginally granted to Alexander Akehurst by Richard Williams for the term of his clerkship, had been granted again, and apparently completely illegally, to John Chetwood for a term of twenty-one years at a rent of three hundred pounds. The court refused to accept the new appointment, partly on the grounds that Akehurst's work had been satisfactory and partly because the first grant was legally binding. The Justices then determined to send a message to Lord Onslow to let him know what their meeting had decided and to 'desire his lordship will not accept any surrender of the Clerk of the Peace of this county or make any new grant of office without the court being first acquainted with it. . .'.[26] This clause was particularly significant. For while there is no doubt that the *custos* was well within his rights to appoint without consulting the bench, it was inadvisable to do so without some sort of

discussion, if only of an informal nature, with the senior justices of the county.

At that stage, the Surrey magistrates were anticipating the resignation of Richard Williams on account of his untoward action. The justices then decided that a special meeting of the court should be held to discuss the issue at length. The second meeting was held on 5th. March 1754: seventeen justices attended and Sir William Richardson, an experienced senior justice, presided. Extensive minutes of this meeting survive and incidentally show a highly developed sense of procedure among the magistrates. Their worst fears were realised when John Chetwood produced a deed, signed by Lord Onslow, which, after reciting Richard Williams's resignation, proceeded to appoint Chetwood Clerk of the Peace. Chetwood was called upon to give evidence of Williams's financial embarassment. The fact that the Clerkship had effectively been sold by Williams to Chetwood for some one thousand six hundred pounds gives some clue as to the lucrativeness of the office. Akehurst, the deputy, then appeared as a witness to report on a conversation which took place in his presence at Waghorne's coffee house between Lord Onslow and Justice Webb.[27] This conversation illustrates well Onslow's attitude to the whole issue. He explained to Philip Carteret Webb that:

> The affairs of Mr. Williams the Clerk of the Peace had made it necessary for him to go abroad and therefore Lord Onslow had determined to appoint his brother Mr. John Williams Clerk of the Peace in his room (. . .) Upon this Mr. Webb asked his lordship how this could be done consistent with his appointment of Mr. Chetwood, to which his lordship said that he heard a very bad character of him and that therefore the matter should be left to him and would be easily settled. . . .[28]

Lord Onslow apparently failed to understand the implications of his decision to appoint. Further evidence of his carelessness survives in the State papers: when he appointed Viscount Fitzwilliams deputy lieutenant for the county, he managed to get his name wrong in his initial letter of recommendation and had to write a second letter to William Pitt, asking him to set his mistake right.[29]

His standing can hardly have been enhanced among the justices of the county, particularly the active ones. In the case of the Clerkship, Onslow's stubbornness led to many complications, for although the bench (and not the *custos*) obtained a disclaimer to the office from Chetwood, the matter was not settled then. In July 1754, the long-suffering Akehurst was ordered by the court (and not by the *custos*) to keep the records of the court until the dispute, which had been taken to court, should end.[30]

The Lieutenancy and the Leadership of the County

It may be stated with some confidence that the Lords Lieutenants of eighteenth-century Surrey did not play a determining role as leaders of the county and thus failed to claim for the lieutenancy the status and power which it might have attained. A number of factors contributed to this

situation. The Onslows, as relative newcomers to the county elite, still had to contend with the aspirations of older and longer-established families. This was not so much due to a lack of interest in the responsibilities of the office as to an inability to play the required part of a conciliator and representative. Thus, when Richard Onslow wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to obtain the commutation of the death penalty passed on a felon tried at the Surrey Assizes - a duty often informally expected of Lords Lieutenants - his effort did not match the more elegant petitions filed in the Newcastle correspondence:

> My Lord Duke - I shall take it as a favour if you will gitt [sic] the person that robbed is [sic] name is John Sturmy to be transported. Your most obedient servant, . . .[31]

Newcastle's answer, couched in the more usual phraseology of such requests, provides a hint as to how Onslow should have asked for the commutation:

> My Lord - I immediately refer'd the case of John Sturmey recommended by your Lordship, to the Judge, before whom he was tried, and having received his report, I laid the state of it, yesterday before the King. It appearing by the judge's report that no circumstance occur's, upon the trial in favor [sic] of the prisoner, His Majesty did not think proper to make any alteration in the sentence, which had been passed upon him. . .[32]

Lord Onslow's recommendation should have mentioned Sturmey's family circumstances, and included neighbours' character references. He should have argued that certain attenuating circumstances might be taken into consideration. He might have informally discussed the case with the Judge. If no possible excuse for Sturmey's robbery could be found, it would have been wiser to abstain from making the recommendation in the first place, to avoid the possibility of being rebuffed. Douglas Hay, who has pointed out the importance of the pardon in the 'ideology of mercy' and its significance in the system of patronage, has stressed how much the application for mercy mattered not just to the person under sentence of death, but to the person who was attempting to negotiate for one:

> The ability to obtain a pardon was recognized as a mark of importance among the great and propertied. A landowner who could not obtain one was well aware that his prestige could suffer - and this fact itself was advanced sometimes as a good reason for granting the boon.[33]

In a difficult case, it might also be necessary to enlist the support of other courtiers and peers, as well as that of the local community to which the felon belonged. Thomas Lord Onslow, the previous Lord Lieutenant understood that well. When, in 1734, he petitioned for the pardon of Joseph Pierce, an excise officer who had issued a counterfeited receipt, his request was one of a number of such appeals: other petitions on behalf of Pierce included one signed by 38 inhabitants of the parish of Ewell.[34]

