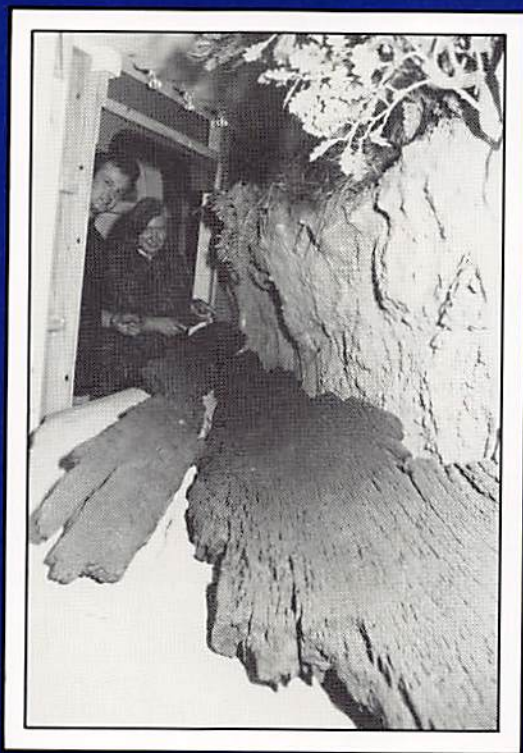


SURREY HISTORY



The Paper Mills of Surrey, Part III
Budgen - A Trading Family
From Guildford to the Gobi Desert - Mildred Cable (1878-1951)
New Material for Surrey Historians

Alan Crocker
Ron Davis
Norma D. Denny
David Robinson

VOL. V NO. 1

£ 3-95

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Cover Illustration: Paul Hill, Curator of Collections, and Anne McCormack, Heritage Officer, discuss the placing of a Saxon Logboat returned to display at the newly refurbished Kingston Museum. (*Photograph by courtesy of Kingston Heritage Service.*)

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THE PAPER MILLS OF SURREY, PART III*

Alan Crocker
Surrey Industrial History Group

Introduction

This is the concluding part of a series of three articles on the 38 paper mills which are known to have operated in historic Surrey between 1635 and 1928. Parts I and II gave a general account of the manufacture of paper by hand and machine, summarised the growth and decline of the industry in Surrey, indicated the locations of the mills and presented brief histories of about one-half of them. These were at Stoke near Guildford, Byfleet, Carshalton, Bermondsey, Haslemere and Catteshall near Godalming in Part I¹ and at Eashing, Worplesdon, Ewell, Albury Park, Postford near Albury, Esher and Wandsworth in Part II.² The present paper provides similar notes on the histories of paper mills at Downside near Cobham, Ham Haw near Weybridge, Chilworth, Westbrook in Godalming, Barford near Churt, Merton, Morden, Woking and Wallington. Where necessary, readers should refer to Parts I and II^{1,2} or standard works on the history of papermaking in Britain³⁻⁶ for background information on the industry.

Down Mill - two disastrous fires in three days

Down Mill stands on the left bank of the River Mole where it enters the parish of Cobham and 1 km. east of the settlement of Downside. It was originally a corn mill but in 1687 and 1694 respectively the papermakers William Berrey (or Borroy) and John Meers were recorded in the Cobham parish registers.⁵ Also in 1691 an inventory of the property of John Bicknell, late of the Parish of Cobham deceased, included rags valued at £ 8, moulds and decks at £ 2 and paper at £ 5 17s. 6d. compared for example with a mare and colt at £ 5 3s. and wearing apparel and money in his purse at £ 3 10s.⁷ It seems certain that these references relate to Down Mill as in 1720 an agreement was reached between Viscountess Lanesborough of Down Place and Thomas Morris the tenant of the mill about flooding her meadows to fertilise the soil.⁸ This agreement shows that the property included 'a message or tenement, mill houses, paper mills and

* Parts I and II of this paper were published in *Surrey History* in 1989 and 1992.^{1, 2} The author would welcome information on any aspect of Surrey paper mills and invites readers to contact him at the Department of Physics, University of Surrey, Guildford GU2 5XH.

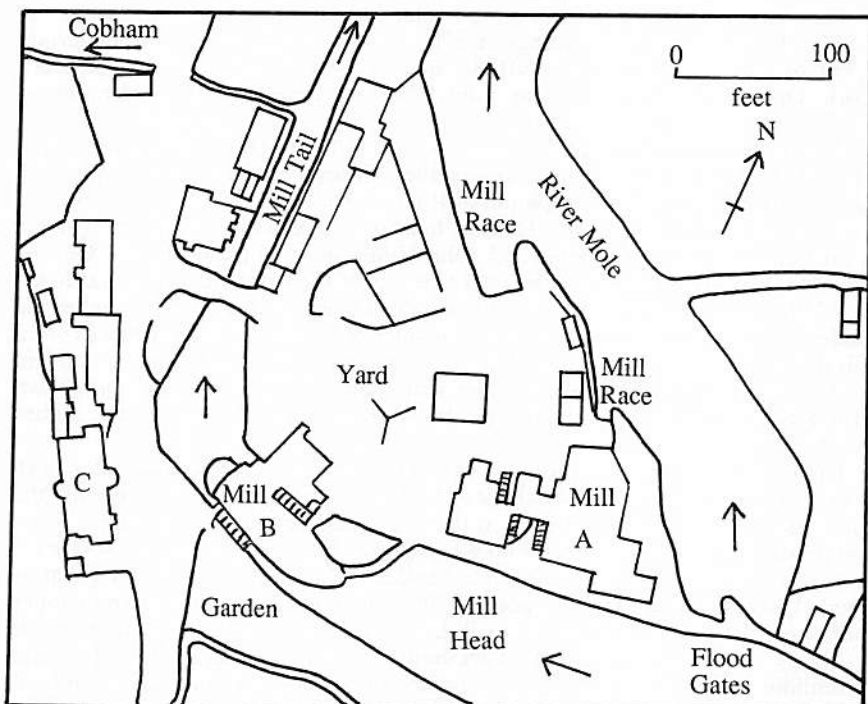


Fig. 1. Plan of Down Mill on the River Mole at Cobham, based on a survey of about 1798.¹¹ At this time the paper mill had closed and building (A) with three waterwheels was an Iron Mill, including a foundry, forge, tilt, break house, cutting house and women's room; building (B) with two waterwheels was a Copper Mill with a foundry, and the Dwelling House (C) was occupied by Alexander Raby, who owned the site.

corn mills, commonly called Downe Mills which were previously in the tenure of John Garton but now of Thomas Morris'. The next record is in 1728 when Thomas Hillier (Hillyer) devised to Richard Hinton a dwelling house and paper mills in Cobham for 11 years, Hinton to maintain the premises in good repair.⁹ Hillier had been the papermaker at Bower's Mill, 12 km. away on the River Wey, and at Chilworth on the Tillingbourne. Unfortunately, after five years, as revealed in the following abbreviated account, disaster struck:⁹

'The humble petition of Richard Hinton late of Cobham in the County of Surrey papermaker. On Tuesday 29th. May 1733 between 1 and 2 am. a sudden and terrible fire broke out in the dwelling house of the petitioner situate in Cobham, which burnt down and consumed his house, his household goods and all his family's wearing apparel. Further on Thursday 31st. between 1 and 2 another terrible fire broke out which burnt down and consumed his said paper mills, store room, drying house, out houses, utensils and implements for the making of paper and great quantities of paper and stuff proposed to make paper, by means of which accident, or as supposed by the malice of an apprentice, the petitioner is reduced to utter ruin.'

The damage was estimated to total £1658 19s. 2d. made up of £552 19s. 0d. for the buildings, £570 for the waterworks and materials, £330 6s. 6d. for paper and stuff for making paper and £28 for plumbers' work. One of the supporters was John Hillier of Cobham papermaker whose family owned the mill.⁹

Within six months the mill had been rebuilt as Mary Hillier of Bower's Mill, Thomas Hillier's widow and John's mother, insured her new-built paper mill called Down Mills in the occupation of Richard Hinton.⁵ However by 1735, the date of the above petition, Hinton had only collected £300 by private contributions towards his debts and John Hillier was the papermaker.⁹ He was still there in 1741 and seven years later was one of the Cobham churchwardens.⁸ In 1749 he insured property including two rag houses but in 1766, when he made his will, he was described as a bookseller of Cobham.⁵ Meanwhile in 1752 Elizabeth Hunt from the paper mills is recorded in the parish registers and in 1770 Joseph Hunt papermaker, dealer and chapman was bankrupt and Down Mill was for sale.⁵ However in 1780 the freehold was still held by the Hillier family.¹⁰

The mill was bought by Raby and Mereton, ironmasters, who used it for both iron and copper¹¹ and probably started tinsmithing, commemorated by the surviving cottages 'Tinmans Row' in the neighbouring village. Alexander Raby was a well-known entrepreneur who was based at Downside for some 30 years¹¹ and Mereton appears to have been a banker.¹⁰ The plan of the mill given as figure 1 is based on a survey of about 1798.¹¹ It shows separate iron and copper mills, the associated watercourses, Raby's residence, and a large number of ancillary buildings including workshops, stores, cottages and domestic outbuildings. The two mills could correspond to the corn and paper mills of 1720. When Raby left the mill it became a flock mill but when it was offered for sale in 1865 the particulars were aimed at both flock and paper makers.¹¹ It later became a saw mill and is now a builders store.⁷ Some of the surviving buildings date from Raby's time but nothing appears to remain from the papermaking period.

Ham Haw Mill - a mill at Thames Lock

The mill at Ham Haw is of interest because it was built in the late 17th. century on a new site which became available following the opening of the Wey Navigation in 1653. The traditional mill sites on the Surrey rivers were of course all occupied and industrialists seeking water power had normally either to displace or work alongside corn millers and others. However the building of the Navigation created a few new sites above locks where overflow water rejoined the river and Ham Haw is a good example.¹⁰ Thus in 1691 Robert Douglas the new lessee of the Ham Court estate obtained the permission of the Dean & Canons of Windsor who were the freeholders, and the proprietors of the Navigation who controlled the water, to build a paper mill just above Thames Lock. Two years later Douglas wrote about 'ye new paper mill Bouilt on ye mannor of Ham & driven by ye watter that comes out of ye River & wch is likeways returned upon ye same againe'.¹²

No other reference to paper making at this site is known and it seems that within a few years the mill was used for flour and by 1720 for iron. It became known as Weybridge Mills although, as it was west of the River Wey, it was

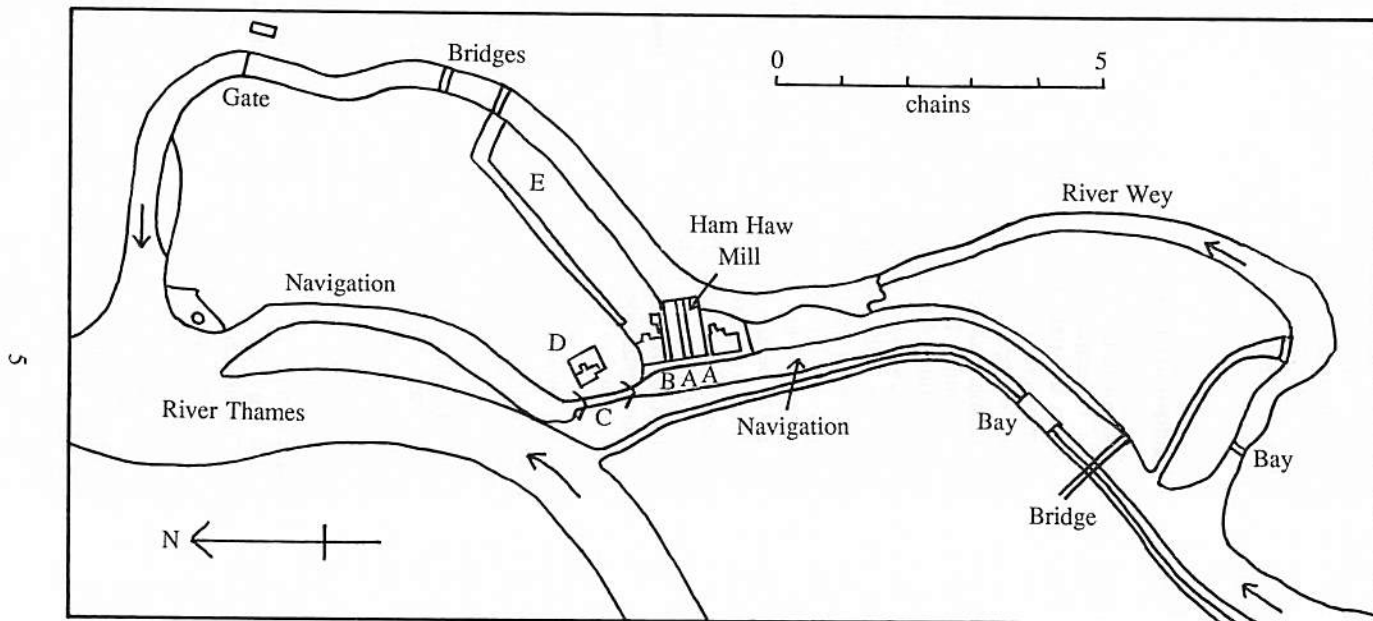


Fig. 2. Plan of Ham Haw Mill and Thames Lock on the Wey Navigation at Weybridge, based on a survey of about 1802.¹³ At this time the paper mill had been closed for about a hundred years and the site was occupied by an iron mill. The features shown include: A. Waterwheel channels; B. Sluices; C. Lock; D. Lock Keeper's Cottage; E. Mill garden.

actually in Chertsey parish.¹¹⁻¹² Its location is shown on a detailed plan of about 1802,¹³ the essential features of which are reproduced in figure 2. Although this plan was prepared a century after the paper mill closed, the relative positions of the mill, the Navigation, the lock, the River Wey and the River Thames are clearly those described by Robert Douglas. Later it became an oil mill and the site is still used for industrial purposes.^{10, 12}

Chilworth Mills - conflicts with gunpowder makers

There were two paper mills at Chilworth, known as the Great Mill and the Little Mill, and their history has been presented in detail elsewhere.¹⁴ They were located near the boundary between the parishes of St. Martha (or Chilworth) and Shalford on the sites of former corn, fulling and wire mills. These were acquired in 1626 by the East India Company for gunpowder manufacture.^{15, 16} However by 1704 gunpowder making had declined and this part of the works was converted to become two paper mills. The early papermakers were Thomas Maidman, who was also at Bower's Mill, John Baldwin and Thomas Hillier, also at Bower's and Down Mills.¹⁷ In 1724, when Sarah Duchess of Marlborough acquired Chilworth Manor, the Little Mill was untenanted and the Great Mill was out of repair. She leased them for 21 years to Thomas Watkins, a stationer of London and papermaker of Longford Mill in Middlesex who became bankrupt in 1723. Ten years earlier he had brought improvements to papermaking in England, particularly beating engines or Hollanders.⁵ The rent was £ 110 a year with £ 230 allowed for repairs.¹⁷

In 1728 a detailed survey of the Manor was prepared for the Duchess. It contains a plan and schedule of the Great and Little Paper Mills which are the basis of figure 3. This is the earliest known accurate plan of any Surrey paper mill. It shows the Great Mill on the north side of the valley immediately below the dam and powered by three waterwheels. The Little Mill was on the south side and its two waterwheels were fed by a 75 m. leat from the pond. Note the characteristic rag house and drying houses, particularly the one near the Little Paper Mill which still survives as a pair of cottages. The tenants of the mills were said to be Mr. Wadking (i.e. Watkins) and Mr. Gay (or Guy), who was probably the resident papermaker.¹⁴

In 1733 the Duchess of Marlborough again leased the mills for 21 years to Richard Boxall.¹⁷ The previous year, when he married Ann Hall, sister of Thomas Hall II of Eashing paper mill, he had been described as a papermaker of Godalming.² The lease refers to drying houses, three engines, which must have been introduced by Watkins, eight mortars and all the wheels and implements.¹⁷ The only references to the mills in the next 30 years are when an explosion at the gunpowder works in 1755 is said to have blown a body over the paper mill and when in 1756 the young William Bray, the Surrey historian, recorded a visit to the mill in his diary.¹⁴ Then in 1763 the Duchess's grandson Earl Spencer leased the mills to Thomas Hall III of Eashing paper mill for 21 years at £ 137 8s. a year. An inventory was prepared and shows that the Great Mill had three engines, a half-stuff chest, two vats, two stuff chests, five presses, three brick cisterns and a sizing copper and three waterwheels 10 ft. in diameter. The Little Mill had two engines, a half-stuff chest, one vat, three presses, a cutting box and two waterwheels 11 ft. in diameter. There were also drying houses with trebles,

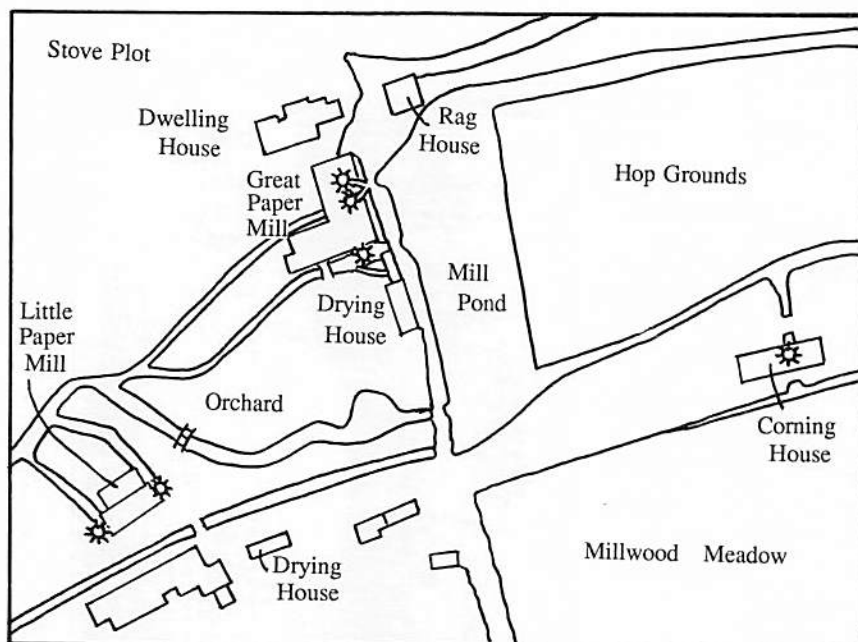


Fig. 3. Plan of Chilworth Great and Little Mills based on a survey of 1728, when they were rented to Mr. Gay and Mr. Watkins.¹⁴ The coming house and the unlabelled buildings belonged to the adjacent gunpowder mills.

