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SURREY HISTORY

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New Material for Surrey Historians *David Robinson, Michael Page and Mary Mackey*

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Cover Illustration: Civil Defence emergency feeding exercise at Caterham, 1956. Oxted members of the Welfare Section watch demonstrators serving rhubarb crumble cooked in the oven of a field cooker. [GMR 5380/1/10(12)] (See *New Material for Surrey Historians* on Page 253).

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'ROSE HILL': ADAPTED FROM NATURE.

The making of a new townscape – the first residential estate in Dorking.

by Allan Brigham
Dorking Local History Group

'The purity of the air – the fragrance and exuberance of aromatic plants and shrubs – the music from the numberless birds – the choice of sheltered or open country – the liberty of wandering without obstacle or question through the most cultured scenes, and the perfect repose which reigns all around – unite to render this tract of country one of the most pleasing to the contemplative man, and the most salutary to the invalid, that I have visited'.[1]

Dr. Aiken's glowing description of the Surrey countryside was written after a visit made in 1798. Its appeal was not new. Defoe recorded Restoration gentlemen visiting Box Hill to 'divert or debauch' in the woods, while in the eighteenth century the Vale of Mickleham was discovered and transformed from a rural sheepwalk into a landscaped parkland scattered with villas. But it was only in the nineteenth century that this appeal had a significant impact on the small rural towns of the county. Their setting came to attract the increasing numbers who were seeking pure air, varied scenery and 'perfect repose'. The North Downs may not have been the Lake District but they were a good and accessible substitute for those living in the metropolis. Rising prosperity, improved roads and the new railways brought an ever-widening class of people to the area. Some came to visit. Others came to live.

Reigate, Leatherhead and Dorking began the century no larger than many of today's villages. By the time of Queen Victoria's death their populations had doubled or trebled. It was a growth that few foresaw and contrasted with the fate of Petworth only twenty miles further south. At the beginning of the period it was a prosperous market town confidently recorded by William Cobbett after a visit made in the 1820s as having an 'air of great strength . . . and durability'. But untouched by the railway Petworth remained inaccessible and went into a steady decline that saw the population fall by 25% by the end of the century.[2]

The shared pressures behind the growth of the towns of the Surrey borders led to many common characteristics. Amongst these was the development of the middle class residential estate. Today this is taken for granted as Bovis or Costain or Barrett leave their mark across the county. In early nineteenth century rural Surrey it represented a major innovation.

This article looks at Rose Hill, the first planned residential estate in Dorking. The factors that led a Guildford surgeon to develop the estate in the 1830s were the product of the wider forces that were affecting the whole area. But the location and manner of the development would have surprised a former

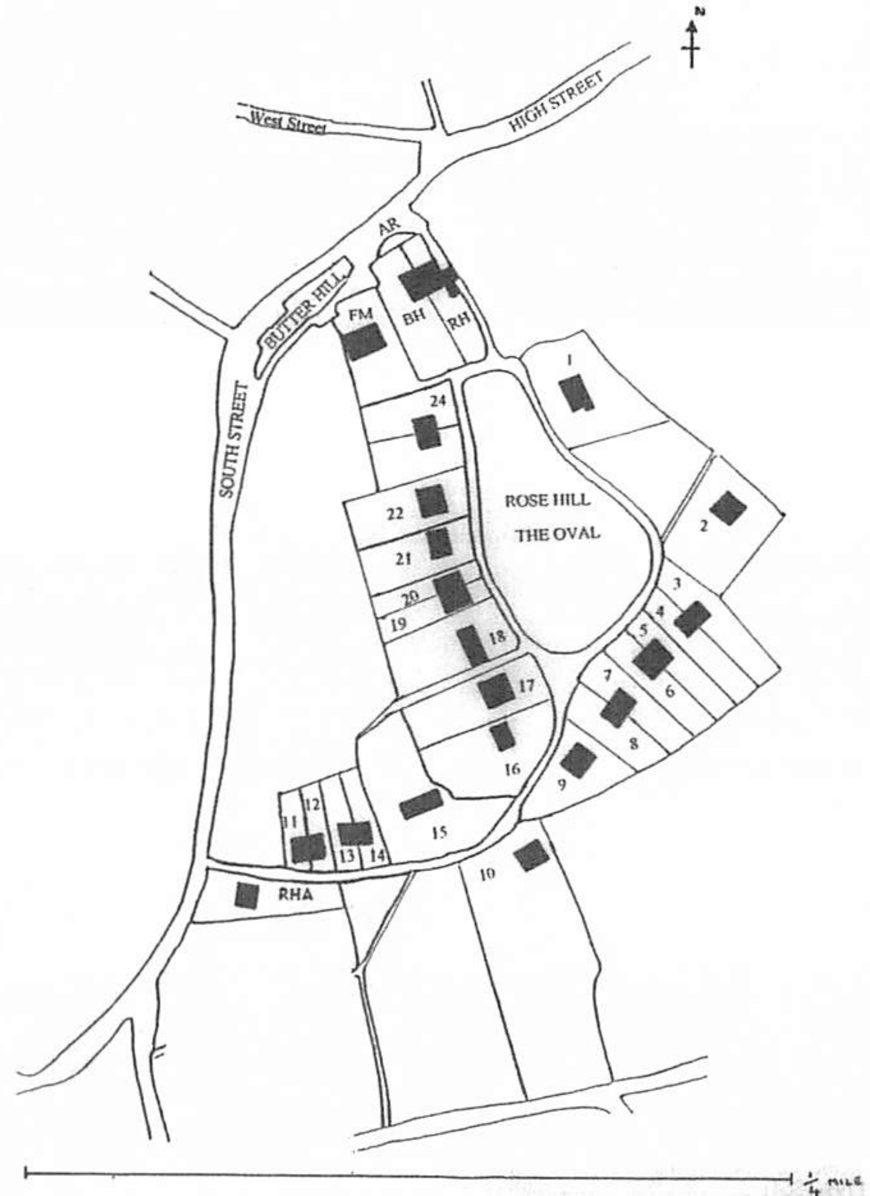

Fig. 1. Rose Hill: Sketch Map based on Ordnance Survey 25-in. (1869) Sheet XXXIII.3

Key: AR Auction Room; BH Butter Hill House; FM Friends Meeting House; RH Rose Hill House; RHA Rose Hill Academy [1997: 99 South Street]

generation, while its success and survival were not preordained. It marked a striking break with earlier developments in the town and remains as a distinctive feature. Today south-bound traffic streams through Dorking in a constant flow. As drivers round the corner from the High Street into South Street few will notice on their left the opening of a narrow road flanked by The Bulls Head Inn and the shops of the Rotunda. They are unlikely to see above the shops the imposing profiles of Rose Hill House and Butter Hill House; or to notice the archway that crosses the narrow road. From the main street the archway looks as though it leads only to a private driveway, a conclusion perhaps confirmed by the sight of the green hillside rising park-like beyond. But the public road continues through the arch. It divides to encircle a central paddock. The rooftops of substantial houses are visible peeping above hedges or looming over the brow of the hill. This is the Rose Hill Estate. Despite its proximity to the roaring traffic it remains a separate entity. Close to the High Street, it is not part of that world; just as it was planned 160 years ago.

Dorking in the 1830s

Fig. 2. Dorking: The Junction of High Street, South Street and West Street, looking west, in the early nineteenth century. The approach to Rose Hill was to the left of the mounted horeseman and the Bull's Head inn sign. (from a painting in Dorking Museum by J.Beckett, 1799-1864).

In 1831 Dorking was a small town with slightly over 3,000 residents. The weekly market and a mixture of shops provided the inhabitants of the surrounding

countryside with their basic requirements. The local industries were typical of similar towns - small breweries, blacksmiths, brick making, a tannery, water corn mills, and the lime works on the Downs. The setting of the town close to Box Hill and Leith Hill had drawn visitors since the late eighteenth century. These had included Dr. Aiken, whose eulogy to the Surrey countryside referred specifically to this district where he had gone to recuperate following a stroke.