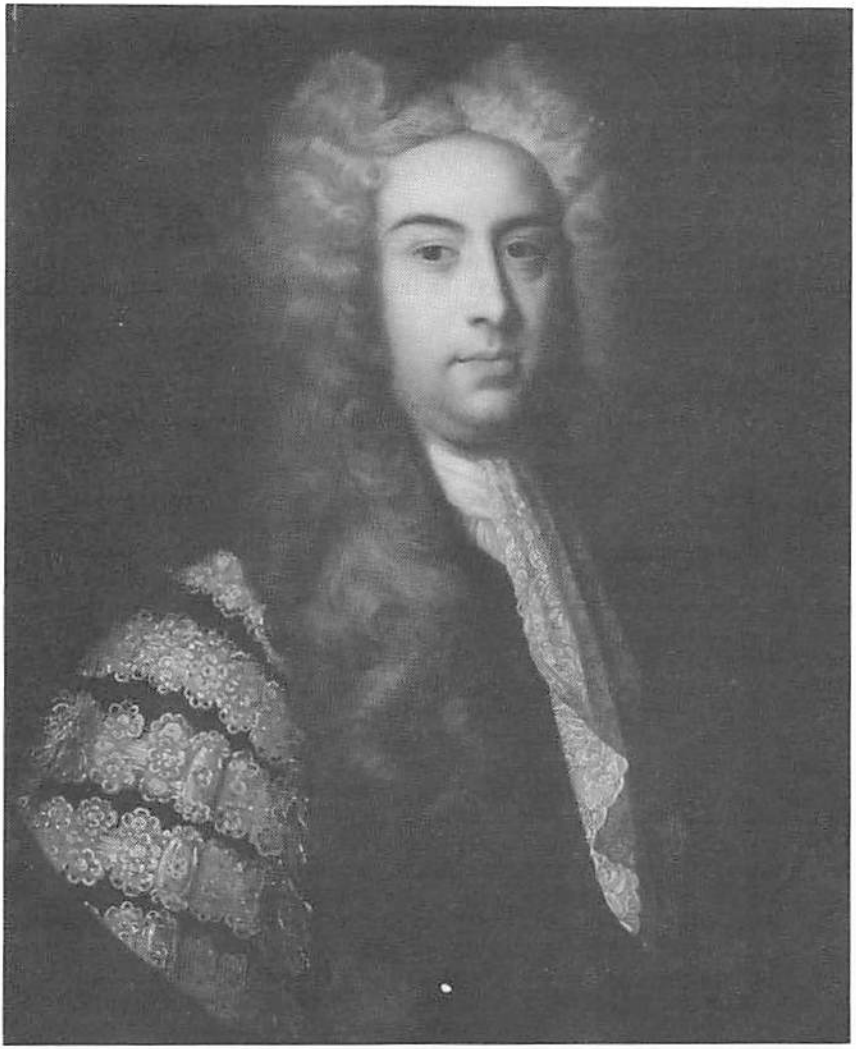


Fig. 1. Arthur Onslow by H. Hysing *(courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London).*

If however, the Surrey lieutenants failed to affirm the role and dignity of the office, one should stress that the unclear expectations of the government in relation to the offiice gave individual lieutenants few props to establish definite areas of responsibility. The Lord Lieutenant had no coercive powers: indeed it has been suggested that the significance of the office rested not on administrative duties but on the vital role which it played in waging 'the party war'.[35] Thomas Onslow interfered discreetly in 1727, for instance, when a continuing wrangle in the Whig camp threatened their success at the poll. Lord Onslow decided to retrieve the situation by pressing for the candidature of Arthur Onslow (who up to then had been returned for the less prestigious seat of Guildford) as Knight of the Shire. Arthur Onslow's account of the episode makes Lord Onslow's thinking plain:

> We, in Surrey, by a division among the Whigs there had not been fortunate in some late county elections, and my Lord Onslow had a notion that he might in some measure recover that, at least our family interest, by making me stand for the county, to which I was very much averse.[36]

Arthur Onslow was triumphantly returned and never encountered any further opposition in the rest of his political career. Indeed for the rest of the reign of George II, none of the general elections for the Knights of the Shire were contested at all. The Opposition Whigs, however, were allowed to monopolise the other county seat up to 1751, when Thomas Budgen, an active Justice of the Peace and a government supporter, was returned in a by-election.[37] There was little need for manipulation by the Lord Lieutenant in such a stable situation.

Because of the vagueness of the terms of reference of the office in the eighteenth century, it could be argued that the lieutenancy could only come into its own in times of crisis - military, political and indeed, administrative. Examples of military and political difficulties have already been discussed, but it may be worth mentioning the pandemics of rinderpest which affected much of Europe in the eighteenth century as an example of a practical emergency in which use of the lieutenancy was successfully made. John Broad, the agricultural historian, shows how, in the course of the three outbreaks which affected this country in 1709-20, 1742-60 and 1768-86, the first and third epidemics were well controlled, through central policies and the action of Lord Lieutenants and the senior magistrates in the counties. With the mid-century outbreak, the action of magistrates, unsupported by central guidance, was ineffectual for administrative rather than medical reasons.[38]

It could also be argued that, except in times of crisis, neither the government nor the local gentry would either have wished for or tolerated powerful lieutenancies. It was made clear to the Onslows that the county would accept their control of only one of the two seats in Parliament. To have attempted to claim a right to the other one would have created much unpopularity, as Arthur Onslow himself recognised.[39] It is in the context of such constraints that the emphasis on the role of informal mediator which had been pressed onto the Lords Lieutenants at various times by the government should be understood. That there was a place for such a person there is no doubt, but it is to oversimplify the picture to suggest that only a Lord

Lieutenant could act in this capacity. In mid-eighteenth-century Surrey, the responsibility was assumed by Speaker Onslow. As a frequent chairman at Quarter Sessions, and a popular member in Parliament, he had the ability, experence, contacts and personality best suited to the role of mediator.[40] It is most significant, for instance, that when Thomas Orby Hunter alienated the Tory gentlemen in 1761, it was not the Lord Lieutenant's response which mattered most to the Duke of Newcastle, but that of the Speaker. Similarly, when Justice Moreton wrote to Hardwick about the scheme to establish a turnpike road from Sutton in Surrey to Pease Porridge Gate in Sussex, he commented:

> I take for granted (if any scheme should be formed) that the Speaker will be waited on for his approbation and assistance before any attempt is made for carrying it into execution. . . .[41]

This is one of many indications of where, during this period, the greatest power and influence in the county lay.