lines and frames. Repairs to waterwheels and two new cog wheels and shafts were estimated to cost £ 45 11s.¹⁷

In 1781 Joseph Callow, who is also recorded at Stoke Mill, insured the utensils and stock at Chilworth Mills.¹⁴ It is known that he provided paper to the neighbouring gunpowder makers¹⁸ and also to his landlord, Earl Spencer, who in 1788 paid £ 2 2s. for 2 reams of thick post and £ 2 2s. for 3 reams of foolscap.¹⁷ He paid the land tax up to 1790 but then became bankrupt. He was replaced by Charles Ball and Capt. Wilcox.¹⁴ Ball, who was also at Stoke Mill, wrote to Earl Spencer's agent in 1792 reminding him that timber was needed to repair the mill.¹⁷ However the partnership was dissolved in 1793 and Ball moved to a new mill in Albury Park.^{2, 14} The Chilworth Mills were taken over by Edward Hughes who paid the land tax until 1804. Several examples of his watermarks including the dates 1794, 1795 and 1796 have been found¹⁹ and one is illustrated in figure 12. He attended a meeting of master papermakers in Guildford in 1796 and three years later he and Ball represented each other at further meetings. In 1797 Hughes took out a new 38-year lease on the mills.¹⁴

From 1803 to 1835 Chilworth Great and Little Paper Mills were worked by Hugh Rowland and his son of the same name. Until 1819 Rowland was in partnership with John Crowder who was also his partner in 1804-6 at Westbrook Mill. They were soon in conflict with William Tinkler, the Gunpowder maker at Chilworth, as Rowland had diverted, into the paper mill pond, a stream continually used by Tinkler to produce saltpetre. This problem

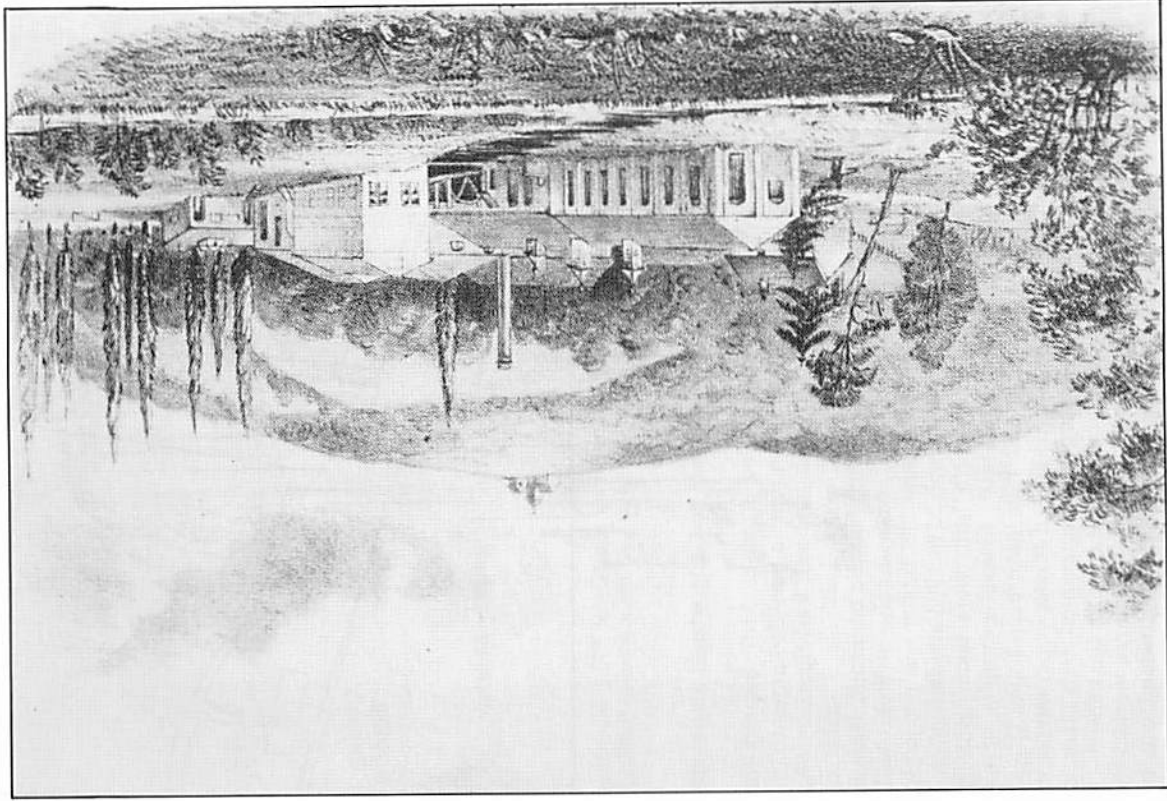


Fig. 4. Print of Chilworth Paper Mills from the south-west drawn by Henry Prosser in about 1846.¹⁴ Note the drying loft on the right; the waterwheel, the long machine room and the church on top of the hill. (Courtesy of the Surrey Archaeological Society).

was settled but there were further difficulties especially after Tinkler purchased Chilworth Manor in 1813 and so became Rowland's landlord. The sale particulars give useful information about the mills. The Great Paper Mill now had a 17-ft. diameter 8-ft. wide breast-shot wheel, two vats and two engines, drying lofts over the mill, sizing, rag and cart houses and a stable. The Little Paper Mill had a 17-ft. diameter 7-ft. wide overshot wheel, two vats, two engines, a sol and drying lofts. The buildings were either brick and tiled or boarded and tiled and the combined annual rent was £ 150. In 1813 Rowland took the advice of Bryan Donkin, who had just developed the first successful papermaking machine, about the proximity of gunpowder 'danger buildings' to his mills. This does not seem to have resulted in him acquiring a machine as examples of his hand-made paper with watermarks 1813, 1821 and 1822 have been recorded (figure 12).¹⁹ The first of these is 'CHILWORTH MILL' and the other two give his surname 'ROWLAND'.¹⁴

The main conflict between Rowland and Tinkler arose in 1816/17 when the powder maker built a new dusting house on a site 114 yards from the paper mill. This site had been empty for 38 years following two serious explosions which had damaged the paper mill. The case was brought to Kingston assizes and the whole proceedings taken down in shorthand and published. One of the witnesses claimed that in 1760-61 when he was a boy an explosion caused the wall of the paper mill to be split nearly from top to bottom and that he assisted in the necessary rebuilding. Another witness was Charles Ball, the son of the former Chilworth papermaker, who was churchwarden of St. Martha's. Following a statement by Major By, Superintendent of the Royal Gunpowder works at Waltham Abbey, that the Chilworth powder mills were now the safest in the kingdom, the jury Found Tinkler not guilty and the judge remarked that the prosecution was the most malicious he remembered.¹⁴

In 1816 the two Chilworth paper mills operated by Hugh Rowland had excise numbers 388 and 487. Rowland also held the nearby Postford Upper Mill from 1821 to 1824. Hugh Rowland senior was bankrupt in 1829 but his son seems to have continued at Chilworth as four years later mill 388 was working although 487 was no longer in use. However by 1834 Rowland junior was a papermaker at Blagny near Abbeville in France. He was bankrupt in 1837 but five years later an English papermaker called Rowland was visited by Bryan Donkin at mills near Heidelberg in Germany.¹⁴

A new paper mill known as Great (?) Mill and operated by Edward White opened near Guildford in 1836. It was given the excise number 125, suggesting that it was really Chilworth Mill which held this number later. In 1837 there was a sale at the mill ²⁰ and the following year it had ceased operating. Again in 1841 all the plant and machinery was pulled down and sold ²⁰ and a year later the mill, now given the old number 388, was said to be 'left off'. Also the mill is not shown on the St. Martha's tithe map of 1846. In that year Lord Lovaine, later to become the Duke of Northumberland, who had acquired Chilworth Manor, leased a new paper mill at Chilworth, number 125, to Henry Sanford for 40 years. This is probably the mill as shown in the print by Henry Prosser reproduced as figure 4. Separate records of 1851 state three of the four beating engines at Chilworth were working and that 125 had again 'left off'. Then in 1852 a petition of bankruptcy was filed against John Edward Spicer of Chilworth and Alton paper manufacturer. There are no other records of the Spicers being at Chilworth. However, as they produced only hand-made paper

at Alton they were interested in working a machine mill.¹⁴

When the mills were offered for sale in 1855 Henry Allnutt junior was the tenant and the advertisements contain a very useful description of the buildings, the contents, the water supply and the rents. In particular there was a supply of pure spring water, a high pressure steam boiler for breaking down the rags, eight washing and beating engines driven by two 17 ft.-diameter iron waterwheels, a papermaking machine and two hydraulic presses. Allnutt, who in 1840 was at Woking Mill, belonged to an important family of papermakers with mills in Kent and Buckinghamshire. He remained at Chilworth until 1870 and died at Alton in 1879. Chilworth Mill was offered for sale with vacant possession and the advertisements refer to a 60 in.-wide papermaking machine driven by a 10 hp. horizontal steam engine. The mills were bought not by a papermaker but by George Unwin who used the mill buildings as a printing works until they were burned down in a disastrous fire in 1895. Following the fire Unwins moved to the former paper mill at Woking which had recently closed. Meanwhile the rubble at Chilworth was cleared and the site of the mill became part of the garden of the old mill house which escaped the fire. All remains of the Little Paper Mill have also disappeared. Only one piece of machinery from the mills is known to survive. This is an iron cylinder or roll from the papermaking machine which has been converted into the heavy roller used by the neighbouring Blackheath Cricket Club.¹⁴

Westbrook Mill - a genteel paper mill

There are records of corn, fulling, flock, flannel, silk, tanning and oiled-leather mills as well as paper mills at Westbrook, which is on the River Wey, 300 m. north-west of Godalming church. Richard Boxall and Richard Tickner, who were related to Thomas Hall of Eashing mill,² and William Faggetter were described as papermakers of Godalming in 1732, 1751 and 1772 respectively and were probably active here.^{5, 21} However the first definite evidence of a paper mill at Westbrook is a 45-year lease dated 1770.²¹ Five years later, referred to as 'a genteel paper mill' it was for sale and applications had to be made to Richard Tickner who moved to Berkshire.^{5, 21} At this time the Westbrook estate, including the mills, was held by General James Oglethorpe, founder of the State of Georgia. The lease of the paper mill was purchased by a Mr. Demeza and he and his wife were there until 1790.^{5, 22} The Westbrook estate was then sold to Nathaniel Godbold a quack doctor who made a fortune from his invention of a vegetable balsam. The sale particulars contained the detailed account of the paper mill and its equipment which is reproduced as figure 5.²¹

Godbold leased the paper mill to George Smith and John Knight junior. The latter with his father of the same name had earlier been the papermaker at Catteshall Mill. During the 1790s Smith and Knight took out several insurances on Westbrook paper mill, in which it is described as 'boarded and tiled'. Smith became bankrupt in 1803²² and between then and 1842, when it finally closed, there were many tenants most of whom also had financial problems.²¹⁻²³ They included Hugh Rowland of Chilworth Mill, Thomas Harrison of Catteshall and Eashing Mills and his sons Thomas and William, James Magnay of Postford and Stoke Mills and William Twycross whose family ran the leather mills at

SALE PARTICULARS OF WESTBROOK MILL, 15 SEPTEMBER 1790

An extensive paper mill with 2 vats, the principal part of which has been recently erected and is in excellent order and contains the following valuable fixtures which will be sold with the mill, being let together to Mrs Demeza, papermaker, at per annum £120 clear rent.

In the Old Part of the Mill. A vat and cover, a stuff chest lined with lead, cover, server, lead pipe, and brass cock, a press with iron nut and screw, blocks, planks, winch and levers to ditto, an engine lined with lead, lead pump pipes and brass cocks.

New Part of the Mill. A vat and cover, a large stuff chest with cover, a press with iron nut and screw, planks, winch, levers, and engine with plate; the rag lattices and two bins, a copper of 180 gallons as fixed in brickwork, brass cock, iron work and lead pipe from the cisterns, a packing press with iron nut and screw, blocks and planks, a dye chest lined with lead; a twelve foot shute, and a potash chest lined with lead.

Sol. Three presses with iron nuts and screws, blocks, planks, winches, levers to ditto, work benches, containing 40 ft running measure, with standards and bearers, one ditto on trestles and a stool and five pair of treble sides with hair lines.

Old Drying Loft. 40 standards, trebles and lines. New addition to the loft, 34 standards, trebles and lines. Rag House. 5 bins and lattices.

New Drying House. 66 standards trebles and lines.

Fig. 5. Sale particulars of Westbrook paper mill, part of the Manor of Westbrook, 15th. September 1790.²¹



Fig. 6. Westbrook paper mill based on a pencil sketch by Waring Kidd (1789-1884) probably drawn in about 1840.²¹ This view of the mill and house is from the east looking up the mill tail.

Westbrook. When the lease was offered for sale in 1810 the mill was said to be 'a well arranged three-vat Paper-Mill with all the necessary appurtenances in compleat repair, abundantly supplied with water which scarcely ever fails'.²⁴ However a few days later it was stated that extensive repairs were needed, to be carried out by the tenants!²¹ Then in 1823 when the Freehold was for sale the 'valuable paper mill' had an engine or hollander, only two vats, a finishing room or salle, workshops and drying rooms over.²¹ The drawing of the mill in figure 6 is based on a sketch of this period.²¹ The site of the paper mill was developed as the Salgasson corn mill in the 1860s.²⁵ Then in 1881 this was the location of the waterwheel and generator for the first public supply of electricity in the world.²⁶ Leather manufacture continued to the 1950s and Westbrook Mill was redeveloped in 1983 as the international headquarters of Kennedy & Donkin, Consulting Engineers.

Barford Mills - founded on ill-gotten gold coins

At Barford there was a series of three mills straddling a small stream which rises near Hindhead and flows 5 km. north-north-west to feed Frensham Great Pond and hence the Haslemere branch of the River Wey. This stream forms the parish boundary between Frensham in Surrey and Headley in Hampshire so that the mills lie on the County boundary. Traditionally they were known as Barford Upper, Barford, and Barford Lower. The central mill was a corn mill and worked until after the First World War²⁷ but Barford Upper and Lower were both paper mills. The following story relating to the coaching days at Hindhead, is told about the establishment of these mills.²⁸ 'Now and again at night a portmanteau would be stolen; one containing a quantity of gold was so cut off a post-chaise by a man called Pimm, who invested his ill-gotten coin in purchasing land; he built two paper-mills at Barford, a beautiful steep valley; but the mills never prospered, one reason being their inaccessibility.' The mill house at Barford Lower Mill is said to have been built in 1738²⁷ and this date could correspond to the events described in this tale. Indeed one year later a daughter of William Eade papermaker was buried at Headley.⁵

In 1757 Richard Pim papermaker of Bramshott insured his corn mill and paper mill under one roof in the parish of Headley.⁵ Three years later now described as a papermaker of Headley he again insured this property.⁵ It is not known to which of the Barford mills these references relate, but on Rocque's map of Surrey dated 1768 the Lower Mill and a second mill which appears to be the Upper Mill are labelled 'Barford Paper Mill' and 'Paper Mill' respectively. In 1771 Allen Mills papermaker of Barford insured the utensils and stock in a paper mill but in 1777 he was bankrupt and a year later one of the Barford paper mills 'well adapted for making printing papers' was to be let or sold.²⁹ Abraham Harding became the tenant in 1781 and remained until after 1790. Several watermarks with the initials 'AH' and Britannia are known from this period (see figure 12) and are likely to refer to Harding.¹⁹

The Pims were associated with Barford mills until 1809³⁰ when Henry Pim junior died and left his property to his five sisters including Sarah Knight.³¹ Her husband Richard is then recorded as the owner and occupier of the mills and land at Barford until 1832.³⁰ However for over 30 years at the beginning of the nineteenth century Francis and Timothy Bryant, together with several partners

Bramshott, Standford, & Barford Paper Mills,
No. 119, No. 120, No. 122,
Near Liphook, Hants, October, 1st 1861.

Dear Sir,

Having now arrived at the expiration of the Paper Duty, we beg to inform you that released from the restrictions of the Excise, we shall be enabled to execute orders without delay:

We take this opportunity of thanking our Customers for the favors bestowed upon our lamented Father during the past 140 years, and beg to say the firm will now be carried on, in the name of Warren Brothers.