The appeal of the surrounding countryside had also attracted the families of the three local landowners whose estates ringed the town: William Denison, Lombard Street banker and local M.P., at Denbies high on the Downs to the north; Charles Barclay, Southwark brewer, to the west at Bury Hill and Thomas Hope, the connoisseur son of a Dutch banker and reputed to be one of the richest men in the country, at The Deepdene to the south. None of these families had lived in the vicinity for more than a single generation: all had made their fortunes elsewhere.[3]

Socially these landowners dominated the local calendar of events, hosting parties and presiding over worthy causes. But none were directly involved in the economic life of Dorking, nor did they own property in the town. They saw the area as a place of retreat from London and focused their attentions on their estates. The core of those estates remain today, created from the woods and hills of rural Surrey. Nature's landscaping was taken and improved upon by man, and now forms our idea of 'Natural'. Barclay, Denison, Hope and their successors have left their mark on the surrounding countryside. Their influence on the townscape was negligible.

Within the town lived two other local dignitaries. William Crawford, M.P. for the City of London and former East Indies merchant, lived at Pippbrook at the eastern approach to the town. Nearby, facing directly on to the High Street, was Shrub Hill, home of the town's only titled resident, the Countess of Rothes. Like Pippbrook, Shrub Hill was surrounded by extensive gardens. But neither the Countess nor Crawford owned other property in the area. Nor were they interested in doing so. Their wealth and their status had been acquired elsewhere. Dorking was a place to live.

Without the influence of a major landlord no attempts had been made to remodel the town nor to embellish it with prestigious building. When the Tithe map was made at the end of the decade Dorking looked remarkably unchanged from when it had last been mapped in 1649. The street pattern was essentially unaltered while the outline of the late medieval messuage plots could still be traced in the early nineteenth-century property boundaries. The number of houses lining the main streets had increased but they were restricted within these older boundaries.

It was here that most of the town's tradesmen and the small professional class lived and worked. In the 1830s their homes and workplace were still the same. The solicitor, the surgeon, the ironmonger, the corn merchant, the grocer, the innkeeper, the butcher and the linen draper all stepped out of their front door on to the main road, as did the Countess of Rothes. Here too were the homes of those who lived on private incomes, widows and retired tradesmen. The main streets were the focus of the town's formal business and social life.

In the side streets running off the main thoroughfares were the dwellings of the labourers and artisans, the majority of the population. These cottages were growing in number in the first decades of the century. There had been new building in Back Lane, Ram Alley and Mill Lane. And already the rear yards of

some of the larger residences fronting the main streets had become infilled with small terraces known as Ebenezer Place, Kings Head Yard, Nibbletts Alley, Cape Place and Chequers Yard. They were small, and frequently crowded. Fifty-one people lived in the eleven cottages of Cape Place at the time of the 1841 census. They had no private yards or gardens and backed on to the churchyard, still at the time the only place for burials. It cannot have been very hygienic. Forty-six people lived in the nine cottages of Ebenezer Place, the site of an outbreak of cholera in 1832. Following the outbreak the manor court rolls recorded that the cottages were 'much in want of privies'.[4] Within a few yards was Shrub Hill, the home of the Countess of Rothes. Labourer, tradesman, professional and gentry lived and worked in close proximity.

The one exception to this pattern was the recently created Rose Hill Estate. It stands out on the Tithe Map in contrast with everything around it, the most recent alteration to the appearance of the town. Running off South Street gently curving roads surround a central enclosure, edged by large, regularly shaped plots. There is nothing medieval about this. It is a very deliberate piece of nineteenth-century urban planning, the constraints of the old messuage plots abandoned. Nor was it crowded with cottages. Any one of the houses shown on the Tithe map occupied a larger area than that of Cape Place and Ebenezer Row combined. This was an elite development that came to be described by Pevsner as 'exactly in the picturesque manner of Nash's Blaise Hamlet'.[5]

The Mansion

Fig. 3. The Great House on Butter Hill from the garden in 1825, before the Rose Hill Estate was laid out (from a watercolour by E. Hassell, *Courtesy of the Surrey Archaeological Society*).

The development of Rose Hill was different in both size and scale from anything that had preceded it in Dorking. The estate was built in the former grounds of 'the Great House on Butter Hill', an imposing mansion that rose above the main street. The house had been owned and improved in the last years of the eighteenth century by Richard Rose, who appears to have posthumously given his name to the later estate. In 1812 the property had passed to Richard Lowndes who extended the grounds along the rear of the neighbouring properties of South Street. He created a gentleman's residence similar in style to Shrub Hill, with: 'extensive gardens, tastefully laid out, and communicating with a shrubbery, by several serpentine walks. The spacious drawing room at the back opens on a beautiful lawn and possesses a pleasant prospect over the adjacent fields and meadows. At the extremity of the park or paddock is a retired gravelled walk, overshadowed by a line of thick firs and forming a cool and agreeable retreat during the summer.[6]

This property of approximately 16 acres was bought in 1831 by William Newland, a Guildford surgeon.[7] Newland was already in his 60s, and his name frequently recurs in the affairs of the borough during the early decades of the nineteenth century. He was also involved with The Wey and Arun Junction Canal Company. His decision to extend his interests to Dorking probably resulted from connections with his wife's family. Ann Newland had been born in Dorking and her brother, James Rudge, owned property in South Street abutting that owned by Lowndes.[8] But there is no clear indication as to what led Newland so late in life to purchase the estate, or of what led him to develop it as he did. Any number of smaller houses could have been built here, as was happening in the rear of other properties along the High Street or as was to happen in the grounds of Shrub Hill later in the century. Instead Newland chose to preserve the park-like atmosphere of a gentleman's residence.

The original 'Great House' was retained, but divided into the two tenements that are today known as Butter Hill House and Rose Hill House. Between 1831 and 1833 Newland constructed a broad carriage road leading up the side of the house from the main street. It passed under a newly erected mock Tudor arch, complete with lodge house, and encircled an open paddock on the hillside above before swooping back down to the main street close to the southern approach to the town. Here Newland also retained the only other building included in his purchase, a detached house that was soon referred to as Rose Hill Academy [In 1997 this is No. 99 South Street]. Off the carriage road a number of large building plots were laid down. Newland specified that only detached houses worth a minimum of £ 500, or semi-detached houses worth a mimmum of £ 750, could be built. They were to stand at least 40 ft. (12.2m) from the road, and none were to be used as shops, ale houses or for trade or business.[9] The only commercial premises to be part of the scheme stood at the entrance to the estate where beneath the front wall of the former 'Great House' and facing the main street Newland built the distinctive semi-circular auction rooms that were immediately occupied by his agent James White.[10]

The central paddock was intended as a feature of the estate and was protected by a clause stating that no buildings should be erected within it, nor that it should be used for 'any nuisance or offensive purpose nor for any purpose other than the growing of grass or pasture of cattle or garden ground or pleasure ground'. It came to give the area its early name of 'The Oval'. The development was assisted by its setting on the hillside above the town with views across to the

Fig. 4 Rose Hill Archway built by William Newland c.1833 to mark the entrance to the new estate.

Fig. 5. The First House: The Cottage, No. 18, was built between 1833 and 1836.

North Downs. These were the views that had inspired Dr Aiken and led the author of *Pigot's Trade Directory* to state in 1832 that Dorking had a prospect 'said to rival some of the finest Italy can boast of'.

A few decades earlier these sentiments had appealed to the Denisons, the Barclays and the Hopes. Hope in particular had taken the Surrey countryside and remodelled it to fit his vision of the picturesque. Newland brought the idea of landscaping into the town. With the rustic archway and lodge beside the ancient mansion, leading to the central paddock where horses and cattle grazed in a pastoral idyll, he hoped to appeal to those who could not afford a 'Deepdene' or a 'Denbies' but nevertheless aspired to a sense of rural tranquillity away from the noise of the street and the homes of the poor. Conspiring to fulfil this vision the first house [No. 18] to be built on Newland's estate came to be called 'The Cottage'. Large, detached and adorned with decorative bargeboards it was occupied in 1841 by James Crawford of the Bengal Colonial Service, together with his wife, four children and four servants. The family were home on furlough from India and were staying near to James's father, the M.P., William Crawford. The house bore little resemblance to the real cottages behind the main street in their mean rows and alleys. The name was part of the illusion.