Fig. 2. Clandon Park near Guildford, the seat of the Onslow family (from G. F. Prosser, *Select Illustrations of the County of Surrey, comprising Picturesque Views of the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry. . . .*, published 1828).

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

5. J. C. Sainty (comp.): *List of Lieutenants of Counties of England & Wales, 1660-1974*. (List and Index Society, Special Series 12). London: Swift Printers, 1979.

6. BL(M): Add Mss 35600, f.83.

7. BL(M): Add Mss 35600, f.258.

8. GMR: 173/1/1 (1), p.271.

9. *Ibid.*, p.282.

10. Historical Manuscripts Commission: *Fourteenth Report*. Appendix part 9. London: H.M.S.O., 1895, p. 491.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

12. GMR: 173/1/1 (1), p. 343.

13. C.E. Vulliamy: *The Onslow Family, 1528-1874, with some account of their times*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1953, p.71.

14. GMR: 173/1/1 (1), p. 340.

15. C.E. Vulliamy: *op. cit.*, in Ref. 13. p. 79, citing Horace Walpole.

16. GMR: 173/1/1 (1), p. 340.

17. BL(M): Add Mss 32882, f.382.

18. Thomas Orby Hunter, M.P. for Winchelsea, Lord of the Admiralty and commissary general with the English army, had a military background. His correspondence about his campaigns, 1758-1760, survives in the Newcastle papers in the British Library.

19. BL(M): Add Mss 29599, f.386.

20. PRO(K): T1/433/15.

21. J.R. Western: *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 282.

22. 39 Ge0. III c.90.

23. C.N. Packett: *A History and A to Z of Her Majesty's Lieutenancy of Counties (1547-1972)*. Bradford: C.N. Packett, 1973, p. 85.

24. BL(M): Add Mss 34727, f.264. Similar orders were given to the *custodes* in the emergency years of the reign of George II. See, for instance, PRO(C): PC 4/1, p.973 for 1755.

25. SRO: QS 2/1/18, p. 196.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

27. Philip Carteret Webb, an active Surrey Justice of the Peace was solicitor to the Treasury from 1756 to 1765 and M.P. for Haslemere. He was a distinguished lawyer, antiquary and collector.

28. SRO: QS 2/1/18, p. 457.

29. PRO(C): SP 46/150/67 (13 August 1761).

30. SRO: QS 2/1/18, p. 483.

31. BL(M): Add Mss 32731, f.355.

32. BL(M): Add Mss 32731, f.363.

33. D. Hay, 'Property, authority and the criminal law' in D. Hay et. al, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England.* London: Allen Lane, 1975, p. 46.

34. PRO(C): SP36/31/96, 102, 119.

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36. *op. cit.* in Ref. 10. p. 518.

37. R. Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715-1754.* 2 vols. London: H.M.S.O., 1970, p. 328.

38. J. Broad, 'Cattle Plague in Eighteenth Century England'. *Agricultural History Review*, 31, (1983), p. 108. His view is diametrically opposed to that of N. Landau, who suggested that the fact that the plague 'continued to wander through Kent during the 1750s is a reflection on eighteenth-century medical knowledge, not upon the machinery of Petty Sessions'. N. Landau, *The Justices of the Peace, 1679-1760*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934, pp. 220-21.

39. R. Sedgwick, *op. cit.* in Ref. 37.

40. This is not to say that jokes were not made about him and his formality. Justice Harvest was credited with the following ditty:
    His rules & orders with his latest breath
    Onslow lamenting saw the approach of death
    To order! Sir! To order Death replyed,
    Death knows not rules, or orders, - Onslow dyed!
    (BL(M): Add Mss 5871, f.186 (b).)