Soliciting your future favors,

We remain,

Your obedient Servants,

Warren Brothers

George Roe Warren, will sign Warren Brothers

Andrew Warren, will sign Warren Brothers

Fig. 7. Letter dated 1861 from Warren Brothers of Bramshott, Standford and Barford Mills. (Courtesy of J. L. G. Warren of Headley).

including Mr. Dusantoy, Samuel Hale and James Harman, were the papermakers.²² In 1816 the excise numbers 121 and 123 were allocated to Barford Upper and Lower Mills respectively.²⁹ However the excise records are confusing as later the Upper Mill became 122 and the Lower Mill 121 and then 122. It seems that the Upper Mill closed in 1832 but Timothy Bryant probably stayed at the Lower Mill until 1837.²² In 1839 William Howard was at Barford Paper Mills but a year later he left to set up paper mills in Russia, returning to

Chartham Mill in Kent in 1871.³² However William Warren, who had been papermaker at Bramshott since 1823, appears to have taken over Barford Lower in 1837.²² There are several records of him at the mill, which came to be known as Barford Paper Mill, up to 1860, although from 1851, when one beating engine was working and none idle, he was in partnership with his two sons George Roe and Andrew.^{22, 27, 29} By 1860 it had become a half-stuff mill and for five years after that it was worked by Warren Bros: see figure 7.^{22, 31, 33} After 1865 it no longer appears in the Paper Mills Directory and soon became a flock mill employing about 50 people.²⁷ The Warren family sold the copyhold of the property in 1891 and the sale particulars³¹ describe the buildings as a three-storey brick and stone sorting house with slate roof, a stone built mill with an iron overshot waterwheel 18 ft in. diameter and 6 ft. wide, a residence with several outbuildings and two cottages in four tenements. Little survives of the mill but the mill house has been restored and is now known as 'The Old Mill'. The Upper Mill cottages survive as a house known as 'Barracks' and all three sites retain their very attractive ponds. The Lower and Middle mills are reputed to have been used by smugglers to hide contraband spirit, brought from the coast, in secret chambers reached through the waterwheels!²⁷

Merton Mills - ancestors of the Merton Board Mills

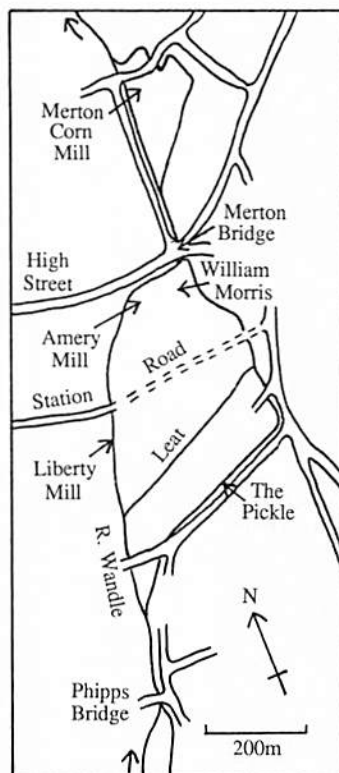
The River Wandle flows through Merton in a 'New Cut' which acted as the mill stream for a series of mills. However the old channel, known as The Pickle, and several leats also served industrial sites and still carry water. There were corn, copper, brazil, calico, silk and other fabric printing mills and the locations of these are shown on the sketch map of figure 8.³⁴⁻³⁶ They were mainly on the former land of Merton Priory which passed into industrial use in the eighteenth century. In particular Liberty's printing works, on the site of a former calico mill, produced silks for Liberty's shop in Regent Street from about 1877 and still retains its waterwheel. A second calico mill nearer the High Street became in 1881 the works of William Morris the writer, artist and early socialist. There was also a calico mill upstream at Phipps Bridge which later became a varnish and japanning works. Amery or Amoric Mill, on the south side of the High Street west of Merton Bridge, was used for corn, dyewoods and then, until at least 1865, copper. Finally downstream from Merton Bridge, actually lying in the parish of Wimbledon, stood the large Merton Corn Mill, which later became Connolly's leather works.³⁴⁻³⁶

Paper mills existed at Merton during three distinct periods but unfortunately in the case of the first two it is not known at which of the above sites they were located. The only reference found to the first of these mills is in 1774 when 'some villains set fire to the paper mill belonging to Mr. Higgins at Martin and burnt it to the ground'. The damage was estimated at £ 1100.⁵ It is possible that the mill, which does not appear to have been rebuilt, was at Phipps Bridge. The next reference to a paper mill is in 1832 when James Bagshaw was allocated excise number 115.^{5, 22} This must have been a new mill but it did not survive long as by 1845 number 115 had been allocated to a different mill. Also in 1840 Charles Daniel Nichols, late of Merton, formerly a papermaker, was an insolvent debtor.²² This mill could have been at the William Morris site.

The third Merton paper mill had its first entry in the Paper Mills Directory in

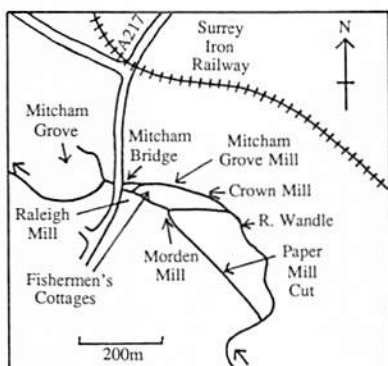
1895 and was on the Amery or Merton Copper Mills site in the High Street.³³ It was called the Merton Abbey Mills and was run at first by the Metropolitan Paper Co. making printings, news, cartridges, common and superfine middles, railway tickets, etc., on one 90 in. machine using steam and water power.³³ There was a fire at the works in July 1895 which destroyed a large store shed and some 250 tons of waste paper, the damage of about £ 1000 being covered by insurance.³⁷ It was reported that 'As the local fire brigade had never had anything to do it was suggested some time ago that they should apply a match to this shed and give an exhibition of their prowess. Mr. Bill the manager of the works is also the captain of the fire brigade and is being subjected to a good deal of "chaff" in this suggestion now'. In 1897 the mill was producing 30 to 40 tons per week and then a year later it was taken over by Albert E. Reed & Co. making super-calendered printings and fine news on one 80 in. machine using steam power.³³ Reed, the founder of Reed International, already owned paper mills in Kent and in 1907 acquired Catteshall Mill at Godalming. He left the Merton Abbey Mills in 1917.²² The buildings were replaced in 1923 by a very large factory for the Merton Board Mills. This was destroyed in the Second World War but rebuilt and extended to engulf the adjacent William Morris site.³⁸ It became the Merton Packaging Works of the Dickinson Robinson Group and was the last Surrey paper mill to retain a close link with modern paper technology.³⁴ The buildings were demolished in 1985 and the property, together with the nearby Liberty's site, has been redeveloped for commercial, residential and leisure purposes.

Fig. 8. Location map of Merton Mills. There were three paper mills at the Amery Mill site and perhaps at the William Morris and Phipps Bridge sites.



Morden Mill - a cluster of snuff, corn and paper mills

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as shown by figure 9, there was a group of four mills on the River Wandle just upstream from Mitcham Bridge, which carries the A217 from Reigate to London.^{34, 36} Mitcham Grove Mill was



the largest and operated as a corn mill until 1901. It lay across the main course of the river but this has since been diverted. Adjacent to this mill on the upstream side was Crown Mill which was used for snuff and corn milling and, after about 1850, several other industries. Another mill, known locally as Raleigh's Snuff Mill, although it had no connection with Sir Walter, was on the south-west bank close to the bridge. It was empty by 1834. Finally Morden Mill was at the northern end of a canal through the Watermeads, a National Trust bird sanctuary on the Morden or left bank of the river. This was a paper mill, and later perhaps a snuff mill, and the canal is known as Paper Mill Cut.^{34, 36}

Fig. 9. Location map of Morden Mill, where paper was made, and of other mills near Mitcham Bridge.

The mills were leased to Edward Nash who died in 1781 and left them to Richard Glover of Norwood, to whom he was related by marriage.³⁶ Glover soon converted Morden Mill to paper making. In particular 'R GLOVER' watermarks dated 1795 and 1797 have been recorded (see figure 12).¹⁹ Glover was represented by Charles Ball of Albury Park and Thomas Curteis of Carshalton at general meetings of master papermakers in 1799 and is also recorded as a papermaker in 1803. The land tax assessment for his property on the Morden side of the river increased from £ 19 to £ 63 in 1804 which was probably due to the building of the Raleigh snuff mill.³⁹ Certainly in 1809 two snuff mills in the occupation of Glover were insured by Henry Hoare, a banker who lived at Mitcham Grove downstream from the bridge.²² Glover was still making paper in 1814 as he insured his paper mill at Morden near Mitcham Bridge,⁵ but the mill may have closed shortly afterwards as it does not seem to have been issued with an excise number in 1816.²² However the sale notices of the extensive Hoare estates, which were auctioned in 1828, included a paper mill which was presumably at this site. After papermaking ceased the property was used for snuff milling by Glover's son Richard, but he was bankrupt in 1835 and the mill fell into disuse and was derelict by 1846.^{34, 36}

There is a tradition that the Surrey Iron Railway, the oldest public railway in the world, which was opened from Wandsworth to Croydon in 1803 and ran through Mitcham, had workshops near these mills.³⁴ It is also recorded that iron wheels from old railway waggons were reused to form a breakwater to protect the walls of the mill buildings. Two of these wheels were salvaged in the 1960s from the bed of the Paper Mill Cut near its confluence with the river.³⁴ Today only the wheel pit of Morden Paper Mill remains. However a row of small, picturesque, weatherboarded, mill cottages, dating from the late eighteenth century, survives. These are known as Fishermen's Cottages because the bailiff of the Wandle Fisheries Association used to live in one of them. Previously they

had provided homes for the Glovers and other families who had operated the mills.^{34, 36}

Woking Mill - Gustav Bernhardt Fischer was an Englishman

The paper mill at what is now known as Old Woking was built in 1839-40 on the site of former corn and snuff mills by a London stationer William Venables.^{22, 40} As shown in figure 10 there are four interconnected water courses in the neighbourhood of the mill: the original River Wey which now carries very little water but still defines the parish boundary between Woking and Send with Ripley, the millstream to its west, and the Wey Navigation and a flood relief channel to its east. The navigation was used by the mill but more important was the London and South Western Railway which reached Woking Heath, 2 km. to the north west, in 1838 and acted as the nucleus of modern Woking. The Venables family owned several paper mills in Buckinghamshire in the early 1800s and William became an Alderman of the City of London in 1821, Lord Mayor in 1826 and a Member of Parliament in 1831. He died in 1840 while his Woking Mill was being built.⁶

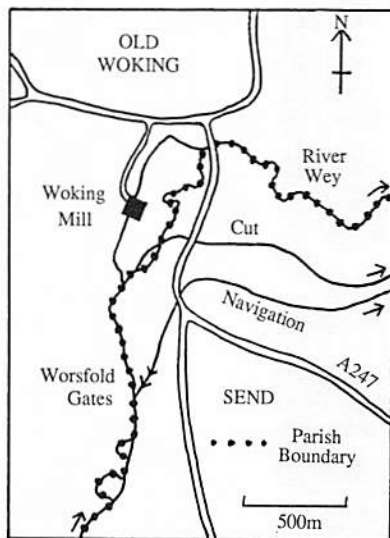


Fig. 10. Location map of Woking paper mill.
The parish boundary follows the original course of the River Wey with the millstream in Woking and the Navigation in Send.

The mill, allocated excise number 374, appears to have opened in July 1840 when the poor rate increased from £ 22 to £ 270.⁴⁰ It was run by Henry Allnutt junior, Alfred Wilson and William Tyler but after a few months Allnutt left and Wilson and Tyler continued with a new partner Joshua Oldham. In 1850 the mill was advertised for sale as being recently erected upon the best principles, with two large waterwheels, 12 large engines, Donkin's machines, and bleaching and gas apparatus.²² It was purchased by Henry Virtue Bailey (Bayley) and in 1851 he and Wilson were recorded as the papermakers at the mill.^{22, 33} Bailey & Co. remained at Woking until 1871, their London representatives being Venables, Tyler & Son.³³ Bailey gave his address as Woking and Newark Mills²² but there is no evidence of paper having been made at Newark, which is 3 km. downstream. He died aged 71 in 1879.⁴¹

From 1874 to 1887 the mill was worked by the Woking Paper Co. making at first newsprint but later cartridges, royal hands, middles, small hands, coloured

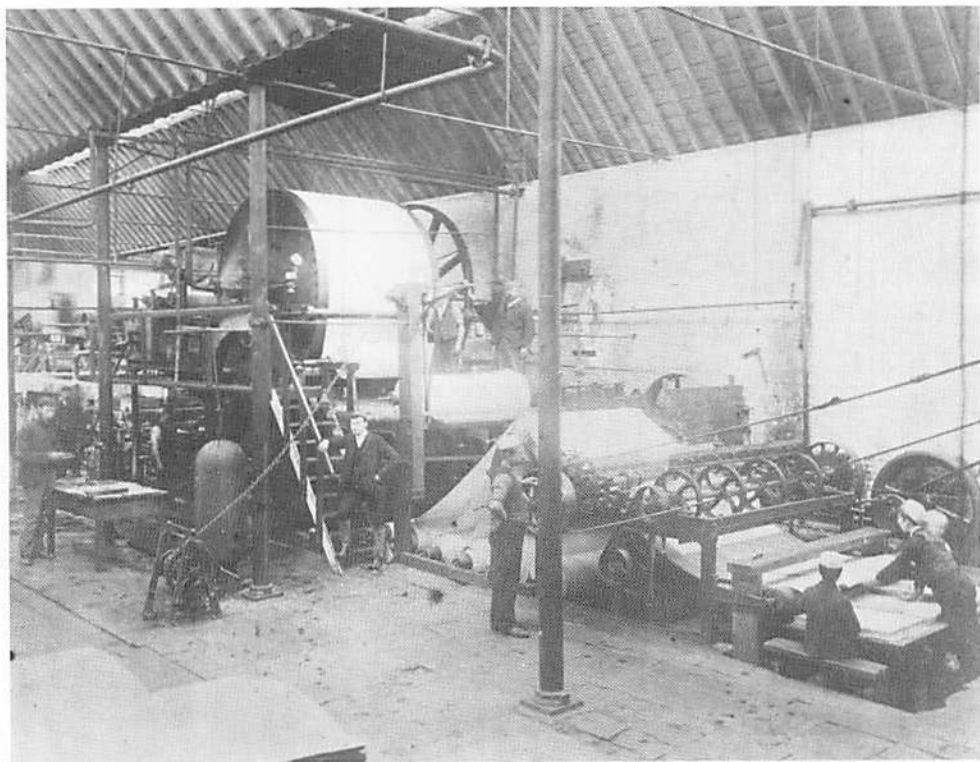


Fig. 11. Interior view of Woking Paper Mill showing a cutting machine in the right foreground being operated by three boys and a papermaking machine with one large cylinder in the background. The arched name plate on the frame of the cylinder bears the inscription 'Bertram, Engineers, Leith Walk, Edinburgh'. The photograph was probably taken in 1892. (Courtesy of Unwin Brothers).

papers and mill wrappers were added to the products.³³ The raw materials included esparto root waste brought by barge from Catteshall paper mill.⁴² They had one papermaking machine 70 in. wide in 1876 but a second 60-in. machine was added in 1882.³³ A year later two 35-in. Victor water turbines were installed²² and in 1885 they were also using steam power.³³ During this period John Nevinson Way was in charge of the mill but in 1886 he died of cancer of the cheek.⁴³ At the same time the firm ran into difficulties and in 1887 they went into voluntary liquidation blaming scarcity and pollution of their water supply.⁴⁴ The following machinery was offered for sale at low prices: two revolving rag boilers; two hydraulic presses and pumps; 14-ft. iron waterwheel; coal gas making plant and dry meter for 150 lights; rag chopper, 5½-ft. wheel; horizontal engine, 7-in. cylinder; pair brass sizing rolls; drying cylinder, thick copper breast roll and sundry iron rolls for 60 in. machine.⁴⁴

The mill was sold in 1888 to Gustav Bernhardt Fischer who, despite his name, wanted it to be known that he was a naturalised Englishman and was not employing foreign labour. The capacity at this time was said to be 50 tons per week. The firm of G. Fischer & Co. Ltd. was formed in 1889 with a nominal capital of £ 25,000 in £ 1 shares.⁴⁵ A year later the mill had one 60-in. and two 72-in. machines and the output was 100 tons per week including tissues, manillas, caps, cartridges, glazed casings, royal hands and browns.³³ The raw materials now included wood pulp which was delivered by barge from London.⁴⁶ However Fischer soon ran into financial difficulties and in April 1890 a liquidator Mr. Godfrey was appointed and Charles Snook took over the management.^{45, 47}

Nevertheless production continued and in 1892 a new 14-cylinder, 84-in. wide Bertram's patent reeling machine was installed. The photograph of equipment and workers inside the mill, which is reproduced as figure 11, was probably taken at this time. Mr. Faust, who may not have been English, was now the manager and two papermaking machines were in full work. This phase was however short lived as in 1893 the Woking Paper Co. Ltd. was declared bankrupt and W. B. Keen was appointed receiver and manager.⁴⁸ The following year the business was being run by Woking Paper Mills Ltd. with two machines producing 40 tons per week²² but in August 1895 the mill was for sale with a reserve price of £ 7000.⁴⁹ It was taken over by Unwin Brothers Ltd. and converted into a printing works.⁵⁰ Unwins had previously occupied the former paper mill site below St. Martha's church at Chilworth. They called their new Woking premises the 'St. Martha Printing Works' and this is still active today.