The Development

Rose Hill was important not only because it brought the idea of the planned residential estate to Dorking. As a speculative enterprise it also implied that Newland assumed there would be a market for his venture. This was not one man's attempt to mould the townscape for his own delight or prestige. Newland was gambling that others would want to live here, and could afford to do so.

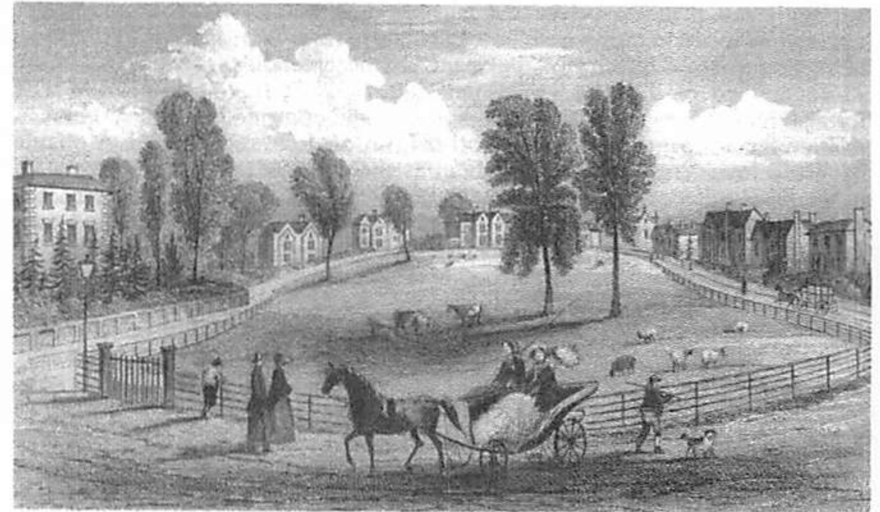

Fig. 6. The Completed Estate looking South c.1860. The artist's back is turned towards Rose Hill House.

By 1861 Newland's project appeared to have been vindicated. The original eighteenth-century mansion, divided into the two substantial tenements, marked the approach to the estate. Twenty-four houses had been built on the hillside behind in the former parkland. Ten were detached, fourteen semi-detached. There had been few houses like this in Dorking in 1831. In addition a Meeting House for 'The Society of Friends' had been erected on the plot of land beside the mansion on Butter Hill. As this faced the main street and could only be entered by a footpath from the estate it did not contravene Newland's stipulation that there should be no commercial buildings or places of Public Worship. All the other houses were private residences. There were no workshops, no shops, and no clusters of small cottages built between the larger dwellings. It bore no resemblance to any of the streets that had existed in the town prior to Newland's acquisition of the estate in 1831.

In the twentieth century there was some additional building at the southern end of the carriageway, one new house was built overlooking The Oval, and two houses were rebuilt in the 1960s. But essentially the estate was completed by 1861. Nearly all the houses that stand today are those that were built in the thirty years after Newland acquired the estate from Richard Lowndes.

The Landlord

The development of Rose Hill appears to have been completed with little deviation from Newland's original specifications. Whether this success was translated into the anticipated financial return is impossible to assess. No records survive detailing how much it cost to buy the estate and to prepare the land for sale, nor of how much the sales eventually realised. But if Newland expected a quick profit from his venture he must have been disappointed. Sales were slow despite the early interest shown by Richard Fall of Lambeth who purchased a plot for £ 250 in 1833 before the carriage way had even been completed. Newland intended to use this site as a magnet to draw others to Rose Hill and he stated that at least £ 500 must be spent on the erection of a dwelling house before the end of the year.[11] The detached building that was erected, 'The Cottage' [No. 18], remains the show house of the estate today. But it stood in isolation for at least three years. No other investors followed, and it is probable that Fall's involvement only came about as the result of inducements from his brother-in-law James White, the local auctioneer acting as Newland's agent. Six years after that first purchase only two more plots had been sold, leaving over 80% of the estate still for sale.[12] In 1841, a decade after Newland bought the estate, only two detached houses [Nos. 18 & 22] and one of semi-detached pairs [Nos. 23 & 24] had been built.[13]

It was only in the 1840s that Newland sold the remaining plots around The Oval, encouraged by proposals for a rail link with London via Redhill, and only in the 1850s that the last plots at the southern extremity of the carriage way were disposed of. Newland himself died in 1848, a year before the opening of the railway, and his executors handled the final sales. Despite this time lapse between the initiation and completion of the development it was presumably a profitable venture or Newland would have attempted to sell his remaining holdings. He appears to have made no significant alterations to the conditions of sale of the unsold plots, and retained the ownership of his newly built auction

rooms as well as the two properties that had been part of his original purchase. The tenements formed from the former mansion were occupied by a succession of professional tenants and the property remained with the Newland family until 1909. The development of Rose Hill proved to be long-term investment for William Newland. It is impossible to gauge whether he had foreseen this at the outset. For a man already in his sixties in 1831 it was an ambitious enterprise. But if his intention was to be able to provide for his family after his death it was successful. The sale of the plots was slow but they were nevertheless all purchased while the rentals from the properties he retained provided a steady income over the following decades. The value of the Dorking estate, together with his other assets, gave Newland the confidence to specify in his will that his widow, Ann Newland, should receive an annuity of £ 2,000 p. a.[14]

The Developers

Newland lived in Guildford, and remained there until his death. He developed Rose Hill as a speculation not as a prospective home and he never appears to have intended to move to Dorking. Nor did two of the first investors in the estate, Richard Fall from Lambeth and Robert Alsop from Chelsea. But Newland, Fall and Alsop all had relations living in Dorking and their involvement was part of a web of family contacts that stretched far beyond the town. The building plots eventually passed to ten purchasers. Fall described himself as 'Esq', elsewhere as a 'Customs Officer', Alsop was a chemist. The remaining purchasers were all firmly based in Dorking. One of these was the Society of Friends, six were prominent local tradesmen, and one was a building company subscribed to by nearly all the tradesmen in the town.

The Society of Friends seem to stand apart from the other purchasers but in fact the reasons that drew them to Rose Hill indicate the attractions of the site. The Society's minutes for 1845 recorded that they needed a new place of worship 'in consequence of the want of accommodation' in their old Meeting House in West Street. The plot that they bought next to the former 'Great House' on Butter Hill was spacious enough for a good-sized building, caretaker's cottage, garden and a burial ground. It overlooked the main street from which it was approached and remained central for the town while being more convenient for 'carriage folk' than the old West Street site, and through a rear entrance it connected with The Oval where two members of the Society had already built houses. Adjacent to the rear entrance were a pair of semi-detached houses [Nos. 23 & 24], owned by Robert Alsop,[15] the Chelsea chemist. Next to these properties [at No. 22] lived Robert Marsh, local draper. Both were prominent Friends, as was Alsop's brother-in-law, the High Street ironmonger William Deane, who together with Marsh became a Trustee of the new Meeting House. Over the following decades there were always two or three families of Friends living on Rose Hill, their domestic and devotional aspirations met by Newland's development.

As the nineteenth century progressed developers often sought to encourage the building of churches to enhance the character of their estates. The favoured denominational choice was the Church of England, and this might have been a possibility in Dorking where concerns were raised throughout the late 1820s and early 1830s that the parish church, St. Martin's, was both too small and in

urgent need of repair. But Newland does not seem to have taken any initiative and in 1835 the parishioners' anxieties were met when it was decided to enlarge and restore the old church. The Friends' decision to acquire the Rose Hill site appears to have been taken without any inducements from Newland and indicated the success of his enterprise. The new site was respectable. It reflected the status and confidence of the Society at the opening of Queen Victoria's reign.

Fig. 7. Houses built for the new Railway Age: The last of three pairs of semi-detached houses (Nos. 7 & 8) built (1846-48) for the Dorking Villa Building Company on land at the brow of the Oval, looking north.