41. BL(M): Add Mss 35633, f.394.

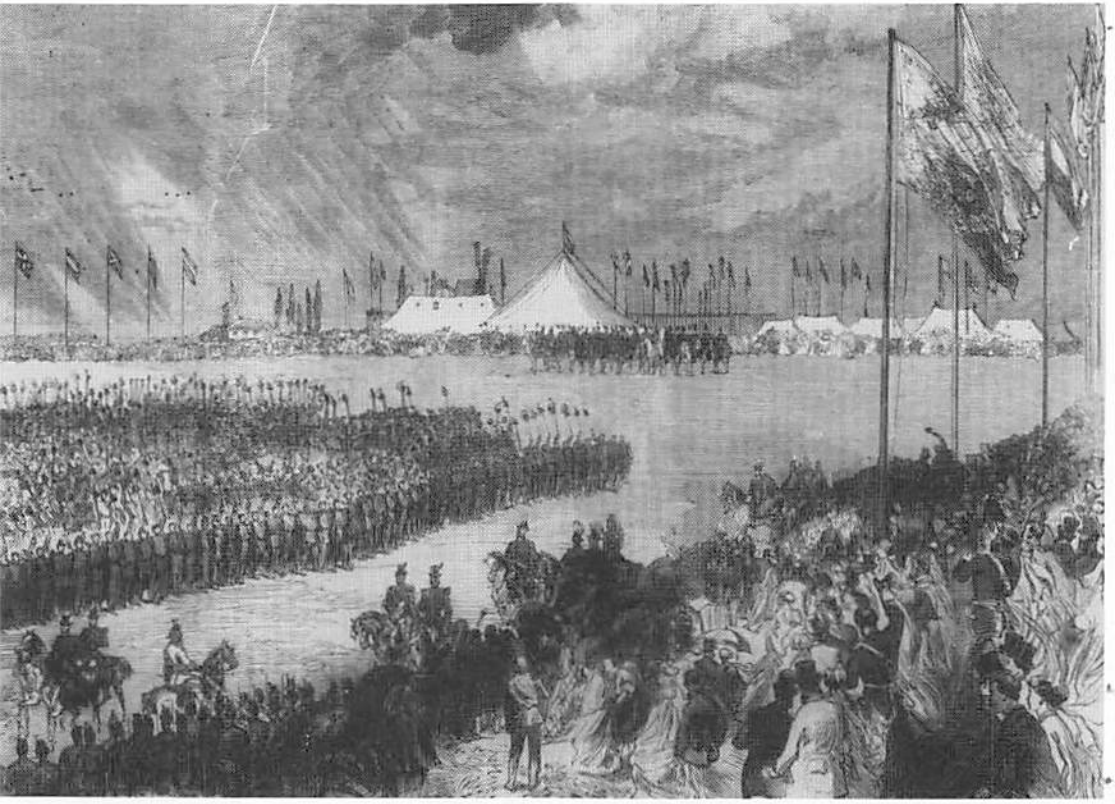

Fig. 1. Reception of the Belgian Riflemen at the camp on Wimbledon Common.

LES BELGES A WIMBLEDON - A CURIOSITY OF 1867

Michael Robbins

Only the extremely diligent searcher after information on Surrey's local history is likely to read through every single entry in a bibliography published in the 1880s; it is a tedious and usually unrewarding business. Still, there are occasional tiny nuggets to be found, and this is one of them, about a large body of Belgians who spent over a week in London in 1867. The high points were two days on Wimbledon Common.

J. P. Anderson's *Book of British Topography*[1] records a pamphlet published in French entitled *Les Belges à Wimbledon: Impressions de Voyage d'un Artilleur Gantois.*[2] This little work, which is to be found in the British Library, is an 88-page pamphlet. It describes, with much diverting detail, a visit to London by some 2,500 Belgians of the *Garde Civique*, the country's volunteer territorial army. The visit lasted from 11th. to 22nd. July 1867, with two parades at the National Rifle Association's range on Wimbledon Common, on Saturdays 13th. and 20th. July.

This work bears no specific attribution of authorship except that it is by 'un simple garde civique'. It is dated both 10th. and 15th. August 1867, and it appears to have come out originally as articles in the newspaper *Commerce de Gand.* It is certainly an account from a rank-and-file point of view; the writer is ironical about the behaviour of some of the officers. In this it contrasts with an English publication on the same event, *The Belgian Volunteers' Visit to England in 1867*, by Frank Foster, [3] which is a solid, not to say stodgy, record of the official proceedings. The Belgian's text is lively and often bantering. The author was evidently a practiced writer; perhaps he was a journalist on the *Commerce de Gand.*

First Impressions of London and Wimbledon

The party travelled from Ghent (as we insist on spelling Gent or Gand) *via* Malines to Antwerp and embarked there on the new British troopship *Serapis* for Gravesend, where they landed and some of their baggage got mislaid. On their first full day in London they visited Somerset House, Guildhall, and the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens at South Kensington. Saturday, 15th. July was a day of fine piercing rain (this weather, the author commented, is the cause of the English *spleen*). The party went from Waterloo to Wimbledon station by train and proceeded to march the 'three-quarters of a league' to the common. The scene is thus described (as translated by tle present writer):

> Wimbledon, properly speaking, is a series of country houses, some of them splendid, others more modest; all clean and very well kept, with

an air of comfort and well-being. Almost all of them were arrayed, from ground floor to roof, with fresh and gracious faces looking with a mixture of curiosity and good will at *our Belgian friends* (English in original). The camp at Wimbledon is pitched on one of those broad commons that have almost completely disappeared in our country but which are still found in large numbers in England, right into the immediate environs of London. This one is pretty level at first, then undulating as far as Richmond Park. Here and there are great trees of full growth, which are characteristic of English landscapes.

After a brief description of the tents at the camp, the account records the arrival of the Prince of Wales, with gossipy remarks about the Hanoverians and the Prince Regent. Then the rain began in earnest. Medals commemorating the visit were distributed (including some to people not entitled to them), and on the way back to the station the author was taken by four workmen into a pub to drink a 'huge' tankard of beer.

A Crowded Week

The next week was passed in a prolonged series of visits: to Brighton, where the author admired the place but complained of the seaweed, and the Devil's Dyke; to the Cremorne pleasure gardens at Chelsea, where there was more rain, making them 'lugubrious'; to Windsor and to the Alhambra theatre; to the Crystal Palace; to the Agricultural Hall; to Holly Lodge, Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts's estate at Highgate; and back to Wimbledon again, where 15,000 volunteers marched past the Prince of Wales and the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Aziz. Someone adapted Napoleon's address to his army at the Pyramids and said: 'Forty centuries and four thousand ladies look on'. The next day the Belgians went by river to Kew and Richmond, and on Monday 22nd. July they went home again, by Gravesend, the *Serapis*, and Antwerp.

It all seems to have been very jolly, apart from the rain. But the question must occur to to-day's reader: What on earth was the British Government doing to treat 2,500 Belgians to such lavish hospitality and to transport them in one of its largest and most modern ships? It must have been government money: the National Rifle Association's resources were slender in the 1860s. The Association's own account of its first fifty years[4] mentions that some Swiss took part in the first meeting, in 1860; there were 'several' Belgians and French in 1862; in 1864-6 English volunteers attended meetings of the *Tir National* in Brussels, 1100 of them in 1866. But what can have been the reason for bringing over so many Belgians and treating them so handsomely at all the best sights in and around London?