Wallington Mill - a 'Royal' paper mill

The paper mill at Wallington stood just above the bridge which takes the A327 or London Road across the Croydon branch of the River Wandle. It lay on the south bank of the present river but spanned a millstream which has now been filled.³⁶ This site was originally occupied by a corn mill but was also used for calico bleaching and printing, logwood grinding for dyes, flock making and manufacture of horsehair seating.^{22, 36} The main building reverted to being a corn mill in about 1830³⁶ and by 1860 it had become a machine paper mill. The mill number was 497 and the first known papermaker was William Frederick Butler making royal hands and browns.³³ However in the Paper Mills Directory

for 1862 Edward S. Manico is recorded as the paper manufacturer at Wallington Bridge²² and when he retired in July 1886 it was said that he had worked the Royal Mill for 27 years.⁵¹ The name Royal was probably used because this was presumed to be the site of the royal corn mills listed for Wallington in the Domesday Survey.³⁶ In 1885 the mill was producing white, blue and grey royal hands and browns, and had a 50-in. machine.²² Manico retired following a meeting with his creditors and the mill was taken over by William Reuben Brown who had been a machineman and then a manager at the mill for about 26 years. It was said that he would attend to all orders personally.⁵¹ The motive power was steam and water and he produced 6 tons of paper weekly in 1890. The raw materials were waste paper and bagging.²² Work ceased in 1893³³ and the mill was derelict until 1914 when it reverted again to corn.³⁶ It then became a chocolate factory and the yellow brick buildings were eventually demolished in 1966 to create the present carpark.³⁶

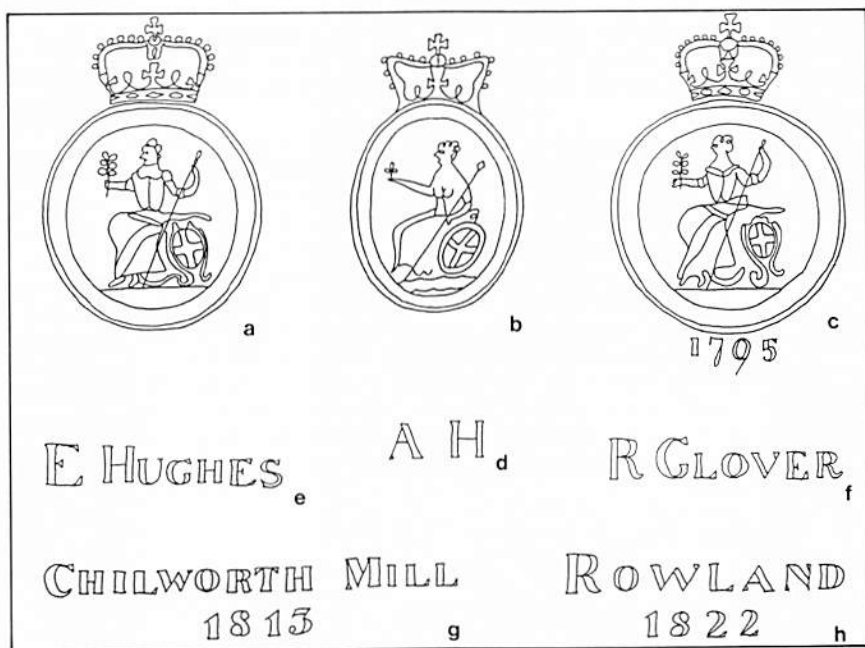


Fig. 12. Watermarks and countermarks traced from paper made by Abraham Harding at Barford Mills in about 1785 (a & d), Richard Glover at Morden Mill (b & f), Edward Hughes at Chilworth Mill (c), and Hugh Rowland at Chilworth Mills (c, g & h).¹⁹ All the drawings are to the same scale, the word CHILWORTH in (g) being 115 mm. long in the original.

Concluding Remarks

The series of three articles, of which the present paper forms the concluding part, has provided brief notes on thirty Surrey paper mills. For most of these mills far more information than could be included is available and further material is continually being collected. In addition several other Surrey paper mills existed for short periods of time in what is now south-west London. The most interesting of these is a Southwark windmill described as a paper mill on a view of London published by Sutton Nicholls in 1710. It appears again in a 1724 panorama by the same artist but there all knowledge of it ends. The site was near Great Surrey Street which was later renamed Blackfriars Road.⁵² Only three other British wind-powered paper mills are known and these are all late eighteenth century.⁴ A second Southwark mill is known from a single 1800 record that 'the newly erected manufactory for paper from straw in Bermondsey Street, Borough, was blown down'.⁵³ There were also mid-nineteenth-century mills in Mansfield Street and Great Guildford Street.^{22, 53-55} Southwark also had five board mills in the period 1829 to 1849. In Bermondsey, in addition to the Neckinger Mills, there were paper mills for short periods between 1817 and 1852 in St. Helena Lane, Blue Anchor Lane, Blue Anchor Road, Cottage Row, Bermondsey Wall and Staple Street.²² Finally Garrett paper mill, occupied by the Wandle Patent Pulp and Paper Co. was about 400 m. south-west of Earlsfield railway station and operated between 1862 and 1873.²²

It is the author's intention, in due course, to present and analyse all of the available information on Surrey's paper mills in a substantial book. In the meantime he invites all readers with knowledge of these mills, of the papermakers and of the paper they produced to share their information with him.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to Glenys Crocker who has collaborated with him on much of the research on which this article is based. Others who have made significant contributions include Christine and John Baden, the late Rowland Baker, the late George Buttriss, Robin Clarke, Laurence Giles, the late George Greenwood, Martin Kane, Eric Montague, Bernard Pardoe, David Taylor, Richard Unwin, John Warren and Michael Wilks. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Guildford Muniment Room, Godalming Library, Godalming Museum, the Surrey, Hampshire and Northamptonshire Record Offices, the Public Record Office, the Northumberland Estate Offices at Alnwick and Albury, the Science Museum Library, the British Museum Library and the Guildhall Library.

References

Abbreviations:	G.M.R.	Guildford Muniment Room
	P.R.O.	Public Record Office
	Sy.A.S.	Surrey Archaeological Society
	S.I.H.G.	Surrey Industrial History Group
	S.R.O.	Surrey Record Office

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BUDGEN : A TRADING FAMILY

Ron Davis

Egham-by-Runnymede Historical Society.

Budgens - Millers and Malsters

Many of today's multiple stores had humble beginnings such as a market stall or a single shop. The grocery chain of Budgen Ltd., on the other hand, though it started with a single store in Reigate, had a sound basis in agricultural trading. Malting and flour milling by wind power were the source of the Budgen family's income in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the tiny hamlet of Outwood in east Surrey. Outwood, about five miles from modern Redhill, only became a parish in 1870 after the church was built in 1869.¹ Before this the hamlet was partly in Horne, partly in Burstow and to a small extent in Bletchingly. In 1811 the total population of Horne and Burstow together numbered little over 1000.

The Budgen family has occupied this part of Surrey since at least the fifteenth century,² the name occurring in Croydon, Newdigate, Dorking, Charlwood and Nutfield besides those in Outwood. The basic relationships are given in figure 1. So many of the Outwood Budgen family are called John that it has been necessary to number them John I, John II, etc. to avoid confusion.

The Story of Outwood Mill published by the Thomas Brothers in 1989 carries a photograph of an indenture granting Thomas Budgen of Nutfield a 500-year lease at 5 shillings a year of half an acre of land on which he had recently erected a windmill, the land being in the manor of Burstow.³ The indenture is dated 11th. October 1665.⁴ The mill passed through two or three generations of Budgens until in the middle of the eighteenth century it was in the hands of John Budgen who will be referred to as John I. The business must have prospered because John I was by then in possession of not only a windmill but also a blacksmith's forge and a malthouse. When he died in 1700, John I left the brick-based post mill to his son Ezekiel, the blacksmith's forge to his son William and the malthouse to his son, John II. His daughters Joanna, Sarah and Jane were left sums of money and provision was made for his widow, Mary.⁵ William only outlived his father twelve years and in 1772 he left the blacksmith's forge to his brother, Ezekiel, and sums of money to John II, Sarah, Jane and Joanna.⁶ William did not work the forge himself. In 1700 Thomas Constable was the tenant and in 1772, George Fry.

John II married Mary Brown of Burstow in 1761 and his sister Joanna married John Jupp in 1770. His brother Ezekiel married Ann Brooke in 1785. Ann does not appear to have borne Ezekiel any children. He formed an alliance with Maria (or Riah) Carpenter of Outwood by whom he had two children, Ann born in 1789 and Ezekiel in 1791. Neither of these was acknowledged in his will, proved in 1807.⁷ It is not known what happened to the younger Ann but the

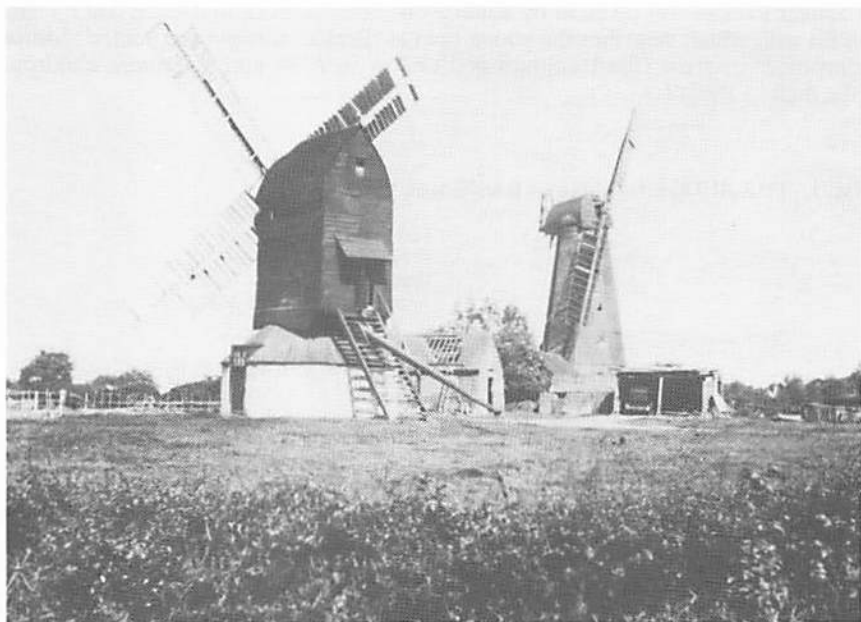


Fig. 2. The Two Windmills at Outwood in the 1930s. (*Courtesy of Surrey Local Studies Library*).

While all this was taking place, John II's five daughters were all getting married, some most advantageously. Ann married Melancthon Sanders who owned the Manor of Burstow Lodge where he lived according to Manning and Bray 'with great hospitality'.⁹ Jane married William Clement, Gentleman of Nutfield who in 1808 sold his share of the Manor of Nutfield.¹⁰ William became one of the executors of John II's will. Elizabeth married Henry Kelsey who owned Burstow Park and Wasps Green farm and leased Stonehouse farm, also in Burstow.¹¹ Henry died in 1827 and Elizabeth in 1844 as a tablet in Burstow church records.

It is not difficult to imagine the tensions within the Budgen family with John's daughters ascending the social ladder while their uncle was disregarding convention. It was in fact through the will of Ezekiel, written in 1801 and proved in 1807, that the windmill left the Budgen family. Ezekiel made apparently minimal provision for his legal wife and none, as mentioned above, for his natural children. A sister and his brother John II received only one shilling each. Members of the Jupp family, to whom he was related through his sister Joanna, all received sums of money. (See Appendix 7). John Jupp, whom he refers to as 'cousin'¹² received during his lifetime the use of Ezekiel's house, butcher's shop and the windmill and granary. The butcher's shop seems to have been a new venture not mentioned earlier in wills or other documents. The butcher's shop had a tenant, John Skinner.

Ezekiel further decreed that, after John Jupp's decease, the windmill was to stay in the Jupp family. The 1851 census shows a John Jupp still in residence.

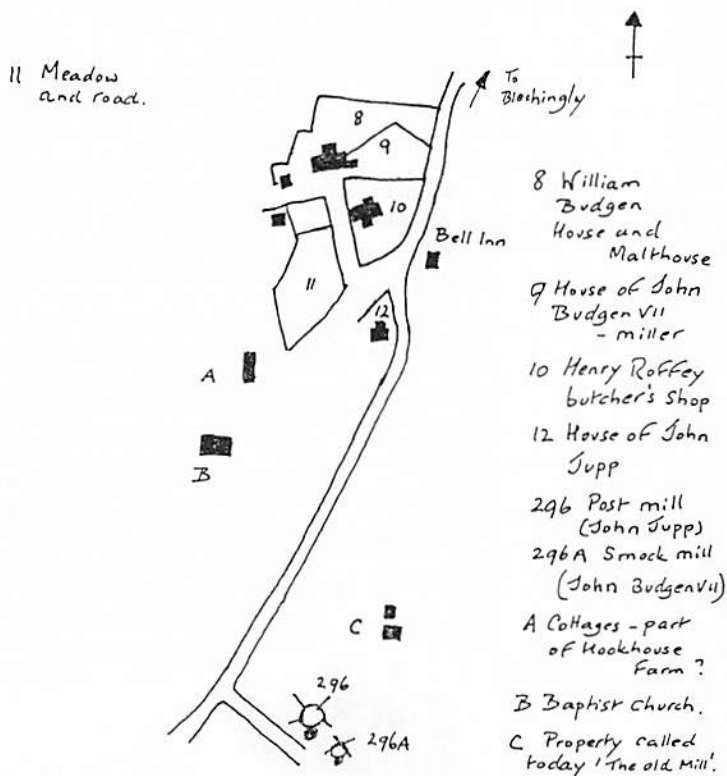


Fig. 3. Sketch Showing Budgen and Jupp Property at Outwood 1841-2, with some later additions. (Based loosely on the tithe maps of Horne and Burstow, with road re-alignment as in the Outwood parish map of 1867).

The house and butcher's shop, however, were to pass to Thomas Budgen, the second son of John II. Thomas, however, died in East Grinstead in 1842 before John Jupp. The Jupp family remained at the windmill for a very long time. In about 1934, S. P. B. Mais, describing a visit to Outwood, mentions the owner of the mill, Mr. William Jupp, who he says was born in 1856 and is 'as agile as a boy'. The mill was still grinding corn 'whenever there is a wind'. William Jupp, Mais says, was also a farmer.¹³

Ezekiel's brother, John II, maltster and yeoman, prospered as did many farmers in the Napoleonic wars. When he died in 1823, all his daughters received £ 250 each by his will. Clauses in the will allowed the money to go to grandchildren if the daughters were deceased. John's son, Thomas, who was to inherit his uncle Ezekiel's house and butcher's shop, received £ 450. William II, the third son, inherited £ 400 and the house he was living in, which his father had purchased from Robert Scriven. Having a windmill would appear to have been a status symbol in Outwood so that the family Budgen having lost the original mill decided to build themselves a new one, a smock mill, higher than the original seventeenth-century post mill and only a few yards from it. Thomas

Dickson, the Lord of the Manor of Burstow, had devised to William Budgen II, in 1796, a piece of land on Outwood Common for 200 years with liberty to enclose and to build a windmill.¹⁴ William II had a son, John, who will be referred to as John VII. John VII received a legacy of £300 from his grandfather, John II. This £300 plus the £400 which William received could have financed the building of the smock mill at Outwood. To date no precise information has been found to indicate when the option to build the smock mill was taken up. The smock mill no longer stands. It collapsed in 1961 and was not rebuilt. John VII was still at the smock mill in 1841 with his son, John VIII, but by 1851 John VIII's brother, Joseph, had become the miller. The post mill was still run by the Jupp family, the occupants being 39-year-old John, his wife Mary and their family.

John III inherited the bulk of his father's property at Outwood. This consisted in the main of a freehold house, a malthouse and land. Into this property he put his son, William III, who carried on the business of maltster. He was still there in 1851. A number of the old Budgen properties on Outwood Common still stand but have had major 'face-lifts' to turn them into modern residences. The Bell Inn opposite still retains an eighteenth-century atmosphere. The Bell was in the old parish of Blechingly; most of the old Budgen property was in Horne although some of it, like the windmills, was in Burstow. This has made research complicated. Most of the area went into the newly created parish of Outwood in the 1860s. John III had at some time acquired a property at 'Roberts at Hole' or 'Hole Farm' in Reigate Foreign (modern Redhill), north west of Outwood. Like his father he married a girl from Burstow. She was called Elizabeth Hale.

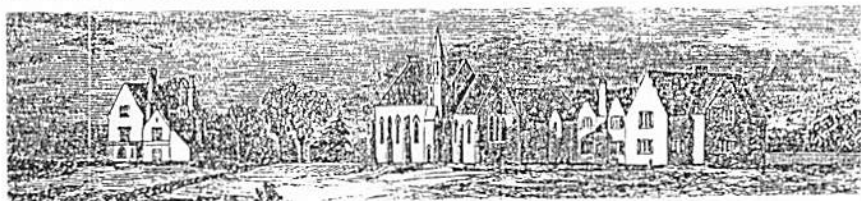


Fig. 4. John Budgen III's Farm at Roberts at Hole as part of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School for the Reformation of Criminal Boys. (A section of a woodcut in the *Illustrated London News* for June 14th, 1851. Courtesy of Surrey Record Office).

Religious Affiliations

There was a strong Baptist tradition in Outwood and Horne. A Baptist chapel existed in Horne in 1754. Another Baptist chapel was built in Outwood in 1835 and by March 1851 had a congregation of 100.¹⁵ There is a suggestion that in the seventeenth century the Budgens were Baptists - one even a preacher.¹⁶ No baptisms could be found in the Horne or Burstow parish registers for the children of John I and of those of John II only the eldest daughter, Sarah, appears in 1761. In 1762, however, the 'notorious Kydgell', as he is described in Manning & Bray, was installed as Vicar of Horne. He also had the living of Godstone. He was frequently absent and attempts were made to eject him in 1776 but he escaped to Flanders. Elizabeth and Jane Budgen were baptised as adults at Burstow in 1797 and Mary and Ann in 1798, the same day as their infant niece Sarah Kelsey. Their brother, John III, also was not baptised at an

early age, and for some reason his children were not baptised either. In 1804 his last child was born and on Thursday 29th. November in the same year John III, who was 40 years old, and all his children were baptised, not at Horne, but at nearby Nutfield. This suggests dissatisfaction with the clergy at Horne rather than affiliation to nonconformity. Later weddings and baptisms seem to be at parish churches but as will be seen below John V supported the chapel and Congregational church in Kensington, while his brother Edward was a pillar of the established church in Egham.

The Start of the Grocery Business

John III, like his father, prospered despite the depression that followed the Napoleonic wars. The total value of his bequests from the Death Duty Register of July 1842 was £1,754 17s. 9d.¹⁷ This financial security enabled his son, William III, to continue in agricultural trading while his son, John IV, was able to branch out into a new venture and join England's nation of shopkeepers.



Fig. 5. John Budgen IV's Original Grocery Shop, Market Place, Reigate, at the corner of Church Street and Tunnel Road. (Courtesy of Surrey Local Studies Library).