What attracted the other purchasers to Newland's development? Like the Friends, they recognised its potential. All probably intended to build houses, although one never did so and was to sell his still vacant plot after ten years. Few aspired to be owner-occupiers. Nearly all the houses that came to be built were speculative ventures intended to provide an income from rents. This is what attracted the two outsiders, Fall and Alsop, the investors of the 'Dorking Villa Building Company', and the two local builders who erected houses, William Shearburn [16] and the Bothwell brothers. The Dorking Villa Building Company appears to have been formed in 1846 specifically to develop property on the estate in response to the coming of the railway. In March 1848 the local correspondent of the *Sussex Agricultural Express* welcomed the company's initial progress: 'It is obvious that as soon as the Reading and Reigate branch line is opened for public traffic, Dorking will be found to fall very short of house accommodation. ... Dorking during the summer months is highly favoured by

numerous visitors, but it is lamentable to see so many families taking their leave of Box Hill, Denbies and other beautiful scenery, with which the place abounds, for want of adequate accommodation. Those who occupy our lodging houses in the summer seasons are persons whose faces we have seen season after season, proving the air, the walks, the magnificent scenery, and the panoramic beauty of the surrounding neighbourhood are duly appreciated by the smoke-dryed Londoner and the dwellers on the barren coast. Many invalids we have seen ... whose countenance portrayed a broken constitution, have returned home reinstated in their health and spirits after a few months recreation amongst us. ... The great point is to give the necessary house accomodation, and this the Building Company will, we hope, ensure'.

The words echo Dr. Aiken's eulogy fifty years earlier but link the acclaimed restorative powers of the Surrey countryside with the coming of the new railway to anticipate a steadily increasing flow of visitors and residents. This was far from the thoughts of the promoters of the railway whose stated objective was to move goods to the channel ports avoiding London. However it was a prospect that inspired the investors in the Building Company, which with three pairs of imposing semis built at the top of The Oval between 1846 and 1848 became the principal property owner on Rose Hill [Nos. 3 & 4, 5 & 6, 7 & 8]. These were let from the outset, as were thirteen of the other new houses on the estate – 79% of the total built between 1833 and 1861.

Only three of the original purchasers built houses for their own use, and each also acquired extra building plots. Two of these used their additional plots to erect houses which they then let to tenants. The third, Richard Attlee, later passed part of his land to his son so that he could build a residence for his own young family. Only one house, erected by a local chemist, appears to have been constructed specifically for sale on completion. This, after the sale, became owner occupied, bringing the total in 1861 to five.[17] The last plot had been sold by 1856. Fifteen years later the Rate Book of 1871 shows two-thirds of the houses still owned by the original developers or their heirs. Only three properties had changed hands since they had been built. Like Newland those who invested in Rose Hill saw the estate as long-term investment.

The Houses

The houses that were built appear to conform to Newland's original specifications. A mixture of detached and semi-detached properties, they stand well back from the road, the approach belted by shrubs and evergreens, with extensive rear gardens. The boundaries are demarcated by decorative flint walls. Some have coach houses and stables.

They were large houses. On the ground floor of No. 10 was a Dining Room 14 ft.(4.3 m.) by 16ft.(4.9m.), a Drawing Room 14ft.(4.3m.) by 17ft.(5.2m.) and a Morning Room 11ft.(3.4m.) by 10ft.(3m.), with a kitchen in the basement below, four chambers with water closets above and a large bedroom on the top floor. Another, unnamed house, had even larger ground-floor rooms, with six chambers and a 'prospect room' on a further two floors.[18]

The catalogue of a furniture sale at No. 4 Rose Hill in 1850 indicates how these rooms were furnished. In the Drawing Room was a 'Brussels carpet, as planned to room, about 32 yards.(26.7 sq. m.)', with a 6ft.(1.8m.) rug at the

hearth. There was a mahogany 4-tier 'Whatnot' and a 4ft.(1.2m.) rosewood circular centre table, eight chairs with stuffed backs and seats, four light chairs, a window seat and a couch complete with cushions and bolsters, two reclining chairs, a card table, a smaller table, a fire screen that formed a reading desk and chess table, and a Back-Gammon table. Around the room were curtains, vases, scent bottles, shells, a mantel clock, an engraving of 'The Pilgrimage to Canterbury' and a print of 'The Death of General Wolfe'. Pride of place was taken by a 'full-size cottage cabinet pianoforte'. This was sold for £ 21, the most valuable item in the house. The other rooms were as fully furnished, and the property came complete with a bathroom boasting a 'capital full-size slipper bath and shower bath with force pump, heating apparatus and flue complete' – after the pianoforte the most expensive item sold.[19]

These were houses built for comfort and display. They were designed to be maintained by servants. Sales details list 'Footman's Pantry' and stables with 'man-servants room over'. The 1861 census lists 47 staff living in the 21 occupied houses on Rose Hill – cooks, nurses, house servants, a governess, a gardener, a footman. This was an average of 2.24 servants per house: every household had at least one servant while in one property there were five. They represented a third of the inhabitants of the estate, and without them neither the houses nor their residents would have been able to function.

These were expensive houses. Richard Attlee spent £ 2,031 building and fitting-out his new, detached, home [No. 1]: the building coats for the final pair of houses [Nos. 7 & 8] constructed for the Dorking Villa Building Company came to £ 1,300. Only the three semi-detached pairs erected by the Building Company share any of the same features. Styles range across the estate from Italian to Tudor to Georgian. This ornamentation, the variety and the size made these houses very different from anything that was being built on the main streets. The estimated annual rentals available from the Rate Books later in the century start at £ 35 and rise to £ 125.[20] These place all the houses on Rose Hill within the top 15% of properties in the town.

The most valuable properties were likely to be detached and owner occupied, the least valuable properties more likely to be semi-detached and occupied by tenants. But the rentals shown in the Rate Book indicate that these distinctions were not clear cut. Semi-detached houses were not necessarily inferior to a detached house. Nos. 19 & 20, a pair, both had higher rentals than their detached neighbour, No. 21. Nor were all the most valuable properties owner-occupied. No. 1, owned and occupied by the Attlee family, shared the highest rental value with No. 18, owned and let by the Fall family. Factors that in the twentieth century came to be linked to status were not necessarily seen as being important in the mid nineteenth century.

What is clear is that the three local tradesmen who built houses for their own use all chose to erect detached properties. This was how they wished to live. Their neighbours were invisible behind shrubs and trees, their living rooms were well set back from the road away from prying eyes. Previously Richard Attlee had lived above his corn merchant's business, Thomas Spokes and Robert Marsh above their respective draperies. Customers, staff and family all passed through the same building on the crowded main street. Rose Hill provided a very different atmosphere.

The Residents

In 1860 John Attlee, miller, erected a large, detached house [No. 2] for his own use on part of the land originally purchased by his father. It was sheltered just below the brow of the hill with views extending across the grass and trees of the central paddock to the North Downs in the distance. His parents were neighbours, but their house at the foot of The Oval was scarcely visible. Nor was the High Street where John had spent his childhood and where he still worked. The old family home and the noise and dust of people and horses was another world away on the other side of the archway that marked the entrance to Rose Hill. The building of John Attlee's house marked the completion of the estate. The 1861 census shows him living there with his two young children and two servants. A decade later he was still there, his family growing and his parents still liwing on the adjoining property. Across The Oval was Thomas Marsh in the house his father Robert had built in the late 1830s. The continued presence of both families helped to give the estate its character and to affirm its appeal. But as owners and occupiers they were not typical of those who came to live on the estate. Most of their neighbours during these first thirty years only rented their houses and few others are recorded living there from one decade to the next.

Nor was the background of the Attlees and the Marshs typical of the families who came to live on Rose Hill. Local families, and especially local tradesmen, were a rarity. Although Thomas Spokes, a High-Street draper, had been amongst the first residents he had sold his home by 1856. Many other local tradesmen invested in the estate through the Dorking Villa Building Co., but only one other, a chemist, was a resident in 1861, and he chose to rent his accommodation. Spokes's house was bought by the new Congregational minister in the town, Rev. John Bright. His predecessor had lived close to his church behind the artisans' cottages in Back Lane. Bright, like Marsh and Attlee, chose to distance himself from his workplace and to live amongst those whom he considered his social equals. In 1861 these included the Vicar of Dorking and James Down, the leading solicitor in the town. The setting provided a convenient and respectable place of residence for these professional gentlemen and their families. But together with the three tradesmen they were the only six of the twenty-three identified household heads in 1861 to earn their living in Dorking. Most of their neighbours came from further afield than the High Street and had no business interests in the town at all.