A Diplomatic Gesture

The answer must be that this was an exercise in international diplomacy - a signal to France and to Prussia that Britain did care very much about what happened to Belgium. It was already suspected (and later made public by Bismarck) that the Emperor Napoleon III wanted France to be compensated

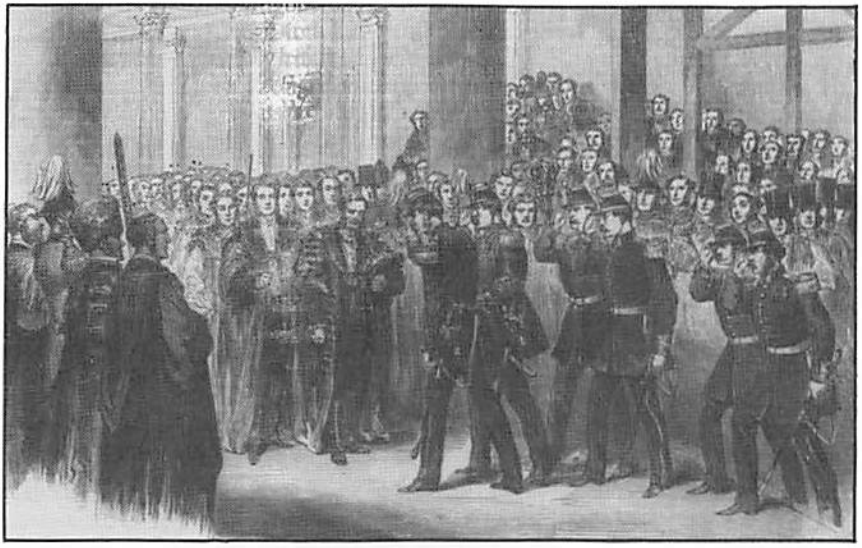

Fig. 2. Reception by the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall.

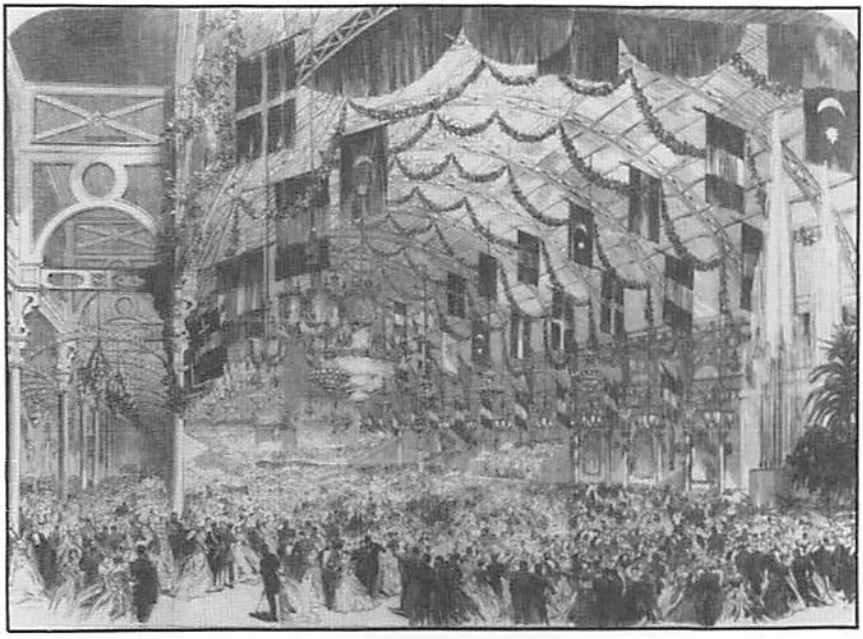

Fig. 3. The Ball at the Agricultural Hall, Islington.

for the increases in Prussian territory and power after the wars of 1864 and 1866 by the annexation of parts of Belgium. In 1867 there was an alarm about Napoleon's designs on Luxembourg, which Bismarck declared to be a German interest. In this atmosphere, the visits to Wimbledon must have been part of a heavy-handed gesture intended to be understood not only by the Belgian volunteers but also by the governments of France and Prussia as a British - what most people then called an 'English' - signal to both powers to respect Belgium's independence and integrity. Britain had conspicuously failed to do anything positive to prevent Denmark losing Schleswig and Holstein in 1864; but Belgium was closer, and its existence had been guaranteed by international treaty in 1839. The issue came alive again in 1870 and critically in 1914, when Britain judged the German invasion of Belgium to create the final breach, the immediate *casus belli*. That autumn the largest number of Belgians, civilian refugees this time, appeared in Wimbledon since the rain-sodden assemblage on the Common in July 1867.

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2. *Les Belges à Wimbledon. Impressions de Voyage d'un Artilleur Gantois*, (Gand: J.S. van Doosselaere, Rue St.-Georges 87, 1867).

3. F. Foster, *The Belgian Volunteers' Visit to England in 1867*, (London: John Snow, 1867).

4. A. R. Humphry and T. F. Fremantle [later Lord Ernle], *History of the National Rifle Association during its first fifty years, 1859 to 1909* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1914).

Fig. 4. Reception by Miss Burdett Coutts at Holly Lodge, Highgate.

NEW MATERIAL FOR SURREY HISTORIANS

Accessions of Records in Surrey Record Office, 1989

David Robinson
County Archivist

In 1989, as in previous years, a considerable amount of new archive material has come into Surrey Record Office. There have been 146 accessions at County Hall and 107 at Guildford Muniment Room. An accession may be anything from a single item, such as the Weybridge school minute book, 1794-1851, to a vanload such as our latest accession from Brookwood Hospital. The new material covers all aspects of the history of Surrey: its landscape and towns, businesses and churches, government and people.

Preserving the Landscape

The last hundred years have seen major threats to the landscape of England in general and Surrey in particular. The National Trust has played a major part in preserving this landscape and one of the three co-founders of the National Trust in 1894 was Sir Robert Hunter of Haslemere. We received some of Sir Robert's papers in 1977, together with papers of his daughter, Miss Dorothy Hunter. The National Trust itself has now deposited another considerable body of his papers. These papers, which were found in a trunk in an outhouse, include correspondence and papers relating to tbe preservation of open land in various parts of the south-east, including Banstead Commons, the Ham Lands and the view from Richmond Hill, Bisley Commons, Haslemere Common and Wimbledon and Putney Commons. There are also printed papers of the Kent and Surrey Preservation Society, of which Hunter was Chairman, relating to footpaths in Limpsfield.