John IV, born 1793, married a girl called Sarah from Worth just over the border in Sussex. So far the date and place of the wedding has not been found. By 1821, possibly with a loan from his father, John IV had set himself up near the corner of Market Square and Church Street in Reigate as a Grocer & Tea Dealer. He appears in the 1834 electoral list for Reigate Borough,¹⁸ the property given as 'House - Market Place'. In Pigot's Directory for 1839 he

appears under Grocers and Cheesemongers with the same address. In the 1843 Tithe Award the property is listed as:

763 Owner: Earl Somers. Occupier: John Budgen. House, yard and garden. Area: 12 poles.¹⁹

The summary at the end of the award gives the total of Earl Somers' land leased to John Budgen as 1 acre 1 rood and 3 poles, so there must have been other plots away from the area of the shop. As will be seen from the picture in Fig. 5. the property was originally a timber-framed house, perhaps sixteenth-century.

John III died in 1842, having made provision for his wife to stay with his son, William III, at Outwood. She was to have "the parlour and best bed chamber . . . for and during the term of her natural life, without paying any rent". In fact, the widow moved in with her granddaughters and her widowed son-in-law, Thomas Sanders, the miller of Charlwood, possibly to look after the children. She died at Charlwood in 1847. The census gives the name of the property as 'High Hookwood'.

John III's children benefited as follows:²⁰

Mary Edmonds (née Budgen)	£ 100 (She and her husband had already had 'considerable sums')
Thomas Edmonds and John IV	£ 10 each for execution of the will.
John IV and Thomas Sanders	All his freehold lands, houses etc.
William III	The house, malt house and land at Outwood to be offered to him for purchase.

The remainder of his estate was divided into seven parts for:

- 1 Elizabeth
- 2 Thomas
- 3 John III
- 4 Sarah
- 5 William III
- 6 Granddaughters: Elizabeth, Eleanor, Mary, Eliza, Amelia and Charlotte (Jane, their mother, had died)
- 7 Eliza

Provisions of the will had allowed property to be sold. John III's farm at Roberts at Hole near modern Redhill was acquired by the Royal Philanthropic Society in 1848.²¹ It became part of the Society's farm school for the reformation of criminal boys. (See Fig. 4.) The boys were under 15 and normally over 12. The prospectus for 1804 describes the institution as "being essentially a school of industry and the inmates being chiefly employed in farm and garden labour".²² The Society celebrated its 200th. anniversary in 1988.²³ The main building at Redhill is now occupied by the Royal National Institute for the Blind.

Many of the Budgen family continued to reside in the villages. The *Surrey Herald and Weekly Advertiser* reporting on cricket described what must have been a needle match on 29th. July 1851 when Charlwood played Burstow with a Budgen in each team. In Charlwood's first innings Budgen bowled Nightingale for 5 and Wilkins for 3. In the second innings Budgen bowled Wilkins for a duck, while he bowled F. Budgen for 4. When Burstow were batting in their second innings, Budgen, obviously Burstow's best player, was bowled by Wilkins for 29, the highest score of the match.²⁴

John IV ran the grocery shop in Reigate until his death in 1851. He trained his four sons in his trade. While the two younger sons remained with their father in

Reigate, the elder two were able, while still in their twenties, to open their own shops elsewhere. Possibly John III's legacy was a contributory factor. It was as if John IV had said to his sons "Go forth and sell groceries". With the death of John IV, the shop in Reigate was to be offered to his third surviving son, William IV, and in the event of him not wanting it, to Frederick, his youngest son. All the children were then each to receive a portion of the assets. The house he was living in was leasehold while the shop appears to have been freehold. In the mid 1850s the business was in William IV's hands but he died in 1856 and Frederick took over. Trade was marrying into trade. John IV's daughter, Eliza, married James Hall in 1857. ²⁵ His company became the well-known builders' merchants, Hall & Co. ²⁰

The Start of The Budgen Empire - Kensington

John V left Reigate and settled in Kensington in 1848 at the age of 29, having married a lady from the City of London. At 21 High Street Kensington he established a business as a Grocer and Tea Dealer. Three years later he was employing a 16-year-old apprentice and a 23-year-old assistant both of whom lived in. In 1871 the census describes him as a Master Grocer employing five men and two boys, still at 21 High Street. Two years later the business appears in directories as John Budgen and Sons, Grocers, Italian Warehouseman and Wine and Spirit Merchants at 43 High Street, there having been a renumbering.



Fig. 6. John Budgen V's Shop at 43 High Street, Kensington, showing Budgen delivery cart. (Courtesy of Royal Borough of Kensington Public Library).

In 1880 John V retired from the business leaving his son Ernest in charge. John V was very active in church affairs. He joined the Congregational church at the Hornton Street Chapel and became a chapel deacon in 1868 which post

he held for 23 years. In 1852 the church moved to Allen Street. For 40 years he was superintendent of the infants Sunday school. He was elected to the vestry in 1858 - 'a man of naturally quiet habits' and served until his death in 1891. The *Kensington Times* for February 7th. 1891 says that he was highly respected by the members of the vestry but seldom spoke and never on a point outside his own immediate knowledge. After retirement, he lived at 2 Leonard Place, Kensington but died at his son's house at Shirley Cottage, Maidenhead on the 31st. January 1891 after being in failing health for several years. The Reverend C. S. Horne, Minister of the Allen Street chapel, conducted his funeral at Brompton cemetery.²⁷ Unlike other members of the family Ernest did not move out into a large house far from the shop. Unmarried and aged 38 in 1891 he was still in residence over the shop with three shop assistants living in, plus a cook and a housemaid.

The Budgen Empire Extends into Berkshire

John V's eldest son, John VI, was born in 1847. In about 1879 he married Jane . . . from Essex Street, London. In 1870 he bought Nicholson's grocery business at 53 High Street, Maidenhead. At the rear of the shop was what is described in *Maidenhead Illustrated*, published in 1895, as a 'tallow factory'. His predecessor, Nicholson, had made candles using fat from local butchers.²⁸ (There was a butcher's at 41-43 High Street). Under Budgen the process appears to have been extended for 'stearine', used in toilet preparations, was being produced in sufficient quantities to enable exports to be made to Germany.²⁹ John Budgen's neighbours at 47 High Street were R. Martin, Drapers. However the 1891 census records that Mrs. Julia Martin ran the drapery business while it describes her husband Richard Martin as a manufacturing chemist. It would be tempting to suggest that it was Richard Martin who was operating the chemical plant. Unfortunately neither he nor John Budgen appears in the directories of the Chemical Society or the Institute of Chemistry at this time.³⁰



Fig. 7. Billhead for John Budgen VI of Maidenhead 1885. Note use for groceries and ironmongery. (Courtesy of Maidenhead Public Library).

In 1881 John Budgen decided on further diversification and acquired 49 and 51 High Street, which had previously been occupied by a nurseryman named Elliott.³¹ Kelly's directory of 1883 describes 53 as 'John Budgen, Family Grocer, Tea Dealer, Provision Merchant, Tallow Chandler and Wine & Spirit Merchant' and 49 & 51 as 'John Budgen & Co., Furnishing & General Ironmongers, Gas Fitters, Whitesmiths, Locksmiths & Bell Hangers and Tin Plate Workers'. (See Fig. 7).

John Budgen VI prospered. He entered local politics, eventually becoming Mayor of Maidenhead in 1895. In 1881 John VI and his family were living 'over the shop' with two assistants living in and two general servants. By 1895 they had moved to an attractive house called 'Shirley Cottage' at Castle Hill in Maidenhead, only a short distance from the shops but away from the immediate area of trade. Their household included a cook and a housemaid and a nurse.

In 1903 both the ironmongery and the grocery businesses and Martin's the drapers were removed round the corner to Queen Street, while the premises in the High Street were rebuilt. On the first of January the *Maidenhead Advertiser* had announced that one penny in the shilling discount would be given for cash, while 'to save the expense of removal, hundreds of useful items at less than a third of the cost price' would be on sale at the old premises in the High Street. Martin's drapery shop at 47 High Street, which had moved with them to Queen Street, subsequently returned to the High Street with them in November. Martin's opened on the 9th. and Budgen & Co. on the 20th. The *Maidenhead Advertiser* of November 23rd. stated that J. Budgen & Co.'s new and enlarged stores in the High Street 'will be found to contain the largest assortment of general ironmongery in the district'. On the 10th. December the paper described the shops' preparations for Christmas: "At night the fine windows present a striking aspect and in the new and imposing ironmongery establishment adjoining Messrs. Budgen are able to stock a very large and effectively arranged stock of plated, brass, copper and other goods. Mr. Pettit, grocery manager, and Mr. Darlow, ironmongery manager".³² The block still stands in Maidenhead High Street with John VI's initials 'JB', in stone within the brickwork.



Fig. 8. John Budgen VI's Former Shop in Maidenhead, showing initials 'JB'. (Photograph by the Author in 1994).

John VI's youngest brother, Sidney, was born in 1852. In the 1880s he too opened his own shop, at 95, later 134, Peascod Street, Windsor, not far from the castle. He described himself as a 'Grocer & Tallow Chandler'. Possibly he bought his candles from Maidenhead. He had two grocer's assistants living in. One, Stanley Coletone Potbury, he appears to have brought with him from Kensington. Sidney went into wholesale as well as retail grocery and could proudly call himself 'Purveyor to Her Majesty'. The handsome building at 134 Peascod Street, was gutted by fire around 1984 but was rebuilt.³³ It is now divided into two shops.

The North-West Surrey Budgen Enclave

At about the same time that John V was opening a grocer's shop in Kensington, Edward, John IV's second son, born in 1824, moved to Egham. The 1851 census lists 20-year-old Edward in Egham High Street (later numbered 45) as a 'Grocer employing four men'. Assisting him was his 16-year-old brother, Frederick, and two 17-year-old shopmen who lived in. They were all looked after by a 48-year-old housekeeper, Catherine Barber from Horsely. Edward married Sophia Mills at Egham in about 1856. The 1860 Rate Book for Egham³⁴ shows Edward prospering. He had 0.75 of an acre of pasture at Humber Meadow (now Hummer Road), a house, shop, garden, yard, a new drying house, a new chaise house, an oil warehouse and an open shed comprising another 0.75 acres. By 1861 Frederick had returned to Reigate. The people of Egham must have had a good opinion of Edward's groceries because the staff had increased to eight men and one boy, including another relation, his 18-year-old brother-in-law, George Mills. In 1867 they were supplying the night school lights for Christ Church School in Virginia Water.³⁵ By 1871, possibly because they were local, the shop assistants were no longer part of the household and only the family and domestic servants 'lived over the shop'.



Fig. 9. Edward Budgen's Shop at 45 High Street, Egham. Note the all-male staff. (Courtesy of The Egham Museum Trust).

On 21st. October 1873 Edward, who had become a Churchwarden at St. John's, Egham was accused of being given preferential treatment in supplying tinned meat in the name of his son (a minor) to the Windsor Union Workhouse, which took in Egham paupers.³⁶ On 11th. November the auditors reported that there was no objection to Parish Officers tendering and on 17th. March 1874, Edward Budgen was listed as providing Australian meat and groceries to the Union.³⁷

By 1881 Edward had also moved away from the shop and was occupying a large house, 'The Hollies', on Egham Hill. He involved himself further in local affairs being Vice-President of Egham Literary Institute in 1901. The same year his son Edward, also a grocer, was on the committee of the Egham Debating and Literary Society and the Juvenile Floral, Industrial and Cottagers Society. Mrs. E. Budgen (junior) and Miss B. Budgen were also on the latter. Edward II was on the Parish Council for the town ward and was a lighting inspector. In 1910 he was one of the Vice Presidents of the Egham District Constitutional Club. In 1923 he was a trustee of several local charities, a licensed lay reader for Egham Parish Church and Chairman of Egham School Managers. He was also a trustee for Egham United Services Club.³⁸



Fig. 10. Edward Budgen II of Egham
(*Courtesy of The Egham Museum Trust*).

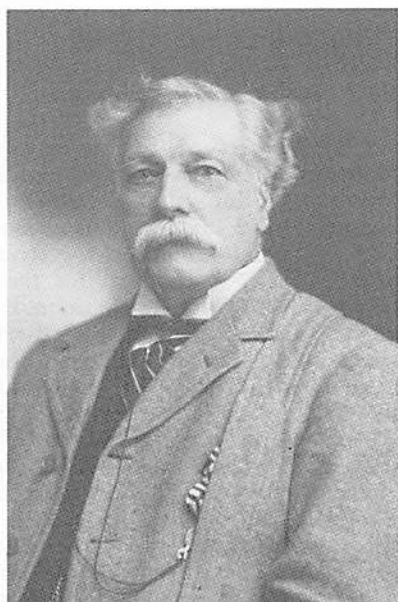


Fig. 11. Edward Simmons of Staines.
(*Courtesy of Mr. John Hardaker*).

By 1881 a Budgen grocer's shop had also opened in Staines High Street. It was not, however, run by a member of the family but by Edward Simmons, then aged 40 and whom the Census enumerator described as a 'Grocer's manager employing seven men and two boys'. Like the Budgens, Edward was active in public service. He became a member of the Staines Local Board and a member

of the Staines Urban District Council. By 1898 he had moved away from the shop and was living at Myrtle Villa, Leacroft, in Staines. At the time of his death in 1925 he was Chairman of the Staines Moormasters and had been a Guardian of the Poor for many years. He was born in Egham, the Simmons's being a well-known local family.

In 1884 Edward Budgen opened a shop at 18 St. Judes Road, Englefield Green, about a mile and a half west of Egham. The name of the business was changed in 1889 to Edward Budgen & Son. This shop like the one in Staines did not have a member of the family in residence. The manager in 1891 was Frederick Fermor living 'over the shop'. Edward I became a large property owner in Egham. Besides the freehold of the shops he owned a number of houses and pieces of land. He died on 10th. October 1910, aged 86.^{39, 40}

In 1917 Edward II and his wife celebrated their silver wedding. As part of their celebrations they gave an Exchequer bond for £ 1000 to the trustees of the Stewart's Almshouses in Egham. In his letter Edward stated: "I have felt for a long time that the conditions under which the old women reside there could be improved". He added at the end: "Please understand this money comes from the sale of property, and not from any profit made during or through the war, and we give it as a thanksgiving to God for the many mercies he has vouchsafed to us"⁴¹

1896 - The Company is Formed

No company records have so far been found. Each shop appears to have been run independently except Egham, Staines and Englefield Green which were run together by Edward. On October 17th. 1896, five agreements were made between John Budgen, Sidney Budgen, Edward Budgen, T. G. Edwards, Edward Simmons and J. M. Kerridge on the one part and Edward Budgen, junior, of the second part for the Company. The main object of the new company was "for the acquisition, by purchase or otherwise, as going concerns, of the business of wholesale and retail grocers, tea and coffee, and provision merchants, oil, colour, and patent medicine dealers, and general store-keepers, heretofore carried on at High Street Maidenhead under the style of John Budgen; at High Street Egham and Englefield Green under the style of E. Budgen and Son; at Peascod Street Windsor under the style of Sidney Budgen; at High Street Kensington under the style of Budgen and Son and at Staines until lately under the style of E. Budgen and Son and to carry on, both wholesale and retail, the business of dealers in foreign and colonial produce; as chemists and druggists, coal merchants, grocers, tea dealers, watch makers and jewellers, tailors, drapers, wine and spirit merchants, brewers etc." The company was registered on October 31st. 1896 by Neve & Beck of 21 Lime Street, EC. with a capital of £ 6000 in £ 1 shares.⁴² A Head Office was established at 90 Cannon Street, London EC.

A clue to the description of the Staines shop as "until recently under the style of E. Budgen and Son", may possibly be found in the obituary to Edward Simmons which states: "In later years he joined the staff of Messrs. Budgen & Co. of Egham and later became manager of the shop at Staines *which business he and a partner acquired and later disposed of*"⁴³

Budgen & Co., Ltd.
 15, Gloucester Road,
 Kensington. Phone, 1442, Western.



Wine and Spirit Department.

NOTED HOUSE FOR HIGH CLASS
**Groceries, Provisions, French and Italian and
 American Specialities.**
 WINES, SPIRITS, and LIQUEURS.
 And also at Maidenhead, Windsor, Egham, Staines, Ascot,
 Brighton, Hove, and 97 and 122, Holland Park Avenue.

36

Fig. 12. Advertisement for Budgen & Co.'s Shop at 15 Gloucester Road, South Kensington in 1909. (Courtesy of Royal Borough of Kensington Public Libraries).



Fig. 13. The Ornate Building at 15 Gloucester Road, South Kensington in 1994. (Photograph by the Author).

The statutory meeting of the new company was held at 21 Lime Street early in January 1897. The Chairman, John Budgen VI, reported that the company had taken over from October 5th. 1896, that the capital was over subscribed and that several employees and customers had taken shares. Trade was 'in a satisfactory and progressive state'.⁴⁴

The first annual report in November 1897 confidently stated that the anticipations of the directors both as regards returns and profits had been fully realised. They had been honoured with Her Majesty's Royal warrant for the supply of provisions while residing at Windsor and also to His Majesty the King of Siam, while residing at Taplow Court, Maidenhead.

Net profits (less directors' and management fees, accounts charges, income tax etc.): £ 5415-9s.-4d.

Dividends:

Preference Shares: 6% p.a. from date of payment of capital to October 1st. last

Ordinary Shares: 8% p.a. (interim) from date of payment of capital to March 31st. last.

Balance for appropriation £ 3871-9s.-8d.

The directors proposed to write off the whole amount of the preliminary expenses and to recommend a further dividend of 2% on the ordinary shares for the six months from March 31st. making 10% for the year. £ 500 would be placed to the balance of the reserve account and the balance carried forward.⁴⁵

The company opened new shops at 98 and 122 Holland Park Avenue in West London, at 15 Gloucester Road in South Kensington, at Ascot, Brighton and Hove. The Gloucester Road shop claimed to be noted for French, Italian and American specialities.⁴⁶ 98 Holland Park Avenue and 122 Holland Park Avenue were both taken over from Frederick Holland and were only a block apart. For some reason, Budgen & Co retained the name Frederick Holland for 122. They had a lease of both shops for 21 years from 1896 at £ 130 per annum for 98 and £ 150 for 122.⁴⁷ The block containing 43 High Street, Kensington was demolished about 1908/9 and a new block built. Budgen & Co. did not, however, move into the newly-built block and did not return to the area for over 80 years (see below).