One of these neighbours was described as a 'Water Colour Painter'. The family had moved from London in the previous year, probably drawn to Dorking by the scenic attractions of the surrounding countryside. Three other residents presumably worked in London. One was an underwriter at Lloyds, one an architect and one a merchant in 'Colonial Produce'. They must have been regular users of the new railway. Estate agents details for a newly built house in this period stress that the station is only a ten-minute walk away, with the journey to London 'accomplished within the hour'.

But the majority of those known to be Heads of Household in 1861 did not have to work at all. Over half (13 out of 23) of them lived off private income. Two were retired local tradesmen, John Attlee's father, Richard, and another former miller, Joseph Ede. The others were all newcomers to Dorking, born in London or East Anglia, or one from Oxfordshire, and supported by rents, dividends or govenmment pensions. With one exception all were over 40, the

formative part of their lives spent elsewhere, and five were female. When Newland had begun the estate thirty years earlier a few ladies of 'Independent Means' were recorded in the town, but all were widows or daughters of local tradesmen or landowners. Even the Countess of Rothes with her Scottish title was in fact the widow of an Evelyn who traced his roots to Wotton not Scotland. Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Seelie, Miss Towgood, Mrs. Tyrell and Mrs. Weatherby with birth places recorded in Clapham and Wanstead and Bethnal Green were very different. They appear to have had no local connections. They do not seem to have lived elsewhere in the town at an earlier date. They selected Dorking as a place to live and Rose Hill as their place of residence. These independent middle-class ladies represented a new group who were coming to live in the town. None have left written records but the factors that led Elizabeth Cash and her daugher Annie to leave their home at Peckham Rye a decade later may well have applied to them as well; the prospective move was described by Annie's sister: 'Ever since William's marriage they have felt some unsettlement in the dear old house, so much larger than they want, and "The Rye" all around that part has become so increasingly disagreeable. Annie's health has been decidedly worse lately, and the doctor very much wished her to try a different place of residence and he advised Dorking, the place that they had set their minds on, though they had not told him. The place they are going is much smaller than they would have wished, but houses are very scarce; the situation is good – Rose Hill'.[21]

The sex of the five middle-class ladies recorded on Rose Hill in 1861 differentiated them from the heads of the neighbouring households. But they shared much else in common. They lived off private income, they employed between one and three servants, they were not born in the area, and they had only moved to Dorking in the last decade. Around The Oval birth places are recorded in Somerset, in Coventry, in Italy and in Hanover. Only Richard and John Attlee, and Thomas Marsh, who was away on Census night, were born in Dorking. Few of their neighbours were living in Dorking because of family or business ties. Like Hope, Denison and Barclay fifty years earlier, they had moved to the area simply because it was an attractive environment in which to live.

Conclusion

Writing in his *History of Dorking* in 1884 the Rev. J Bright described Rose Hill as: 'one of the pleasantest parts of Dorking. Around a fine paddock in which sheep and cows are usually found and give an air of rural quiet there are numerous ornamental villas. There are two fine lime trees in the centre, which appear to have formed part of an avenue in former days, and are, when loaded with their tassels of seed in July, objects of considerable beauty. There are examples of the ash, elm, beech and walnut, which make the spot very charming in the summer'. Bright lived on Rose Hill. The picture of rural tranquillity that he creates was very different from the industrialised midlands where he had been born. It combined all the elements that had led Dr. Aiken to write so enthusiastically about the Surrey countryside nearly a hundred years earlier. This was the setting that would appeal to 'the contemplative mind', with its bountiful trees, grazing animals, and hints of former grandeur suggested by the

avenue. It appealed to Bright, the nonconformist minister and man of letters, but he did not have to live in the countryside to enjoy these surroundings. Rose Hill was part of the town and within ten minutes walk of the railway station.

Newland successfully transformed an eighteenth-century gentleman's town residence into a nineteenth-century middle-class estate. With his carriage way, central paddock and large building plots he abandoned the constraints of the medieval streets and messuage plots. It was very different from the infilling of labourers cottages that had taken place behind some of the older properties along the main streets. It was a planned development on a scale that had not been envisaged before to attract a class that had not existed. It altered the townscape and it hinted at even greater changes. The main streets and all their activity were deliberately left behind when you passed through Rose Hill archway. The houses that came to be built around The Oval were hidden from the main thoroughfare, removed from commerce and trade, and socially exclusive. Surrounded by shrubs and trees and with vistas from the hillside across to the North Downs the town was almost invisible. Physically set apart, Rose Hill also represented a new social and economic separation between workplace and home. Women and children lived here in privacy: husbands went to work or lived in quiet retirement.

Newland had gambled that he had read the spirit of the age correctly. He designed an estate to appeal to the new tastes and wealth of nineteenth-century England. Although it took thirty years to come to maturity it was a planning success that looks set to survive into the twenty-first century helped by the continued acceptance of many of those tastes and the prosperity of this part of Surrey. There have been changes over the years but the elements of the completed estate of 1861 remain recognisable: the semi-circular former 'auction room', the still divided 'Great House', the archway, the lodge, the Friends Meeting House, the paddock, and the houses on the hillside built by Attlee, Marsh, Shearburn and the Dorking Villa Building Company.

It could have been different. There has been pressure over the years to change the use of The Oval. This is now guaranteed by shared ownership amongst all the surrounding properties. If Richard Lowndes had sold the estate earlier, or later, or to a different man, it may have been developed differently. Writing in 1858 John Dennis, a retired Receiver-General of Excise living in Butter Hill House, described a nearby hillside development: 'Nothing could be finer than these sites, and the town besides being greatly extended might at the same time be much improved in appearance if the hillside were to be studded with tasteful villas or picturesque cottages, but the building which has at present been achieved is for the most part frightful enough to afflict an architect with the nightmare and to make every lover of the picturesque vexed and even indignant'.[22]

From the perspective of the late twentieth century there seems nothing radical about the idea of a residential estate built away from the busy main road. Rose Hill fits into a broader pattern that is now accepted as normal. In other towns similar estates had already been built, but for the inhabitants of Dorking it marked a fundamental break with the past and was a harbinger of far larger developments to come. Although the infilling of land close to the main streets was to continue, the main characteristic of the later nineteenth-century development of the town was the result of large scale planning by outside developers. They burst away from the constraints of the medieval townscape to

create new streets that reflected not just a demand for housing but changing tastes and social patterns. Newland was the first of these developers. Local men bought the plots that he put up for sale and they built the houses that still stand today. But no local resident has left so clear a mark on the map of the town in these years as the surgeon from Guildford. He was soon to be followed by others equally intent on transforming the townscape of rural Surrey.