The Trust have also deposited an attractive coloured map of the manors of Burstow and Burstow Lodge, surveyed in 1703 with manorial boundaries added in 1743. Fields are shown and there is a table of reference giving the areas of Burstow Park Farm and Stonehouse Farm.

An unexpected benefit of taxation!

Taxes are never popular but the records of taxation in the past can be of great interest precisely because they can give us an insight into the income and life-style of people living in earlier centuries. Two books of tax commissioners' minutes for Copthorne and Effingham hundreds (the Epsom and Leatherhead area) give us a good impression of nineteenth-century life. The 'assessed

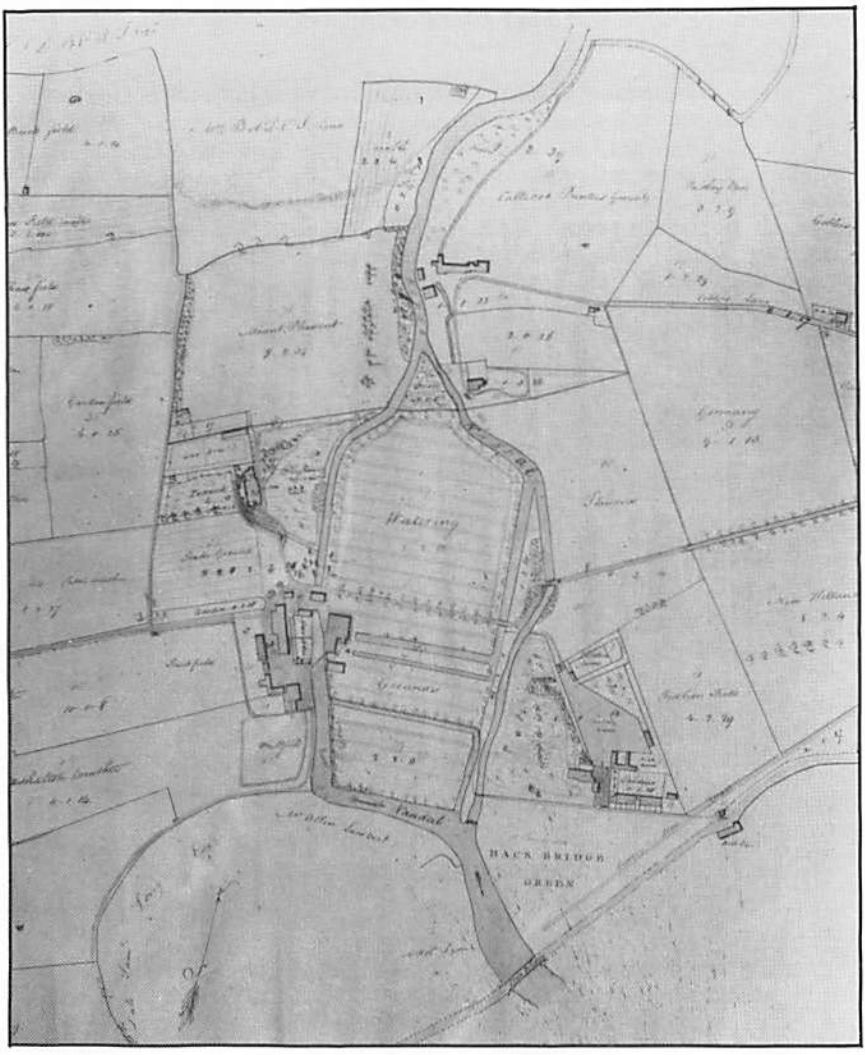

Fig. 1. Estate of Thomas & Jacob Foster Reynolds at Hackbridge in the parish of Carshalton, surveyed by R. Benfield of Iver, Bucks, 1808.. The Plan shows the Hackbridge Branch of the Surrey Iron Railway and watering grounds between the two branches of the River Wandle. Calico printer's grounds are shown at the north of the plan. *(SRO 3606)*. The plan came from a Hertfordshire firm of estate agents and was transferred to Surrey Record Office by Hertfordshire Record Office.

taxes', greatly increased to meet the cost of the Napoleonic War, were many and various and were imposed on the employment of servants, ownership of horses and carriages and other luxuries. The minute book of the Commissioners of the Land and Assessed Taxes, 1807-24 , heard appeals from a Mr Cholmley against a surcharge made on him for wearing hair powder (the surcharge presumably because he had not paid the tax), from Miss Beauclerk of Leatherhead against being assessed for possession of armorial bearings at a higher, rather than a lower, rate, and from other local residents in respect of gardeners (presumably on the grounds that they were primarily engaged in agriculture), racehorses (as we might expect at Epsom) and carriages. Many of these taxes were still in force until well into the present century, and the proceeds were indeed assigned as income to the newly established County Councils in 1889.

The other minute book, of the Commissioners for Income Tax for 1878-93, gives details of local businesses on which the tax was levied. George Stilwell was assessed at £800 for his private lunatic asylum against his self-assessment of £400. He claimed annual receipts of £1,316, expenditure of £160 on a housekeeper and assistant, £15 10s. for his licence and an average cost of £80 per patient on eight patients. His assessment was reduced to £600. William Bliss of Epsom, butcher, was assessed at £400. His return had been £200. He gave evidence that he killed two beasts and twelve or fourteen sheep a week and it was noted that he ought to make £3 from a bullock. He was assessed by the commissioners at £300. (They not infrequently 'split the difference'). A Ewell schoolmaster reported his self-assessment of £400. He claimed annual receipts of £1,316, expenditure income on 50 boys at an average of £65 per boy and his profit at £800 if the school were full but he 'should not make £300 this year'. T. A. Weedon, a jockey, gave his income as £260 from seventeen wins (£85), fifty-eight mounts for Mr. Nightingall 'who pays a salary of £75 to clear everything' and fifty other mounts at £2 a time. His expenses were 'very heavy', including six Newmarket meetings and one Liverpool meeting at 2 guineas each. John Nightingall, an Epsom trainer, in turn appears and testifies to having on average twenty horses at £2 a week, giving 8s. profit per horse per week. Records of small local businesses and of the finances of private individuals have a very poor rate of survival and this book gives us a rare insight into local commercial and professional life.