Frederick Fermor, the manager of the Englefield Green shop, did not join the Company but set up a rival concern at 2 St. Judes Road (see Fig. 14) where he advertised 'Breakfast Bacon sliced by Berkel's patent slicing machine' and made himself a booking agent for Windsor theatre.⁴⁸ He also became a purveyor to H.R.H. Princess Christian⁴⁹ who lived at Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Great Park. Budgen & Co opened a second shop at Englefield Green, selling wines and spirits only, at 12 Victoria Street.

The Company prospectus contains no reference to the acquisition of John VI's ironmongery business in Maidenhead and he continued to run this on his own account until 1922 when it was taken over by Sydney R. Thompson.⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that the Company was considering trading as watchmakers and jewellers. A Budgen family had been following this trade in Croydon for many years.⁵¹ In Egham, although the goodwill and stock, etc., went to the Company, Edward I retained the freehold of the shop in Egham High Street.⁵²

Telephone 190 Egham. Can be used as a Call Office.

Frederic Fermor,

FAMILY GROCER 


PROVISION DEALER.

2 St. Jude's Road, Englefield Green.



POULTON & NOEL'S ENGLISH OX TONGUES.

E. Lazenby's Potted Meats, Sauces, Pure Salad Oil, etc.

Aylesbury BUTTER,  *Finest Blend of Roasted*
Fresh Arrivals twice weekly. **COFFEE @ 1/8 per lb.**

Beach's, Hartley's, and Chivers'
JAMS AND BOTTLED FRUITS.

*Huntley & Palmer's, McVitie & Price's, Jacobs & Co., McFarlane,
Lang, and Peek Frean's*

BISCUITS AND CAKES.

Trial Order respectfully solicited. Families waited on daily

*Plan of the Theatre may be seen and seats booked for the Theatre
Royal and Opera House, Windsor.*

4

Fig. 14. Advertisement for Frederick Fermor's rival establishment at Englefield Green.
(Courtesy of The Egham Museum Trust).

Fig. 15. Advertisement for Budgen Shop in Staines.
(Courtesy of The Egham Museum Trust).

BUDGEN & Co., Ltd.

18, High Street,
STAINES.

- High-Class Grocers, -
Provision Dealers, Wine
- and Spirit Merchants, -
Italian Warehousemen.

AGENTS FOR
W. & A. GILBEY'S WINES and SPIRITS.

Schweppes and other Mineral Waters

Branches at:

Maidenhead, Egham, Englefield Green,
Windsor, Ascot, 43, High Street,
Kensington, 98, Holland Park Avenue,
and 122, Holland Avenue, W., and
Gloucester Road, S. Kensington.

Also at Brighton and Hove.

Families waited upon and Price List on Application.

7

Doc 2462

TELEPHONE: EGHAM 10

EGHAM

70
193

BOUGHT OF

BUDGEN & Co., Ltd.

EXPERTS IN BLENDING, AS AND ROASTING COFFEES

Grocers and Provision Dealers

WINE and SPIRIT MERCHANTS

.. Bottled Beers and Mineral Waters ..

NOTED FOR FINEST BACON AND HAMS

1	28 Ginner Peas	4 3
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WHOLESALE BUDGEN & CO. LTD. BOSTON

Paul
W. Norton
March 18

Fig. 16. Billhead for Budgen Shop in Egham.
(Courtesy of The Egham Museum Trust).

The End of the Family Business

By the 1920s the original Budgen directors would have been elderly gentlemen and there appeared to have been little interest in the grocery business amongst younger members of the family. For whatever reason Budgen & Co. sold the business to Alfred Button, a wholesale food company based in Uxbridge. In Maidenhead, as mentioned above, the ironmongery business was taken over in 1922 by Sydney R. Thompson. During the 1930s and 40s Alfred Button acquired more shops in the Home Counties. In 1957 they sold out to Cambooker, a large holding company. The Egham shop closed in 1965.⁵³

In the 1980s Budgens (the original family name has remained throughout) took over the Bishops' store chain and in 1980 were themselves bought by the Barker & Dobson group. The latter redesigned the shops with 'busy young working women' as target customers. Three years later huge improvements were made to the delivery systems and stock situation with the opening of a depot in Wellingborough. In 1990 the old style stores were sold to Betta Stores and Marks & Spencer. The remaining stores were revamped and the opening hours lengthened, Sunday opening also being introduced. In June 1993 REWE, Germany's largest retail chain purchased a 29.4% share in Budgens and Hans Reichl, REWE chief executive joined the Board. Today Budgens chain has 89 stores in the South, the Midlands and East Anglia. As from 1993 they returned to John V's old haunt, High Street Kensington with a brand new store. They also opened in another prime London site, Tottenham Court Road.⁵⁴

Staffing

Up to the time of the first world war the staff of grocers' shops were almost exclusively male. Women were employed as a wartime expediency and many did not wish to give up their jobs when the war ended.⁵⁵ The census returns list the staff as so many men who served at the counters and so many boys who did the menial tasks and delivered goods on bicycles. The familiar phrase 'families waited on daily' appears on the Budgen handbills. The Kensington shop delivered by horse and cart (as the picture in Fig. 6 shows).

A hierarchy existed in grocers' shops as in domestic service. There would be a manager, a warehouse manager, a first hand, a second hand and so on. Before the first world war several years' apprenticeship would need to be served followed by some time as an ordinary assistant before graduation to 'first hand' in charge of a counter.⁵⁶ John Budgen V had an apprentice at Kensington in 1851 and John VI at Maidenhead in 1891. At Egham in 1851, Edward was training his 16-year-old brother Frederick, described as a grocer's assistant while two 17-year-old boys were given the title 'shopman'. Otherwise we have no clues to the Budgen personnel policies.

Tailpiece

The shop in Reigate, at the corner of Tunnel Road and Church Street, which did not join Budgen & Co. in 1896, ceased to be Budgen the grocer in 1899 and became Adams's Grocery, Ale, Wine, Spirit, & Mineral Water Stores.^{57, 58}



Fig. 17. Frederick Budgen of Reigate. (*Courtesy of Surrey Local Studies Library*).

F. BUDGEN,
WHOLESALE, RETAIL AND
FAMILY GROCER,
TEA-DEALER,
ITALIAN WAREHOUSEMAN,
MARKET PLACE,
REIGATE.

Fig. 18. Handbill for Frederick Budgen of Reigate. (*Courtesy of Surrey Local Studies Library*).

It had prospered in the late nineteenth century under Frederick Budgen, the youngest son of John IV, who had helped Edward at Egham. In 1861 he employed seven men and three boys. In 1881 he was described as a Grocer and Wine Merchant. His son, Frederick, helped with the business but his second son, Walter, was a solicitor's articled clerk, later taking Holy Orders. Both sons were volunteers in the 4th. Surrey Rifles.

In 1876 Frederick was elected to Reigate Town Council. He was elected Mayor of Reigate and Chief Magistrate in 1884 and an alderman in 1885. He remained an alderman for 28 years. By the 1890s Frederick no longer lived over the shop but had a house, 'Highfield', at Wray Park in Reigate. In 1892 he was again elected Mayor. He served for 30 years on the Commission of Peace for the borough, was for many years chairman of the finance committee and three years a county councillor. He was also a governor of the Reigate Grammar School and of the almshouses, manager of the National Schools, chairman of the Reigate Public Hall Committee and a governor of the Colman Institute. He was treasurer of the Reigate Literary Institution for 20 years and sometime its president. In addition to all these posts he found time to be Chairman of the Reigate Gas Company and the Reigate Water Company.

Frederick Budgen was the last Mayor of Reigate to have had the honour of receiving at the Mayoral dinner, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London.⁵⁹ Frederick was granted the Freedom of the Borough in 1914. He died on the 2nd. April 1917 at Highfield, aged 82. The *Surrey Mirror and County Post* described him as: "An honoured faithful and excellent public servant he won and merited the respect and esteem of residents, among and for whom he laboured with such zeal and devotion". The paper also recorded that his eldest son, Frederick William Budgen, was in Canada and that four grandsons were on active service. The family mourners included his sons, Percy Budgen and the Reverend Walter Budgen, his nephew Sidney, of the Windsor shop and Mr. James Attlee.⁶⁰ It is apparent that Frederick had not wanted to join Budgen & Co., probably because his sons were not interested in the grocery trade. Reigate was the first of all the Budgen grocery shops. This fact has remained hidden with the loss of family trading records and early company records. Several other towns have claimed the honour of producing the first shop, Egham, Maidenhead, even Staines, among them. Maidenhead still has two Budgen stores but they have outgrown the High Street. There are shops at Ascot and Virginia Water but not at Egham or Windsor. A few years ago there was a Budgen store in Reigate High Street, not many yards from the site of the Budgen grocer's shop founded more than 170 years ago, but this has now closed, probably as a result of competition from other supermarkets.

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Extensive use has been made of the Census Returns for 1841-1891. As these sources are obvious from the text, specific references have not been given. The returns were studied at the Public Record Office, Surrey Record Office, Maidenhead Library, Windsor Library and Egham Museum. The family trees (Appendixes 1 - 7) were constructed largely from parish registers on microfiche in the Surrey Record Office and from the I. G. I. in the Surrey Record Office and at Egham Museum. Directories used are Kelly's or Post Office unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations: SRO = Surrey Record Office
PRO = Public Record Office

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Sir John Whittaker Ellis : Apology

In my article 'Crime and Punishment in Surrey' in last year's *Surrey History* I stated, in a fit of absence of mind, that 'the financier Whittaker Ellis of Witley committed suicide to avoid arrest'. This was mistaken on two counts. The financier was Whitaker Wright (1845-1904) of Lea Park (later Witley Park), Witley, and his colourful career as a mining company promoter came to an end when he committed suicide after being sentenced to seven years' penal servitude following the collapse of his London and Globe Finance Corporation. There is a description of his billiards room with a glazed dome under the lower lake in the revised edition of *The Buildings of England: Surrey*. Sir John Whittaker Ellis (1829-1912) of Richmond, chairman of the Alliance Bank, Sheriff of London and Middlesex, 1873, Lord Mayor of London, 1881, first Mayor of Richmond, 1890, and High Sheriff of Surrey, 1899, and M.P. for Mid-Surrey, 1884-5, and Kingston, 1885-1902, was, on the contrary, to the best of my knowledge, a man of the utmost probity and respectability.

David Robinson

FROM GUILDFORD TO THE GOBI DESERT - MILDRED CABLE (1878-1962)

Norma D. Denny

Probably the most popular kinds of British History today are Local History, Women's History and Missionary Society History. All three specialisms come together in study of the life and work of Alice Mildred Cable. Miss Cable was one of the most notable missionaries ever produced by Britain. Together with the sisters Evangeline and Francesca French she was part of a famous 'trio' who worked for the China Inland Mission (C. I. M.) for many years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She was also one of the most remarkable travellers of this century. Born and brought up in Guildford in the late nineteenth century, Mildred Cable spent most of her life in the mission field, latterly travelling Turkestan's vast desert wastes and oases market towns - some of the most difficult and dangerous areas of China. ¹

Family Background

Mildred was the first child of John and Eliza Cable of Guildford, born when they were 26 and 27 respectively. She had three brothers and three sisters. The family surname may derive from the old Surrey name Capel. Various Cables were resident in Send and Ripley in the 1770s. It is possible some of the Cables were associated with the evangelicals of Lady Huntingdon's Chapel and Holy Trinity Clapham, and that Mildred was named after Alice, daughter of John and Caroline Cable, baptised in 1855. The existence of a favourite 'aunt' named Alice would explain why family and friends always referred to her as Mildred. Both parents had rural backgrounds. Her mother, Eliza Kindred, was born in Framlingham in Suffolk. Although Mr. Cable was born in Blandford in Dorset, by the time of the 1881 Census (when Mildred was three and his eldest son one) he was the epitome of the urban Victorian self-made man. He owned a prosperous drapery and gentleman's outfitters business at 126 High Street, Guildford in the days before department stores revolutionised retailing. A particular attraction perhaps was his dressmaker from Windsor, Charlotte Smyrnoff. Kelly's Directory of 1887 mentions his 'Boot Warehouse'. By the 1890s he was a 'draper and silk mercer' with a clothing, boot and shoe warehouse. Later a partnership was formed, 'Cable, Reekes & Co.', on the site of the later Playhouse Arcade. Doubtless this firm's demise was one factor in attracting the Burton group to Guildford in the 1920s. At only 30 John Cable 'employed 27 assistants' plus two live-in servants at the family home, Stoneville House, Sydenham Road. Mildred's biographer gave the impression that the Cables had a large house with tennis courts in Maori Road. It is clear however

that the family had also lived at West Bank in Jenner Road and Glencroft in Epsom Road, moving progressively out from the centre of Guildford to ever more substantial homes.²



Fig. 1. Stoneville House, 70, Sydenham Road, Guildford. (Photograph taken by the Author in 1994).

Education and Training

Mildred received the equivalent of primary school education at home from governesses. She was one of Guildford's first generation of middle class girls to benefit from the provision of first-rate, secondary-school education. At the Rector of Stoke's instigation, a Miss Agnes Morton had taken over a small Haydon Place school in 1887. The daughter of the Revd. Morton, of Kettering Grammar, she had been educated at home but had a great vocation for school teaching. She gave freely of her enthusiasm and money to establish The Guildford High School for Girls, personally funding buildings, an action typical



Fig. 2. West Bank, Jenner Road, Guildford.



Fig. 3. House in Maori Road, Guildford, mentioned in the biography *Three Women*. (The two photographs on this page were taken by the Author in 1994).

of the strong-minded and independently wealthy women who became nineteenth-century headmistresses. The financial burden of the school and the subsequent building at London Road was later shouldered by The Church Schools Co. (1883), an Anglican body promoting education. Fortunately the 1887 Mayor of Guildford had pressed successfully for this school to offer not only an academic curriculum rather than feminine accomplishments but also to admit Nonconformists. "Even in Guildford there were two Englands, one Anglican and Conservative, the other Independent and Radical. Mildred belonged to the latter".³ As a result A.M. Cable could become No. 51 on the 1888 school inscription list. School introduced her to evangelical Anglicanism, a social-service ethos, and the Progressive notion of social advance for women via a non-violent yet all-encompassing 'Do It All' policy. It brought contact with the clerics Paynter, Thorold, Buttemeyer and Brass and the kindly Canon Haig Brown who, with seven daughters of his own, was a firm advocate of female education. The family's nurse, however, was more responsible for Mildred's early religiosity. She attended beach meetings during holidays, becoming a Christian at 12 during a Children's Mission. She attended children's services and became a helper, "playing the hymns, . . . visiting absent members, and shepherding small children to meetings".⁴ Such meetings were new to Guildford and, in the days before children's clubs, very exciting. Later she was attracted by evangelicals from the Keswick Movement who held revival meetings in Guildford, and probably also by the Blue Ribbon gospel-temperance movement.

Staff and girls of the 'G.H.S' were significant role models. Morton and her friend and deputy Maria Angell were powerful symbols of what women could achieve when they worked together. Unmarried, they exuded independence and self-sufficiency. They retired together to Bournemouth in 1911. Further, High School pupils were encouraged to emulate Dora Charming Abdy (born 1872). Also of Sydenham Road, Dora, one of several daughters of a widow, was a Head Girl, 'Lewis Carroll's friend', and the first old girl to gain a First in English at Oxford. More importantly Abdy fulfilled high expectations by becoming a missionary in the most popular nineteenth century field, 'the Dark Continent' of Africa.⁵

Some writers attribute Mildred's studiousness to the way 'the playing of sports by girls was then frowned upon. Yet role models like Abdy made study glamorous. The entire school prayed for the older girls' examination success. Miss Angell also presented University entrance examination candidates with corsages of exotic flowers for their white dresses. Similarly missionary training centres were gateways to lives in exciting and romantic places. For most Victorian lady travellers/explorers the decision to seek new horizons was fraught with conflict - self-fulfillment versus duty. The desired feminine image was one of duty, sacrifice, and caring. Independent female travel had connotations of frivolity, selfishness, and, worse, carried the slur of sexual abandon. Consequently even Edwardian ladies justified travel in terms of need for botanical or anthropological research. The exception was the eminently respectable lady missionary. Her work was not bound by the rigid etiquette which everyday life in England demanded. Unchaperoned, she could behave like a man, and in many lands was treated as an honorary man. Lady missionaries led rather than followed. Vast quantities of literature produced to 'beat the drum' for missions publicised this. Tales of missionary heroism were invariably school and Sunday-school prizes. They replaced fairy tales as Cable's

favourites. Small wonder then that at 15 she decided to become a missionary after hearing a lady from C. I. M. speak in Guildford. Missionary orators frequently had this effect. The poet and hymn composer May Grimes also offered her life to the S. Africa General Mission after a Richmond lecture in 1889. Cable visited the C. I. M.'s N. London training centre regularly for several years. Her autobiography seems to suggest that her family lagged behind her in fervour. Her parents certainly hoped the austerity of summer holidays at the trainee lady missionaries home would repel her. Instead she met another powerful role model, the charismatic lady superintendent Henrietta Soltau (1843-1934). Even a European grand tour failed to deflect her from her chosen course.⁶

Cable did not follow Abdy's route to missionary work via the Universities' Missions. To acquire the practical skills for missionary work as quickly as possible she took the M. P. S. in Pharmacology at London University, plus courses in anatomy, surgery and midwifery. She probably could have taken an M. D. She was hardworking and intelligent, but her agenda was quite different from those who followed in the wake of Sophia Jex Blake and Elizabeth Garret Anderson and reflected a new turn-of-the-century demand for female medical missionaries. By 1914 there were 400 qualified women doctors working in the mission field, and another 700 in the Nurses Mission League. Medicine was vital in eroding hostility to foreigners. Walled towns and locked homes did not remain closed for long when word spread that foreign doctors could treat T. B. and blindness, and that women could be examined by women.⁷