'Adapted from the beauty of the neighbourhood and its great local attractions for the erection of Genteel Detached Cottage Residences Or Semi-Detached Villas'.[23]

References

1. Quoted from *The Monthly Magazine* in Timbs, J., *A Picturesque Promenade Round Dorking*, (1824), p. 117. Dr. John Aiken M.D. was brother of author Mrs. A. Barbauld, a close friend of Fanny Burney, who lived at Westhumble (1797-1801) and visited Dr. Aiken at his Dorking lodgings during 1798.
2. The population of Petworth fell from 3,364 in 1841 to 2,503 in 1901.
3. J. Denison acquired Denbies in 1787; T. Hope acquired Deepdene in 1808 and R. Barclay acquired Bury Hill in 1812.
4. Dorking manor court rolls: 12th. October 1832.
5. Nairn, I., and Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England – Surrey*, 2nd. edn. (1971), p. 198.
6. Timbs, J., *A Picturescue Promenade Round Dorking*, (1824).
7. Green, J., 'The Newland Family' in *Sidelights on Guildford History*, (1956); Vine, P., *London's Lost Routes to the Sea*, (1965), and Newland family papers at Guildford Muniment Room.
8. Ann Newland (1786-1860). It is assumed that her father and brother were respectively James Rudge and John Rudge, both described as maltsters of Dorking.
9. Information from the deeds to No. 18 Rose Hill, dated 18th. April, 1833. There may have been different specifications for those houses that did not front on to The Oval.
10. First mentioned in rate book of April 1833 and later known as 'The Rotunda'.
11. Information from the deeds of No. 18. The first recorded mention of a house is in the Rate Book of 1836.
12. Tithe Terrier, 1839 in Guildford Muniment Room [25/13/21].
13. Dorking Rate Book of 1841.
14. Will proved on 26th. April, 1848, in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
15. Robert Alsop (1803- 1876) never appears to have lived in Dorking but the family of his first wife, Mary Ann Alsop (1796-1841), lived in the town. These included her brother, the ironmonger William Deane. Robert Alsop lived in Chelsea, then Stoke Newington, and travelled to Europe on behalf of the Society of Friends. Members of the Society are recorded leasing his Rose Hill properties in the 1840s and 1850s.
16. William Shearburn (1798-1860) lived in South Street, Dorking, adjacent to the southern entrance to Rose Hill. An architect, builder and surveyor,

he was responsible for building a number of houses in Dorking, as well as Nos. 11, 12, 13 & 14 Rose Hill. He received payment as architect from the Dorking Villa Building Co., and probably designed their properties Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8 Rose Hill.

17. Now No. 10.
18. Sales Details, Dorking Museum: No. 10 (D. Knight collection); Unknown Property [S144].
19. Sale Catalogue of No. 2 Rose Hill Villa (later No. 4 Rose Hill); Dorking Museum [S 120].
20. Rate Book 1871 at Surrey Record Office [SRO ACC/1358/4/5].
21. Cadbury, Elizabeth, *A Dear Memory*, (1914), letter from Mary Jane Taylor, dated 19th. August 1871. Mary J. Taylor was the daughter of Elizabeth Cash, who lived at No. 18 Rose Hill. The Cash family were active members of the Society of Friends and knew Robert Alsop.
22. Dennis, J., *A Handbook of Dorking*, (1858).
23. Particulars and Conditions of Sale on the Rose Hill Estate, 15th. August 1852

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Fig. 8. Butter Hill House & Rose Hill House today seen from the Oval.

FROM THE ORIGINS OF PARLIAMENT TO THE REFORM ACT: SURREY M.P.s AND ELECTIONS

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The origins of Parliament have for long been a subject of debate among medievalists. Was Parliament a descendant of free institutions brought by the English settlers from their Germanic homelands or was it an outgrowth of the King's council with its roots in the royal prerogative? The best answer is perhaps that the Saxon, Norman and early Plantagenet kings needed a body – at first their earls or tenants-in-chief – to assist them with advice and in hearing petitions from their people. When Henry III depended too heavily on relatives and other supporters of foreign origin, reform movements arose which led to anarchy and contemporaries developed schemes of government which would provide a check on royal power. General 'parliaments', specially summoned sessions of the King's council attended not only by ministers but by prelates and secular magnates in large numbers, became recognised as omnicompetent. Parliaments of this kind were given a new dimension by their conversion into representative bodies following the admission of elected members from the shires and the boroughs. Also, government became more complex and as warfare developed beyond the capacity of feudal levies and traditional militia duties, kings could no longer live off their own estates and traditional feudal aids but needed the power to tax their subjects. This also required a representative institution. Representatives of countryside and towns were brought together and a second House of Parliament, the House of Commons, emerged. From 1254 knights of the shire attended; from 1265 citizens and burgesses. The most widely representative of medieval parliaments, Edward I's 1295 Parliament, was attended by representatives of 37 counties and 114 towns. Such an institution would begin to link the grant of taxes with attempts to secure redress of grievances and some influence on the purposes for which the taxes were being levied.

The position remained fluid in the fourteenth century. Other types of 'parliament' such as a 1340 council of merchants were summoned, when Surrey was represented by Peter Sewere of Guildford, William le Chapman of Merrow and John atte Churchgate of Epsom.

Medieval Representation

Representation fluctuated both in Lords and Commons. Until the middle of the fourteenth century there was no certainty that the heir of a lord would receive a writ of summons in succession to his father – some 'baronies' fluctuated in and

Fig. 1. Monumental brass of Nicholas Gaynesford, his wife Margaret and their children in Carshalton church. Gaynesford was M.P. at various times between 1453 and 1492 for Bletchingley, Guildford, Southwark and Surrey. His brother John, of Crowhurst, was M.P. for Surrey 1453-4 and his brother William, of Lingfield, was M.P. for Surrey 1449-50. [SRO 4348/1/82/3]

out of the House of Lords. Thereafter the right to summons became strictly hereditary: peers could be made but not, except by legal process for activities regarded as treasonable, unmade. Representation in the Commons was gradually defined. Each of 37 shires, varying in size from Yorkshire to Rutland, sent two 'knights' (except Cheshire, added in the sixteenth century with Wales, and Durham, added in the 1670s). Each borough returned two burgesses (four for London). In Surrey, Guildford, Bletchingley, Reigate and Southwark acquired permanent parliamentary status from the fourteenth century, although Bletchingley's representation was patchy in the fourteenth century and Reigate's only regular from 1350. Kingston was represented in four fourteenth-century parliaments but ultimately failed to secure representation. Farnham was represented in 1311 and 1460 but then dropped out. Gatton was added in 1450 and Haslemere in the last period of creation, the Elizabethan age, in 1586. This settled Surrey's, and virtually settled English and Welsh, representation until the Reform Act of 1832.

What qualified a town for parliamentary representation? Southwark and Guildford were two of Surrey's main towns, but undoubtedly Kingston was the third, while a whole array of towns – Croydon, Dorking, Farnham, Godalming – surpassed Gatton and Bletchingley.

Selection was based up to a point on the importance of the town but could also reflect the importance and importuning of the borough's patrons. Guildford

as the seat of county government qualified automatically, and the interests of the Clares at Bletchingley and the Warennes at Reigate presumably explain why those two towns obtained the franchise. Gatton's promotion seems to follow from the grant of various rights such as free warren to John Tymperley, its lord, in 1449, which seem to have been taken as including parliamentary representation. Haslemere's promotion is described in the History of Parliament as frankly a mystery. It was in royal hands and was enfranchised presumably through the influence of Lord Montague, steward of the manor of Godalming which included Haslemere, but why Haslemere rather than Godalming ?

Why was Kingston omitted ? It was a substantial town, a royal manor with charters from 1200 and incorporated in 1481. One possibility is that exemption from the cost and effort of attendance was initially a privilege. Great Torrington in Devon sought and obtained freedom from the requirement to return members of parliament, although it sought restoration of its rights in 1661 but was refused: clearly the right to elect M.P.s had by then become an asset rather than a liability.

It is important to recognise that 'borough' can have a number of different meanings. In the middle ages a borough was essentially a place with a market and with its houses held by free burgage tenure. It would possess a charter granting these rights from the crown or from its lord. A borough might be granted self-government through its own corporation but this was not inevitable: Guildford only obtained its corporate status in 1488, seven years after Kingston, although both boroughs had guild merchants from the thirteenth century. Southwark, after a long battle, was subsumed in the government of the city of London in the sixteenth century. Until the nineteenth century Reigate was governed by the same manorial and parochial system as governed villages. Gatton and Haslemere among Surrey parliamentary boroughs were governed in the same manner, Bletchingley had a portmanmote but was otherwise governed by the manorial courts. Parliamentary representation, therefore, was not related to the content of borough charters. It was a right, or a duty, which depended initially on royal selection and thereafter on the inertia of custom and precedent.

County elections in the middle ages

In the shires the need to define the franchise was soon recognised. Presumably the danger of dissension among the nobility and gentry through disputes was too great to risk. In 1376 the Good Parliament requested legislation to prohibit the return of knights of the shire by sheriffs who had not held elections, and stated that the knights should be elected by 'the better sort of people'. In response Edward III stipulated that knights should be elected 'by the common assent of the whole county'. The idea of simple majority voting was not natural to the middle ages; it was generally accepted that more important, or older, or wiser heads carried more weight, and so it was probably never assumed that the agricultural labourer, for example, would go along and vote.