A school in Weybridge

Weybridge parochial school minute book, 1794-1851, is an illuminating record of the foundation and growth of a parochial school before state education. Subscribers in 1794 raised £32 19s. 0d. to establish a school. They included H.R.H. Duchess of York £10, and the Earl of Portmore, Countess of Portmore, Mrs. Ewart and George Payne esq., 2 guineas each. The subscribers appointed 'William Hunter and his mother' as master and mistress and they were paid £13 for 'teaching the Children to read and instructing them in their catechism and in the first rudiments of their religion'. The school was held only on Sundays and the children 'dressed in as decent a manner as their Parents can afford' attended from 9 am. until church in the morning and from 2 until 6 in the afternoon in summer 'and as the days grow short, at an earlier

earlier hour'. £5 8s. was paid to alter the gallery in Weybridge church for the children, who attended morning and afternoon. 'Coals for the fireing' cost 1 guinea and books for the children cost £7 18s. 10d. In the first year there were 67 boys and 34 girls, which presumably reflects the greater attention given to boys' education. In 1811 the school became a daily school and it was affiliated to the National Society.

A far-flung Georgian family

The late Col. Gerald de Gaury, who had family connexions with Surrey, deposited various records relating to the county during his life and has bequeathed to us an interesting collection of letters of the Tiler family, in particular letters to Anne Tiler in the early nineteenth century. Despite the family connexion with Surrey, most of the correspondence relates to other parts of the country and to visits to France.

Particularly interesting are letters from an Army Surgeon-General in the Mediterranean and Near East during the Napoleonic Wars, describing the landscape, buildings, people and customs of Egypt, Turkey and Italy and the progress of the War. Charlotte Raikes, one of Anne Tiler's correspondents, wrote from Elm Bank, Leatherhead, on 27 May 1818, to say that they were 'now in busy preparation for setting off in two open carriages to enjoy this beautiful day on the Epsom race course where all the world are expected to be assembled to see a famous race - from hence we remove tomorrow to Horsley for a few days'.

A far-flung Victorian family

We hold in Guildford Muniment Room a considerable amount of records of the Ware family of Tilford. These include extensive records of the Tilford estate and many letters and diaries. Members of the family continue to take an interest in their history and records and two further deposits have been made in the past half-year. One is a drawing of the Dame School at Tilford made by Henry Ware in 1859. The other consists of seven diaries of Martin Ware (1818-95) relating in particular to his work in developing the Ragged School for the street children of Victorian London. These give extensive details of the boys' ages, backgrounds, occupations and, in many cases, previous convictions. They describe the relief given to the boys in meal and coal tickets, clothing and money and the employment found for them, including the Ragged school Shoe Black Society, admission of boys to the Marine Society and the Services and arrangements made for boys to emigrate.

We can trace in the entries the progress of individual boys:

> *31 July 1864* Henley has been turned out [of a job] for keeping back money. . . . he is a very intelligent and pleasing boy but does not seem to have much conscience.
>
> *3 August 1864* I found Henley in the streets and took him to the Industrial school.
>
> *22 October 1864* Henley stole a watch belonging to Mr Owen (employer) and was making off with it when Mr O. met him and

stopped him. Henley complained of being ill and Mr O. sent him upstairs, not knowing that he had the watch. Henley hid it in the grate where it was found. Mr O. punished him for it and he then absconded. *20 November 1864* Henley came to school in afternoon dirty and wretched - says he is turned out by his mother and slept last night in the streets but he does not seem penitent. He had a place at a potato shop and part of his business was to sell potatoes with a hot stove in the streets but he could not get enough money by the sales and they turned him off.
16 July 1865 Charles Henley has made me a toilet case and presented it with a letter.

At this point an original, well-written letter is found in the diary.

'Sir
I shall feel glad by you receiving this small token of respect for your kindness towards me, and which I trust will not be effaced from my memory.
From your obedient servent [*sic*]
Charles Henley'

Although these diaries do not themselves relate directly to Surrey they are an integral part of the archive of a Surrey family and they document an important part of the work of a member of that family.

For all parts of the county: additions to existing holdings

We frequently receive further accessions from depositors who have already made a major deposit.

We hold a considerable deposit of records of the estates of the Northey family, who were major landholders in Epsom, Ewell, Cuddington and Cheam. We have now received from Wiltshire Record Office another large deposit mainly of title deeds between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This good series of deeds covering a wide area over an extended period of time enables researchers to study changes in land owners and tenant farmers, topography and land use, and builds up a detailed and changing picture of the area.

Guildford Munument Room's large collection of archives of Dennis Brothers of Guildford has been supplemented with a 1910 brochure and file copies of art work for brochures and advertisements by Brian Dunce, staff designer, 1959-1965.

Brookwood Hospital was built by the County of Surrey in 1866 and inherited by the newly created Surrey County Council in 1889. Many records of the hospital are held in the Record Office, some of them as part of the county's own archive and others deposited by the hospital under the Public Records Acts. We have now received a further deposit from the hospital which includes visiting magistrates' order and attendance books from 1874, medical superintendents' reports and diaries from 1866 onwards and a large quantity of more modern minutes, reports and files. These records are of

Fig. 2. Dennis Brothers of Guildford: advertisement from a 1910 brochure *(GMR)*.

considerable importance both for the administration of a county institution and for the history of the treatment of mental illness.

The Secretary of the Leith Hill Musical Festival has deposited schedules and programmes for 1979-89, which continue our series beginning with the first Festival in 1904. We have received records of De Burgh school, Tadworth, taking its story from 1957 to its closure in 1989, and we have received from a resident of East Clandon a contemporary copy of a grant of land for the school there in 1862, which closed in 1968.