Mildred Cable's Guildford

The Guildford she grew up in had mushroomed in response to the coming of the railways. The town's boundaries were extended in 1835 and 1888. From 1880 to 1904 the population probably rose from under 13,000 to 21,000. Just as intersection of stage-coach routes had made Guildford a bustling eighteenth-century market town, Guildford's place on the nineteenth-century railway map made it an attractive place in which to do business and to build housing. Guildford was now within commuting distance of London. The skilled workers, tradesmen and middle-class professionals who lived in these new suburbs often wished to mould Guildford in an image then fashionable in both Britain and America, i.e. the Christian Socialist 'city beautiful' movement, with schools, libraries, museums and parks for all, 'rational recreation' to refine the tastes of workers, and, for spiritual 'fitness', halls and churches of every Christian persuasion to accommodate the expanding population. The culmination of this process was the building of 'Temperance Cottages' and 'dry' estates of cheap or subsidised housing such as the Wycliffe Buildings and more especially Onslow Village. By the time Mildred Cable was a thoughtful teenager the district's churches reflected every hue of the religious spectrum, from the Quakers, the Independents, the Cokelers (an obscure teetotal sect), the Baptists and 'Old Dissent' in general, 'New Dissent', in the shape of the Congregationalists, the Methodists, Unitarians, Presbyterians and The Salvation Army, plus Anglicans of 'Low' and 'High' church factions, and Roman Catholics. The resulting intense rivalry between the churches for converts and for possession of a decisive lead in local moral and social reform movements made for a lively religious and

political atmosphere in which pressure-group politics, and most of the '-isms' of the day, such as teetotalism, vegetarianism, spiritualism, 'the woman question' and socialism, all flourished.⁸

In the late 1890s, when both the Liberal Party and the new Independent Labour Party adopted the Social Radicals' ideas of the need for a comprehensive reform package rather than piecemeal legislation, many active in social reform hoped resolution of most of Britain's social problems was at hand. After the Second Reform Act (1867) many working men had the vote. Increasingly frequent exposés of urban poverty, rather than being a discouragement, served to convince social reform lobbyists that politicians could no longer ignore 'the people's will'. Many looked to the new century for a fairer society with almost millenarian fervour. This was especially true of those working in the largest and most influential social/moral reform movement, Temperance. It had strong support from Guildford's Nonconformist churches and leisure organisations and the Anglican Low Church party. Local reformers had grounds for optimism too. The landed Tory-brewer interest in politics had been challenged by middle-class radicals, making it possible for men like John Cable to become a Guildford councillor.⁹

Mildred Cable's 'Call' to Missionary Work

Pioneer lady travellers of Cable's era were sometimes 'pushed' to go abroad. Women like Mary Kingsley and Isabella Bird were 'escaping' from personal or family sickness, or were suddenly freed from family obligations by bereavement, as in the case of Marianne North and Mary Gaunt. Others were consciously or unconsciously fleeing from overbearing, perfectionist parents, as with Gertrude Bell, or from pressure of duty to aged or young relatives, as Lucy Broad and Ida Pfeiffer did. It is clear however that Mildred Cable did not feel compelled to go overseas because of her broken engagement. Indeed the latter was broken off because she would not give up the idea of going overseas. Her motives were rather more positive. They reflected vocation, and love of travel inherited from a family which moved freely between rural and metropolitan England and had progressed to European travel.¹⁰

Ironically the triumph of reformist elements in Guildford probably reinforced her determination to leave. Women of her mother's generation, such as Jane Ellen Broad, Frances Olivia Vaughan and Augusta Spottiswoode had ensured that the Guildford of the 1890s already had model dwellings, a fire station, church and civic halls, a Temperance Hall, a Workmen's Home and Coffee Palace, a Working Men's Institution, and a Board of Guardians with a progressive attitude to orphans and the poor, which even included provision of a new infirmary with properly trained nurses and attention to inmates' diet.¹¹ It is difficult to imagine what role a strong-minded woman like Mildred Cable would have found had she remained in Guildford. Cable herself made it clear that she might have married, had she found a partner who sympathised with her aims. As the intelligent and serious but not particularly beautiful daughter of one of Guildford's most prominent businessmen she perhaps found that there were lamentably few eligible Nonconformist men who were considered to be a good 'match' for her. Had she stayed in Guildford as a single woman, opportunities for a career in the professions open to women at that point would have been

limited. Unmarried eldest daughters had little status. They risked being unpaid drudges in the family home as parents aged or siblings produced offspring.¹²

Cable's qualities certainly fitted her for the 'Home Mission Field'. "She was associated with a famous London preacher in his class work and had the highest ideals of Christian service", a reference to Westminster Chapel's Dr. Campbell Morgan and her work at Variety Hall, a real London music hall hired for Sunday evangelism.¹² Yet all Guildford's 'good causes' espoused by middle-class Nonconformists, e.g. education, temperance, hospitals, housing *et al.*, were already the domain of the very capable ladies mentioned above. Moreover, although there was increasing reliance on lady volunteers as fund raisers, home visitors, and charity workers in church organisations for women and children, it was patently obvious that this 'auxiliary' role was all that churchmen intended women to have within English churches. All this compared unfavourably with the status, independence, personal freedom and fulfillment conferred by overseas missionary life. In this sense Mildred Cable would have agreed with Gertrude Bell that "to those bred under an elaborate social order few moments of exhilaration can come as that which stands at the threshold of world travel".¹³

The Lure of China and The China Inland Mission (1865-1951)

Missionary interest in China was very ancient. Missionaries however were at the mercy of emperors. Hostility to foreigners and perennial persecution of missionaries was balanced by an implicit challenge. China had an advanced culture when Europeans were barbarians. "A colossal language and voluminous literature revealed great intellectual vigour", respect for learning, industry, thrift, trade and diplomacy. Conversely China had corrupt and oppressive government, abject poverty, female lives blighted by seclusion, infanticide, arranged marriages, concubinage and foot-binding. Here was an immense country, formerly receptive to imported religions, and literally ignorant of the Word of God. Female missionaries found the position of Chinese women an affront to Western progress. They thought their very presence could advance women's rights.¹⁴

The China Inland Mission (C. I. M.)

Early missionary work in China was Jesuit led. Protestant missionaries sent out in the nineteenth century by the Anglicans, Baptists and British and American Presbyterians had the high standards of achievement of Robert Morrison of London Missionary Society to aim at. Trade agreements of 1844-1860 opened up five treaty ports to missionary activities.¹⁵

The C. I. M. was not attractive to Cable because it employed female missionaries. Many missions did, and the C. I. M. could claim no lead here. It was quite simply relatively new and looked at China's evangelisation in innovative ways. This mission was the work of one man, with a background similar to Cable's. The Revd. J. Hudson Taylor M.R.C.S. (1832-1905) was the son of a Barnsley retail chemist. After difficulties with the Chinese Evangelisation Society in the 1850s he had become an independent missionary in China's interior. He returned to Britain with strong opinions about how and where work should be organised.¹⁶

He promoted his new interdenominational mission in evangelical and Non-conformist circles in the 1860s. The C. I. M. was different in that it relied on unsolicited voluntary contributions not vulgar appeals. This 'intrigued' Cable, critical of arid sectarian rivalries, and appreciative of reform movements which cut across religious and class divides. Many societies reacted to the negative image of the missionary as "not very well educated, not quite a gentleman, and given to telling long tales". The C. I. M. stressed 'grace, gumption and grit' more than intellectuality. General medical or educational skills were sought. Administration was simplified to minimise running costs. A novel feature was that the Director led from the field. Only donations and recruitment were handled in England. All else went to a Council in China. This was in tune with Nonconformist dislike of church hierarchies and the top-heavy boards of honorary officials and mercenary salaried agents who dominated most charities.¹⁷

To young adventurous types inland China was thrilling. Insistence that they be fully integrated into Chinese life, not only speaking Chinese but also wearing Chinese dress and eating Chinese food, was even more exciting than V. S. O. today. Victorian dress and behaviour were rigidly formal. Native dress was only acceptable as life-saving disguise for travel to Mecca or Lhasa! C. I. M. used a wave of religious enthusiasm at the visit of the American gospel-temperance musical evangelists Sankey & Moody to recruit students. Spectacular success at Cambridge, featuring wealthy and personable young men, including the cricket star, C.T. Stud, gave them a very high profile. Immediately thereafter 200 missionaries could be sent to China. In 1895 C. I. M. had 752 missionaries and 171 missions. By 1905 it worked in all 12 inland provinces, plus Tibet and Burma. Asia replaced Africa as the focus of missionary endeavour, attracting all sorts of missionaries from the rabble-rouser to scholarly translators. Religious freedom and protection for converts were at all time highs. To the Chinese, identification of missions with Imperialist aggression was close. Bizarre incidents kept China in the British news, e.g. the missionary Timothy Richards' association with reforms suppressed by the Dowager Empress, the siege of the British Legation in Peking, and the kidnap of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in London. By 1914 over 100 missions were active in China. The C. I. M. had more staff than any other organisation.¹⁸

Mildred Cable's China

Just as Hudson Taylor was spurred to return to China after the Taiping Rebellion, fearing that China would connect proselytism with subversion and ban missionaries, the timing of Cable's entry was directly related to the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. The lady missionary who had been her initial inspiration was the first woman killed. Slaughter of missionaries in several provinces, doubtless intended to deter further work and send the missionaries packing, had the reverse effect. The C. I. M. lost 63 missionaries, and 23 of their children. Reversals were always seen as God's test, and the martyrdom of so many convinced missionaries that success was close. The work would continue as a memorial. It was imperative to fill gaps in the ranks before the 'open door' firmly shut against foreigners for ever. This sense of apocalyptic urgency made it quite difficult for even protective parents like the Cables to refuse permission

for Mildred's departure. Mr Cable had to be content with accompanying his daughter as far as New York.¹⁹



Fig. 4. Mildred Cable standing outside the Women's Bible School in Shansi (founded 1909). (Courtesy of *The School of Oriental and African Studies, London University and Guildford Muniment Room.*)

In 1902 she joined Evangeline French (1869-1960) at a devastated station in a province worked since 1876, Shansi. 'Eva' was from a wealthy and well-travelled Anglo-Irish family. Born in Algeria and educated in Switzerland, she had been 'born again' in 1890s Portsmouth. Eva, a well-known missionary and survivor of the Boxer Rebellion, was 31 to Mildred's 22. The C. I. M.'s decision to pair seasoned veteran and raw recruit started a 50-year friendship.²⁰

The details of Mildred Cable's work in China feature in a much longer article by the present author published elsewhere.²¹ Suffice it to say that from 1902-1923 Cable helped provide medical care and education for women in areas of Shansi, with problems of religious pluralism, superstition, drink and opium, and the degradation of women. It was essential to visit and receive visits from local women. British diplomatic wives hated being a public spectacle jostled by the multitudes, or 'a day out' for the curious, but Mildred seems to have seen the humour of such situations. She found herself, like her old 'Head', presiding over school and church building. Her expansion of kindergarten, school and teacher-training work was interrupted only briefly by the 1911-12 revolution. She spoke and wrote Chinese and taught a new government-sponsored fast phonetic script. She accepted a total lack of British food and furniture, soft cotton shoes and unmade roads, and came to prefer the Manchu high-necked, ankle-length dress, encouraging the remark "she was as Chinese as she was English". Her

relationship with Eva French was very good. They lived the rest of their lives together, encouraging speculation about their sexual orientation.²²

Yet there was never any question that the two would not live together whilst missionaries. The C. I. M. introduced lady missionaries belatedly in 1876, worried that they might "bring the Mission into disrepute in Chinese eyes". They much preferred that missionary wives run women's classes, visitation, and schools. Yet desire to create Christian homes however meant that by 1913 60% of C. I. M. were women. They always made them live together, work in pairs, keep respectable hours, and avoid employing live-in male servants. As the eldest of her family and one of four sisters, as was Eva, Mildred was ideal for team work. Candidates were often turned down on this score, as Gladys Aylward was. The Mission's confidence was rewarded when Francesca, Eva's sister, joined them in 1909. No jealousies surfaced. Each had a role, denoted by dress, as in holy orders. 'The Grey Lady', Eva, was colporteur. 'The Brown lady', Francesca, taught children, and provided music for services and the household's food. Mildred, responsible for medicine and transport, wore workmanlike blue. "The lives of 'The Trio' became so closely related that it is almost impossible to separate their individual stories".²³

Furlough came only every five years. Missionaries could turn tourist in the summer heat, attending conferences in seaside or mountain resorts. Cable's summers however were devoted to itinerant evangelism out of Hwochow. 'Transport' was a precarious perch on a hired donkey or mule. Tack did not exist. This reduced Brits who were not natural horsewomen to blubbing wrecks, as with Lady Mary McCartney! Even horsey types like Isabella Bird despaired of the 'accommodation' - verminous inns with rancid kitchens and no privacy. Nevertheless such experiences inspired a new initiative. The future of the mission at Hwochow seemed assured and Chinese Christians deserved more control. The Trio asked to take the Gospel to virgin territory - the ancient 'Silk Road' and the oasis towns of Kansu and Sinkiang around The Gobi Desert.

This work lasted 15 years. Life on the road was a spiritual test, reaction to 'the new China', and their contribution to the 'roaring twenties'. Cable crossed the Gobi five times, meeting many different races and religions, and officiating at communions. She won acceptance by speaking Chinese and Turki and her kindness to the sick. Her Suchow base attracted orphans just like 'the Inn of The Seventh Happiness'. Few women of their age would have contemplated such travel in their wildest nightmares! The hardship of travelling across difficult and dangerous terrain in daily and seasonal extremes of temperature, and in all weathers without the shelter of even the most primitive of inns, and against a background of typhus, cholera, civil war, Muslim rebellion, brigandage, and renewed hostility to foreigners ruined Cable's health. The youngest of 'The Trio', she was the first to have serious problems. Part of her British celebrity status came from the fact that few could really understand what made middle-aged English ladies want to do this, and to continue to do this once the novelty and romance had worn off. Only kidnap by warlords and Communist troop movements forced them to go home for good in 1930. They were extremely lucky to escape alive.²⁴

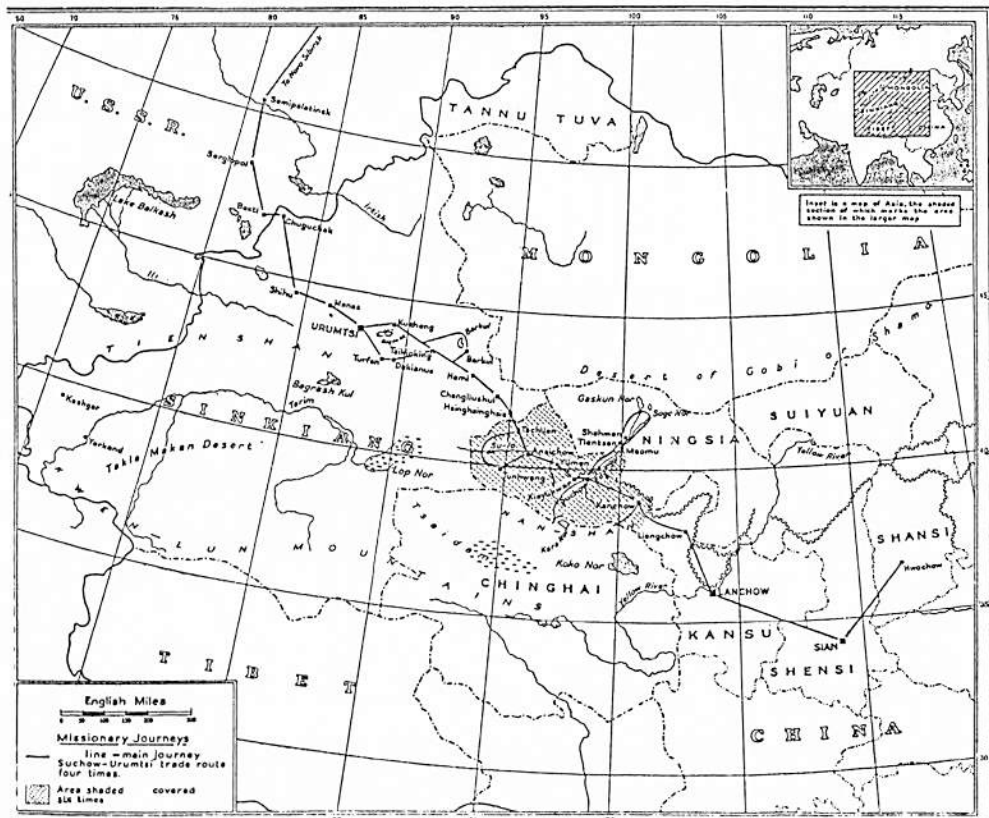


Fig. 5. Mildred Cable's Travels in Asia.

Mildred Cable: writer and traveller

There was little chance that Mildred Cable would retire into obscurity in England after such an exciting career. As a missionary she was in demand for C. I. M., The Salvation Army, The Bible Society, and Christian youth work in general. She was on the Board of The Evangelical Union of South America and of the Ludhiana Women's Medical College, a Vice-President of The Bible Society, and chairman of its Women's Committee. She did extensive voluntary deputation work for The Bible Society for 15 years, touring Britain's towns and cities addressing meetings, conferences and making broadcasts. She visited India, Australia, New Zealand and South America.