In 1406 the first statute for the better regulation of elections was passed. This stipulated that, at the next assembly of the county court after delivery of the writ of summons, following proclamation in open court of the time and place of the meeting of Parliament, all present should elect the knights of the shire freely and impartially, and the names of those elected should be recorded in an indenture

sealed by all electors and attached to the writ of summons, which would constitute the return of the writ as far as the election of knights of the shire was concerned. The provision that all the electors should seal the returns must always have been impracticable, although the assumption that all electors would have a seal presumably implies some measure of social status. In practice only a few men actually sealed the indentures. In 1430 the need to define the electorate more closely was recognised and the possession of freehold land worth 40s. a year in the county was defined as the qualification. This, with some later clarification, remained the qualification until 1832, and one of the qualifications until 1918. The sheriff was to examine electors on the Gospels as to their qualifications. This again must in practice have been a rare event. Surrey county court was held at Guildford which remained the location for election of knights of the shire until the nineteenth century.

How elections took place at this time and how often there were contested elections is a moot point. We do not always even have the surviving returns naming the successful candidates, and certainly we do not have results giving the numbers voting for each candidate. So far as we can generalise from the later periods it seems probable that contests only rarely came to the vote and that generally it became clear before that point either that two candidates were the choice of the leaders of the county or at least that two candidates clearly outstripped any others, in which case the weaker parties would decline a poll. The event would often have an almost ritual character of common approval. This attitude remained for a long time and is more easily shown in later centuries for which there is more evidence. It seems fairly clear that 'labouring' or canvassing took place beforehand and probably at times interference on the day itself. If there were rival parties, the sheriff had a vital role to play. Some, not necessarily in Surrey, seem to have tried to hold snap polls because in 1445 it was laid down that elections were to be held between 8 and 11 am. and without previous collusion, and some appear to have substituted different names in the returns from the names of the men actually elected.

MPs for the County: the Middle Ages

Initially the knights of the shire were indeed knights. Sometimes in the fourteenth century the writ specified 'belted knights' (knights with belt and sword) or at least people with experience of arms. As time passed, this requirement slipped, but county representatives up to the nineteenth century tended to come from the local gentry. To represent your county was an honour – a reflection of authority, respect, power.

In practice the Surrey 'knights of the shire' ceased to be knights early, although a number were wealthy landowners eligible for knighthood, and three were distrained for not taking up the burden of knighthood. Only three actual knights were elected in the period 1386-1421 whereas nationally 56% of county members were knights between 1386 and 1397 and still 27% between 1419 and 1421. The three were Sir James Berners of Berners Hall, Essex, and West Horsley, Sir Thomas Breues of Wiltshire and Little Bookham and Bramley, and Sir William Brantingham of Northamptonshire and Catteshall. Berners was born at West Horsley and baptised at Shere in 1361. He became a justice of the peace in 1381 when he was twenty, the year in which was knighted. He was a figure of

consequence in Richard II's court and farmed royal estates in Surrey, and he was an elected MP, whether specifically as a royal supporter or as a prominent local man we cannot be sure, in 1386 at the age of 25. He was singled out by Richard's enemies, the Lords Appellant, to be tried for treason and was executed in 1388. Brantingham, a wealthy man with widespread and influential connexions, who was MP for Northants in 1379 and for Surrey in 1404, was a household officer of Henry IV. His most notable exploit was his effort to gain Sir John Keynes' property by obtaining wardship of his children and trying to trick their aunt into parting with her inheritance. Brantingham was accused of paying a woman to impersonate the aunt but his plan of dressing the impostor up as a pilgrim from the Holy Land proved too much for her dramatic capabilities and ended in farce.

The medieval county M.P.s included Robert Bussebridge of Ewhurst and Godalming, an attorney at Surrey assizes who also acted for influential members of the county community at the courts in Westminster and was bailiff of the Bishop of Salisbury's liberty in Godalming and south-west Surrey. John Burgh, who was M.P. in four parliaments, 1413-16, was a clerk of the exchequer who began to buy land in Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton in 1400 and became a Surrey J.P. in 1411. Nicholas Carew of Beddington (d. 1390) and his son Nicholas (c. 1356-1432) were just two members of this long-surviving family to be elected. The son was MP five times – four times 1394-97 and again in 1417 – and was active as a crown servant for thirty years on commissions in the south-east for concealments, treasure trove, highways, gaol delivery and treasons and felonies. These men illustrate a number of general points. First, we can discover a reasonable amount of information about them. This derives mainly from government records such as the Calendars of Patent Rolls recording royal appointments, and from records of land transactions and lawsuits. Rarely do we get a flavour of their personality. Secondly, the M.P.s are either of gentle birth or they acquire in royal service, for example in the Exchequer, the wealth which enables them to purchase their estates. Surrey was a county of strong royal influence. The crown held extensive lands, especially after 1399 when the duchy of Lancaster estates passed to the crown, and Surrey's proximity to London increased this influence. A relatively high proportion of Surrey M.P.s were crown servants. Those members who were Surrey gentlemen by inheritance often held local commissions from the crown; all were J.P.s, many served as sheriff, some were collectors of a subsidy or commissioners of array. Some men represented the county several times – Robert Loxley of Polstead six times (and his son once, perhaps on the strength of his father's posthumous reputation – he never sat again nor did he show much interest in public affairs). William Newdigate of Cheam and Ockley sat four times (and his son also once). John Wintershall of Wintershall and Shalford was MP six times, sheriff four times, eschaetor six times, a J.P. and frequently on commissions. One prosperous London brewer, Hugh Quecche of Chipstead and Steyning, was returned but he also had landed interests and Surrey, unlike Middlesex, did not frequently return sons and grandsons of London merchants. Quecche may have been elected to the Merciless Parliament as a supporter of the Earl of Arundel. Surrey, unlike counties further afield, rarely returned lawyers. Lawyers from distant counties found it convenient to have their presence in Westminster paid for by their countrymen, and their countrymen no doubt found it useful for their M.P. to be able to transact their legal business. A Surrey lawyer was conveniently placed

for Westminster without needing to be elected M.P. The electors usually selected at least one man with previous experience. It was rare but not unknown for an M.P. to have a career covering both county and borough seats: John Barnet, MP for Surrey in 1414, was returned for Guildford four times.

Mediaeval borough elections and M.P.s

A different pattern is seen in the boroughs. There is no standard qualification for electors equivalent to the forty shilling county franchise. This is partly because boroughs differed in size, wealth and constitution. Also no doubt disputes mattered less. Even the largest Surrey boroughs were tiny by modern standards – Guildford and Southwark were just three or four streets, the other towns one or two, with a few hundred inhabitants and perhaps one or two dozen electors. A dispute would hardly threaten the peace as a dispute between armed magnates and their retainers at county level might. There were rarely many plausible candidates and representation, like borough offices, may have often been handed round as a chore. In many cases a dominant lord would control the representation regardless of the franchise.

Because of this, borough electorates could vary. In some the corporation elected the MP. In others the electorate consisted of all the freeholders, or came in time to comprise all the people paying the poor and church rates – scot and lot – or anyone who could boil a pot on his hearth – potwallopers. In others it rested with the ownership or occupancy of the original burgage plots or tenements. In many cases no doubt the controlling interest was not greatly concerned as to what the qualification was and the precise franchise emerged by chance. A few men would go off to the county court, perhaps participate in the election of the knights of the shire and at the same time present the sheriff with the names of the two selected burgesses. From the mid-fifteenth century the sheriff sent the writs to the local bailiff or other returning officer, which theoretically moved the place of election to the borough itself, but this probably made little difference in practice.