A large quantity of records of the Bray family of Shere is held in Guildford Muniment Room. We have now purchased a notebook of 'G. Poulter' of Shere. This appears to be George Poulter (1779-1869), groom and steward to the Bray family. The notebook includes a large number of veterinary recipes, including 'an ambrocation for horses backs', 'a drink for horse when full of pain' and, 'for the mange in dogs'. At the rear of the book are agricultural accounts and travelling accounts, including 'tole bar to Guildford and Horse 10½d.' (1841).

Parish and nonconformist records

As usual we have received a considerable number of accessions of church records. Church of England parish records have been deposited by East

Fig. 3. Mortlake Parish Church: a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century water colour *(SRO 3617)*.

Molesey St. Mary, Long Cross and Blackheath, and additional deposits by Nork, Claygate, Hook, East Sheen Christ Church, Surbiton Christ Church, Richmond Holy Trinity and Christ Church, Felbridge, Barnes Holy Trinity, Mortlake (including school log books from 1863 and rate books, 1862-90), and Croydon St. Augustine, Wrecclesham, Chiddingfold, Old Woking, Woking St. John, Ripley, West Clandon, Ockham, Holmbury St. Mary, Dorking (account books for collection of tithe rent charge, 1843-1921), Puttenham (vestry minute book, 1859-83) and Guildford Holy Trinity.

We have received Methodist records from Richmond and Hounslow, Wimbledon and Sutton Methodist circuits. We have also received an additional deposit from Egham United Church, comprising baptism registers of Egham Wesleyan Methodist (later, Methodist) Church, 1848-1973, and Egham Hill (Congregational) Church, 1851-1969, together with minutes of Egham Methodist Youth Council and Egham Methodist Sunday School Council. Egham United Reformed Church has also made a further deposit.

From the County Council

We have received a number of interesting deposits from County Council departments. These include coloured plans and elevations of Nutfield Priory, *c.* 1870, from the County Architect and records of Nutfield Priory School from the County Education Officer. The County Education Officer has transferred log books, 1873-1988, and admission registers, 1872-1988, of St. John's school, North Holmwood, and more recent log books of Goodwyns County Primary school, Dorking, and Redstone County Secondary school.

The Sound of Modern Surrey

On previous occasions we have received from County Sound Radio tapes of their programmes and we have now received tapes of their 'round-ups of the week', 1985-89.

Can you help us?

Last year two attractive photograph albums showing people and places in and around Charlwood in the 1880s came up for sale at Sothebys. We were unsuccessful in our bid for them and have not been able to trace the purchaser. If anyone knows who bought these albums we should be grateful to add the information to our collection of information about Surrey materials held elsewhere than in the Record Office.

Fig. 4. Civic Plate of Beddington and Wallington on its incorporation as a Municipal Borough in 1937, pictured in an official souvenir brochure deposited in the Record Office this year *(SRO 3709)*.

Using the records

Our records are used by a wide range of researchers for a wide range of research topics. One specific query which we were able to help with was to re-identify the house in which E. M. Forster lived on Monument Green, Weybridge, between 1912 and 1925. The problem was that the houses were given numbers only in 1937 and the house had previously been renamed. As a result, a plaque had been placed on 20 Monument Gneen, the adjacent house. The identity was only queried when the owner of 19 Monument Green, the correct house, checked his deeds, and then rate books and electoral registers for Weybridge were used by Walton and Weybridge Local History Society and the Curator of Weybridge Museum to confirm the facts. The Curator, Writing in the Walton and Weybridge Local History Society Newsletter, concluded wisely: 'The moral of this tale - and a warning to future historians - is always check verbal statements against the original records whenever possible'. The other moral is that this can only be done if the original records are preserved.

The archives are used heavily to answer current questions. The National Trust use our records for landscape and land-use studies, Pains Hill Park Trust for their garden research, and English Heritage have used than for Crescent Grove, Egham. The Royal Commission on Historic Buildings and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, are among other researchers. The newly appointed Director of the Basingstoke Canal and a member of his staff have used our records for an investigation of the boundaries of the canal and British Rail (Southern Region) have used deposited plans of the 1840s for research in connexion with work on the railway near London Bridge station. Members of N.A.D.F.A.S. (National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies) have used parish records of Crowhurst, Betchworth and Merstham in preparation for their work recording the features, fixtures and fittings of Surrey parish churches. When they have 'recorded' a church they deposit a copy of their report with us.

The new schools history curriculum will require considerable use of local material. Surrey County Council Education Department has now appointed an Archive Development Officer, Michael Palmer, who is developing the use of source-material in schools, by producing packs of photocopies on such topics as Surrey in the 1830s, Surrey in the 1880s, Surrey in the First World War and Surrey in the Second World War.

Making the records available

One piece of good news in 1989 was that we received a significant increase in funding from Surrey County Council. This has enabled us to employ three extra archivists, primarily to reduce our backlog of unlisted records, and two archive assistants, primarily to improve the standands of packaging and storage of records. The results of these appointments are already visible, and as more of the records are listed in detail our searchers will be able to discover more easily the wealth of material we hold for the history of Surrey.

Publications

The Surrey Local History Council has produced *Surrey History* for many years and the majority of the back numbers are still available. In addition the following extra publications are in print:

Pastors, Parishes and People in Surrey
by *David Robinson*
1989 £2.95

Views of Surrey Churches
by *C. T. Cracklow*
(reprint of 1826 views)
1979 £7.50 (hardback)

Kingston's Past Rediscovered
by *Joan Wakeford*
1990 £6.95
(published jointly with Kingston upon Thames Archaeological Society)

These books are published for the Surrey Local History Council by Phillimore & Co., Ltd., of Chichester. They are available from many bookshops in the County. Members are invited to obtain their copies from the Hon. Secretary, c/o The Guildford Institute of the University of Surrey, Ward Street, Guildford, Surrey. GU1 4LH.