The distinctive C. I. M. rule that staff had no fixed salary and could not solicit funds meant Mildred supplemented support from her family and Westminster Chapel by authorship. Missionaries were encouraged to write for journals like *China's Millions* to interest the public in their work. *The Fulfillment of a Dream* on the Shansi work appeared in 1917. Articles in the missionary press and academic journals followed. *Through Jade Gate and Central Asia* (1927) went into 27 editions and made Cable famous. The secret of this success was not so much 'The Trio's' literary collaboration, more an ability to capture in words their joy in all God's creations. Cable shattered preconceptions about boring missionaries and lady travel writers who either trivialised, caricatured and lacked empathy or were too pompous in their erudition like Gertie Bell. Of those who had written about China, Bird wrote entertainingly but clearly with the aim of delivering a pre-arranged itinerary to her publisher. Diplomatic wives like McCartney could only write about their rarified world and preoccupation with recreating typically British homes. Most like Constance Gordon Cumming adopted a whistlestop style, sometimes describing China in the same breath as other Far-Eastern countries, as Mary Hall did, or as a sequel to journeys elsewhere, as with Mary Gaunt. In contrast Cable conveyed in-depth knowledge of China, and a genuine concern for its people reminiscent of the Quaker Lucy Duff Gordon's writings from Egypt. Humour pervaded her writing, something absent from visiting Communist sympathisers' works. She was just as serious as the missionary Hannah Davies about evangelising China, but never so boring describing the journeys involved. People who had read Gaunt and Christie's descriptions of China's missionaries as foolish, ignorant and 'thrusting their narrow little views on everyone' were pleasantly surprised to read of Cable's intelligent, gentle proselytism.²⁵

A Desert Journal (1934) and *The Gobi Desert* (1942) established her reputation not only as a missionary and a writer but also as a traveller. It is important to remember that The Royal Geographical Society (founded in 1830) was an elite club which did not admit women for many years. Academic Journals were similarly dismissive of lady travellers, even when they had been first into a region, as with Alexandra David Neel and Lhasa, or had done valuable research in natural history or botany. Nevertheless geographers, philologists and archaeologists recognised 'The Trio's' achievement in gathering a great deal of unique information on Central Asia, trade routes, plus discovery of the grave of the famous Jesuit Benedict de Goes and of The Caves of The Thousand Buddhas, "comparable only in importance to Sir Aurel Stein's discovery of the caves at Tunhwang".²⁶ Cable was given the 1942 Lawrence Memorial Medal of the Royal Central Asian Society (founded in 1901). She was

chosen to deliver the fifth Asia Lecture to The Royal Geographical Society in 1943, and invited to meet the Queen. 'The Trio' received the 1943 Livingstone Medal of The Royal Scottish Geographical Society (founded in 1884), a progressive society which admitted women, a leading light being Livingstone's daughter. During the Cold War Cable's books on the little-known areas of Central Asia literally could not be bettered.

Conclusion

Xavier had died with the question, 'Rock, when wilt thou open?' on his lips. As a missionary Mildred Cable's great achievement was to spot the most opportune moment between imperial and Communist oppression in which to evangelise China and more especially the Gobi Desert region. She used her own money, as her old 'Head' had done, for the Shansi work. Unfortunately locals relied on this, later creating problems for the Shansi church. She established no church for the Gobi's nomads, and did not work well with the only other missionaries in that region - the reclusive British bachelors Hunter and Mather. In the final analysis the Chinese sang the marching songs of The People's Liberation Army as readily as 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. Yet no one can reproach Cable for this. Her expansion of the role of female missionaries, and impact on the status of Chinese women and children, were valuable. Her pioneering work could have been done by few others. Male missionaries travelling strategically important areas disputed by Russia and China would have been thought spies. Family men, or less dedicated women, would not have made the personal sacrifices involved. Mildred Cable met no eligible men in China and visits home came when she was over marriageable age. It is not surprising that 'The Trio' lived together in retirement like the 'amazons' of Gaskell's *Cranford*. Their experiences, expatriate status and spinsterhood cut them off from even their relatives. Mildred Cable never returned to live in Guildford. She chose instead to live in a Dorset cottage with her colleagues and her adopted Chinese deaf-mute daughter and to rent a London flat for work. Within Britain Cable probably did more than any other to raise The Bible Society's profile in times inauspicious for popular religion. A famous missionary, a traveller's traveller, and a writer who transcended the clichés of lady writers and missionary propagandists, Mildred Cable owed her unique blend of 'steel' and compassion to her highly disciplined Guildford schooling, the influence of women like Morton and Angell, and her Independent background. Described as "one of the most intrepid women who ever lived", Mildred Cable must go down in history as a great credit to Guildford, and possibly the greatest woman it will ever produce.

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The author has supplied a much fuller set of references, together with a list of published work by Mildred Cable. Lack of space precludes their inclusion, but this information is available on application to the editor.

NEW MATERIAL FOR SURREY HISTORIANS

Accessions of Records in Surrey Record Office, 1993

David Robinson
County Archivist

Accessions to Surrey Record Office in 1993 matched or even surpassed previous years in quantity and quality. We received 300 accessions, more than one per working day. An accession may be a single sheet of paper, such as the letter from William Wilberforce at Marden Park to his friend Lewis Way in about 1810, sending good wishes and referring to William's son Samuel (later bishop of Oxford and Winchester) and Lewis' son Albert, who were at school together. On the other hand an accession may consist of many sacks of documents, such as records received from Paine and Brettell, the Chertsey firm of solicitors, including deeds and papers from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century and records of Chertsey Building Society. An accession may come in from a long-established contact, such as the many churches which regularly transfer their records, or it may come out of the blue, such as the letter of 1940 from the composer Roger Quilter to Mrs. Vaughan-Thompson of Woldingham, with a programme for a concert which he and the British String Quartet gave in Woldingham parish hall in aid of the Woldingham depot set up by Mrs. Vaughan-Thompson to knit comforts for British troops. This came to us from Mrs. Vaughan-Thompson's niece, Mrs. Elspeth Whitley, now living in Oban. Mrs. Vaughan-Thompson and Mrs. Whitley were successively librarians at Woldingham Library.

From our friends

We continue to receive deposits and gifts from individuals and societies who are long-standing friends of the Record Office, Mr. Raymond Gill, expert in the history of Barnes and Mortlake, gave us a copy of *An Account of and the Manner of Distributing the Several Bequests and Charitable Gifts Belonging to the Parish of Mortlake* published in 1858 by Octavius Ommanney of East Sheen, treasurer of the parish stock. Ommanney began his survey of the parish charities in 1854 to identify the benefactors, trustees and original purposes of each of the gifts. Revd. F.J.H. Reeves, secretary to the trustees in the year of the book's publication and a former rector of Mortlake, added notes on the Mortlake Charitable Fund, Mortlake Dinner Fund and Mortlake Nurses' Fund.

Mr. Gill also arranged the deposit of records of Lady Capel's Charity, of which he is treasurer. In 1719 Dorothy Lady Capel of Kew House left Perry Court Farm at Faversham, Kent, to four trustees. They were to distribute the rent annually among eleven existing charity schools and a twelfth part was to be given to the minister and churchwardens of St. Anne's, Kew, to establish a

similar school. Lady Capel, who was daughter of Richard Bennet of Kew, died in 1721. The eleven schools were in places with which she had associations - Richmond and Mortlake, Hammersmith, Chiswick, Brentford and Ealing, Faversham, St. Andrew Holborn (where she was born), Tewkesbury and Cheltenham in Gloucestershire and Haltwhistle in Northumberland. The distribution was to take place on 12th. May (23rd. May after the change to the Gregorian calendar in 1752), the anniversary of the consecration of St. Anne's, Kew, in 1714, when a service was held and a charity sermon preached. The school at Kew was not in fact established until 1810. Before that date, Kew's share of the charity was used to bind out as apprentices poor children of the parish who had been educated at any of the other schools. The farm was sold after World War I and the proceeds were invested. They are now distributed among the five surviving schools - Kew, Richmond, Brentford, Hammersmith and Faversham. The records deposited comprise annual accounts, 1792-1849, and deeds of Perry Court Farm from 1514. Other records of the charity, including apprenticeship indentures, are contained in the Kew parish records and other records of Mortlake charity school are also in the Record Office.

Mr. Leslie Freeman has presented us with papers of the wartime Stonehill Fire Party, East Sheen, including names of recruits, rotas and equipment, a record of residents in Stonehill Road and Close and firefighting equipment in their possession, and incident log books. Mr. Freeman had been given the records by the daughter of the captain of the fire party and used them in an article in Barnes and Mortlake History Society *Newsletter*.

Mr. Stephen Fortescue has deposited abstracts of title of properties in Leatherhead and Ashted. Leatherhead and District Local History Society have deposited byelaws of Leatherhead U.D.C., 1896-1927, Surveyor's Annual Reports, 1903-4, and Medical Officer of Health's Annual Reports, 1931-1970.

Cliff Webb, the doyen of family history in West Surrey, has given us many items, including Woking Education Committee school attendance cards, a mortgage of cottages in Weybridge (found in a car boot sale) and the programme of Bisley peace celebrations, 1919.

Send and Ripley History Society have deposited deeds, sale particulars and a letting agreement of a freehold cottage in High Street, Ripley, 1804-1908, and deeds and papers of Elm Tree House (for a time called Sandrock House) also in High Street, Ripley, 1774-1955. The house was owned between 1774 and 1920 successively by Edward Harbroe, surgeon of Ripley, by his eldest son, also Edward and also a surgeon, and by the Daws family, descendants of one of the younger Edward's daughters.

Bisley and the National Rifle Association

The National Rifle Association was established in 1860 'to give permanence to Volunteer Corps, and to encourage rifle shooting throughout Great Britain' and in reaction to fears of invasion by Napoleon III. Its first prize meeting, to enable Volunteers from around the country to compete against one another, was held in 1860 at Wimbledon Common. Queen Victoria fired the first shot and the award ceremony at Crystal Palace took place in front of some 20,000 spectators. Meetings continued to be held at Wimbledon until 1889, when for reasons of space and safety a site was purchased for £ 13,439 3s. 11d. at Bisley Common.

The site was prepared by soldiers, including construction of a railway from Brookwood. A refreshment pavilion and tramway were transferred from Wimbledon. During the first world war the prize meetings were suspended and the ranges were placed at the disposal of the Army Council. A School of Musketry was opened to train and provide instructors in musketry from those who had passed the age of military service, and a motor machine gun school was later established. The deposited records comprise the Proceedings of the Association, 1861-1964, with rules, names of officials and members of council, financial accounts, names of prize winners, including county and colonial competitors, and annual reports and the programmes of annual prize meetings, including plans of the grounds, regulations, arrangements for refreshments, and advertisements by gunsmiths and suppliers of shooting and outdoor equipment, 1863, 1865-7, 1871, 1875-1993.

Records of churches and chapels

As usual, a high proportion of our accessions are received from parish churches under the Parochial Registers and Records Measure, 1978, or the equivalent Methodist instruction to circuits. Pride of place in the current year's accessions must, however, be given to a superb series of records of Dorking Society of Friends. The records cover Dorking Monthly Meeting, 1700-1814, including Capel and Reigate, and the Women's Monthly Meeting, 1678-1814, and Horsham Monthly Meeting, 1724-1814, covering Charlwood as well as a number of Sussex meetings, and the Women's Monthly Meeting, 1675-1814. Dorking and Horsham Monthly Meetings were united in 1814, and Guildford was added in 1841, and the minute books for the united meetings continue to 1959. Records of the former separate Guildford Monthly Meeting were already deposited at Guildford Muniment Room. The deposit also includes Sufferings registers, giving details of the sufferings of Friends for their refusal to accept civil and ecclesiastical authority. There are also registers of births, marriages and burials of Friends at Reigate and Capel, and registers of deeds of meeting houses and burial grounds.

The other major deposit of nonconformist church records has been the records of Reigate Park United Reformed Church, formerly Reigate Congregational Church, including church meeting minute books, 1835-1966, deacons' meeting minute books, 1865-1966, account books for the enlargement of Reigate Chapel, 1856-71, the diary of Rev. G. J. Adeny, 1877-1893, photographs of ministers from Mr. Adeny (minister 1856-97) to Rev. D. M. Owen in 1964, posters and programmes of events, and publications. This is a major deposit for one of Surrey's historic Congregational churches. Thames Ditton United Reformed Church have deposited records, including the Burton medal awarded to May Boxall, aged 13, in 1906 'for written reports of 12 months addresses delivered at the young people's service and regular attendance at Sunday School'. The medal was given by A. B. Burton, member of the church and owner of the statue foundry in Summer Road. Wandle Industrial Museum have presented records of Mitcham Congregational Church, formerly Zion Chapel, 1932-84.

We have received a further deposit of records from Woking and Walton Methodist circuit, including collection journals of Walton on Thames Wesleyan

church from 1867 and a Trustees' treasurer's account book for Addlestone Wesleyan Methodist church, 1899-1914. Kingston upon Thames circuit have deposited papers accumulated by Philip Gumbrell, a member of Eden Street Wesleyan church, and Walter Drewett, a local preacher and member of Richmond Road Primitive Methodist Church. Stoneleigh Methodist Church have deposited minute books, account books and other material, 1937-87.

Parish records continue to come from all parts of the county. Those deposited in 1993 (almost all were additional to earlier deposits) included log books of Chiddingfold school, which had been kept with the parish records.

Sketches and photographs; and an Appeal

An increasing range of visual material is being received in Surrey Record Office. An album of watercolours by John Harrison Scott, c.1821-39, contains pictures of Esher Palace, the 'residence of Mrs. Middleton at Walton on Thames' and Carron (or Carrow) House Academy at South Lambeth where Scott was a pupil. Most of the volume contains pictures apparently from travels further afield (some seem to be copied from illustrations) notably in Italy.

More directly of Surrey interest are a collection of glass plate negatives of Epsom residents in the second half of the nineteenth century (probably the 1860s and 1870s). The photographs were apparently once the property of Andrews and Sons, booksellers of Epsom, and they include a wide range of residents who are - and how important this is for photographs! - identified: Mr. Bockett, sitting, The Vicarage, Epsom; Clerks - Mr Furniss, Epsom Common; Gillespies groom, Epsom. They will need to be printed before general use can be made of them. We have also received a photograph of the workmen who rebuilt Epsom Grandstand in 1927. The photograph was taken outside the Seven Thorns Hotel at the Devil's Punch Bowl, presumably on a celebratory outing. We have also received from the Curator, Bourne Hall Museum, the Surrey postcards from the collection of Alice Wernham, née Coleman, of Leatherhead and Epsom.

We are now (September 1994) in the process of trying to enhance our collection of visual material for the history of Surrey by raising money to purchase a collection of over 500 watercolours of Surrey views by John Hassell, together with a number of sepia-washed watercolours by Henry de Cort and many Surrey prints. These are a major collection of evidence for Surrey in the 1820s, additional to the John and Edward Hassell watercolours listed in the catalogue by Gerry Moss and the late James Batley in Surrey Archaeological Collections. They show Surrey buildings, including many houses and also schools and industrial buildings, of the period before railways and Gothicisation changed the face of the county. The asking price is £ 120,000, which I believe will be reduced to £ 80,000 by tax relief for the vendor. We have £ 10,000 from the County Council and £ 10,000 from the J. Paul Getty Jr. Charitable Trust, with the likelihood of help from the Pilgrim Trust and the Government Purchase Grant Fund administered by the Victoria and Albert Museum. Local funding is a prerequisite of Government funding and £ 1,000 from a Surrey source is likely to generate an additional £ 2,000 from the Government. So far, approaches for business sponsorship have been unsuccessful. Any assistance will be gratefully received!

Business records

In 1977 we received a large quantity of records of John Broadwood and Sons, the famous firm of piano manufacturers, from the family home at Lyne on the borders of Capel and Newdigate. These are a major source for piano history and we are now seeking to raise money for a major conservation exercise on the day books. We have now received further records of the firm, mostly for its later years, and folk song and other music books of Lucy Broadwood. We have also received from Alistair Laurence, a consultant with the firm, some working drawings for Broadwood pianos.

We have received a substantial deposit of records of Peter Lind and Co, civil engineers of Wallington. Peter Lind established the company in 1915, specialising in the design and construction in reinforced concrete. The records include cash books and ledgers from the early years of the company, microfilms and slides of contract drawings and structures, and papers on a dispute over work done for Cammell Laird in the 1970s.

In 1977, in conjunction with local historians in Dorking, we were able to rescue large quantities of records of J. and W. Attlee of Dorking, corn millers. Other records were found later and have now been transferred by Dorking museum. These include order books, customers' account books and ledgers from early in the nineteenth century, a notebook of John Attlee, 1801-2, and pocket book of Richard Attlee, 1850-1.

We have received a substantial additional deposit of records of Drummond Brothers, mechanical lathe manufacturers, of Rydes Hill, Guildford, complementing earlier deposits of records of the company. We received a small additional deposit of records of John Waterer Sons and Crisp Ltd. of Bagshot.

Estate records

Two substantial sets of title deeds have been received. Deeds and papers of the Sir Edward Stern's Farm Court Estate, Chertsey, include the conveyance of the estate itself in 1887, of the Lyne Grove Estate including Hershaw Farm, acquired by Stern in 1896 and 1899, Silverlands, acquired in 1909, and part of Almnors Barn, acquired in 1910. Deeds of the Ladbroke family estates in Headley, Walton on the Hill, Banstead and Epsom, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, have also been received. Both deposits come from London firms of solicitors. Deposit of smaller groups of title deeds is a regular phenomenon, which helps to build up the overall picture of the development of Surrey: who built what, where, when and for how much, and what was there before?

Estate records of a different kind, but also showing the process of change in Surrey, have been received in the form of a copy of the Horley Expansion Master Plan Statement submission prepared by Wates Ltd. in 1973. This was a proposal by Wates for doubling the size of Horley by creating a community of about 20,000 people to the north-east of the town.

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)

Old Surrey Receipts and Food for Thought
compiled by *Daphne Grimm*
1991 £ 3.95

The Sheriffs of Surrey
by *David Burns*
1992 £ 4.95
(Published jointly with the Under Sheriff of Surrey)

Two Hundred Years of Aeronautics & Aviation in Surrey 1785-1985
by *Sir Peter Masefield*
1993 £ 3.95

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.

OTHER BOOKS OF RELATED INTEREST FROM

PHILLIMORE

A HISTORY OF SURREY by *Peter Brandon*

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