What was significant about the method of election in individual boroughs was not its impact on medieval elections but the fact that it established a franchise which would continue to determine elections in the very different atmosphere of the eighteenth century, when a lord who controlled a burgess borough, and especially a small one like Bletchingley, could have near-absolute control of its representation. Control of freehold properties in Reigate and Gatton could be equally total, although most freeholder boroughs, such as Haslemere, had a somewhat greater degree of independence. In some boroughs uncertainty as to the franchise continued to a late date. In Guildford the electorate seems to have been reduced in 1485 from the guild merchant as a whole to 30 'approved men' although by the seventeenth century freemen and freeholders paying scot and lot possessed the franchise. Into the eighteenth century there was dispute about the electorate there and in Surrey's largest constituency, Southwark, although the Southwark electorate became defined as all inhabitant householders not receiving alms.

Borough M.P.s are more elusive than knights of the shire. There are more gaps in the returns, so that many names are missing. For many M.P.s nothing other than their name has so far been discovered. Robert Nafferton, five times

M.P. for Bletchingley, 1377-88, defeated the *History of Parliament* researchers. Reigate M.P.s can sometimes be identified as retainers or employees of the Earls of Arundel. Walter Urry of Horsham and Rusper, M.P. for Horsham twice, Reigate twice and Surrey once, can probably be identified as a steward of the Arundel castles and lordships of Lewes and Reigate who in 1440s helped to establish a chantry in Arundel church. The Skinners were an important Reigate and East Surrey family who frequently represented the borough between 1350 and 1572. Guildford elected M.P.s with a broad range of experience of whom a certain amount can be discovered. Thomas Brocas was a member of the guild merchant with property in Compton and Artington. He lived in Compton and witnessed many local deeds now in the Loseley manuscripts. Henry Colas, a taverner, was in the earl of Cambridge's retinue on the Scots border. Robert Chesenhale of Guildford and Artington, M.P. six times and constable of the Bishop of Winchester's castle of Farnham and manor of Esher, was mayor of Guildford and a tax collector for Surrey. Together with the Prior of Puttenham he was charged in Kings Bench with demolishing a bridge over the Wey at West Shalford which the villagers had built but which redirected traffic through a meadow belonging to Chesenhale and the prior. The case was dismissed as there was no right of way through the meadow. The villagers however set fire to his boundary fence. It seems possible that he had illegally enclosed commons but, as the *History of Parliament* says, 'since the manor belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, in whose service he then was, Chesenhale could be fairly sure of obtaining preferential treatment in his employer's court'. This illustrates the problem with much medieval evidence. Even when a court record appears illuminating we cannot form any clear impression of the rights and wrongs or the personalities involved. Guildford being an important town on a main road from London seems to have had close links with London. John Gatyn, eight times M.P., was member of the Guildford guild merchant but also a London citizen. John Gregg, a London grocer, seems to have settled in Guildford; he also served, presumably as a victualler, with forces in Ireland and France.

Southwark, with quite a large electorate, nearly always returned local men: a saddler, a chandler, a vintner, an innkeeper, bakers. John Solas, who was M.P. four times, was bailiff of the Prior of Bermondsey, an active lawyer with Surrey landowners and city merchants among his clients and a man of uncertain temper who was taken to court by the poet John Gower for acts of violence. Perhaps this ran in the family: his brother Thomas, who was his fellow-M.P. in 1393, died by violence. As the fifteenth century progressed, two trends affected borough representation. Local gentlemen eager to get into Parliament began to be elected for boroughs, and lawyers, quick of thought and fluent of speech, saw Parliament as a showcase for their talents and found boroughs willing to send them – even eager because an articulate representative in Westminster could be helpful to their interests.

The Medieval M.P. in Parliament

The medieval parliament sometimes became involved in high politics. The battles between Richard II and his opponents produced a Parliament called the 'Merciless' (1388): parliament could be used as a means of destroying opponents through impeachment. But Parliament met for very short periods – about five weeks on average. It could not control the executive or acquire a cohesive presence and become an independent force. Most members would hardly have become acquainted with one another before Parliament was dissolved. The King summoned, managed and dissolved Parliament, which could only challenge him when his power was under threat from other directions. Most of its work consisted of voting taxes – by 1407, this was firmly in the hands of the Commons – presenting petitions and occasionally passing laws. As the highest court, its authority gave the statutes it passed the authority to alter existing statute or customary law. But most legislation was limited and specific, mainly relating to trade. No doubt the burgesses of Guildford in 1391 were more interested in the passing of an Act to ensure that Guildford cloths were properly fulled and manufactured, to maintain their reputation, than in any political issues of the period.

From Reformation to Civil War

Even though local evidence is limited, medieval parliaments justify extended treatment because in many respects they set the pattern for the future of parliament, elections and M.P.s. Later centuries saw development rather than dramatic changes. Nevertheless, there were changes, and a key moment can perhaps be identified in the 1530s when Henry VIII used the Reformation Parliament to pass the key statutes which divided England and Rome, abolished the monasteries and twice altered the line of succession. As Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth in turn used Parliament to achieve their religious ends, we have, probably for the first time, what modern politicians might call an issue, or a series of issues, on which members might have pre-existent views and which might group some at least of them together on questions of belief and principle. Parliament still presented little opposition to the royal will, provided economics did not intrude – Mary, for example, could not reverse the acquisition by laymen of monastic lands. What we see is more concrete evidence than previously of the influence of the crown affecting the pattern of membership of parliament. A member's views on the religious issue might explain his presence in parliament in one reign and his absence in another. Sir Thomas Cawarden, M.P. for Bletchingley twice and Surrey four times, had been apprenticed to a mercer but rose in royal service as master of the revels and was appointed Keeper of Anne of Cleves' manor of Bletchingley. He was active in Edward VI's reign in 'abolishing and defacing of the idolatry' in Bletchingley parish church. A Protestant, he was out of Parliament after 1554 until 1559, when as a supporter of Elizabeth, he was returned again for the county and knighted. On the other side of the religious divide were William Saunders of Ewell, M.P. for Surrey in 1553, 1554 and 1555, who came repeatedly into conflict with Cawarden and was responsible for the execution of fourteen Protestant heretics, and John Skinner of Reigate, who helped Lord William Howard arrest Cawarden after Wyatt's plot early in Mary's reign and who benefited from Cawarden's eclipse to become M.P. for Surrey in 1555 and 1558. Neither Saunders nor Skinner sat in any of Elizabeth's parliaments although Skinner seems to have conformed to the Elizabethan Settlement and his son sat for Reigate in 1559 and 1572. Also on the Catholic side were the Anthony Brownes, father and son, although their power was less transitory. The elder Anthony

Browne represented the county from 1539 to 1547, when he died leaving a very Catholic will. His son was M.P. at various times for Guildford, Petersfield and Surrey, being first returned for Guildford in 1545 a few weeks after his sixteenth birthday together with Thomas Elyot his father's servant. He was imprisoned in 1551 for hearing mass but nevertheless sat in Edward VI's last parliament. He became a strong supporter of Mary and sat in her first two parliaments before being created Viscount Montague in 1554. Despite his Catholicism he remained a considerable influence on Surrey politics and elections during Elizabeth's reign.

The most significant name to appear in this period is that of Christopher More. Apparently the son of a London fishmonger, he probably made his money through financial dealings and was the first of his family to settle in Surrey when he purchased the manor of Loseley in about 1509. He was a clerk of the exchequer and, like his son and grandson, worked hard in local administration. He was M.P. for Surrey in 1539 and 1547. His son Sir William More and grandson Sir George More were to assure themselves of seats either for Surrey or Guildford for the whole of Elizabeth's and James I's reigns and his great-grandson Robert was M.P. for Guildford and Surrey in the early seventeenth century. The Loseley manuscripts are excellent evidence of the activities of the family. The Mores show the interrelationship of personal merit and local respect with political acceptability and good contacts which justified a seat, especially a county seat, in parliament. Sir William More, 'the perfect Elizabethan gentleman', friend of Lord Burghley, his daughter Elizabeth one of the Queen's ladies, was a man of impeccable character and efficiency. Absorbed in the local administration of the county, his prestige was scarcely dimmed by the presence in the county of Lord Howard of Effingham and other eminent peers. He sat in every one of Elizabeth's parliaments, either for Surrey, partnering Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir John Wolley, a privy councillor and More's own son-in-law and members of the Howard family, or for Guildford. In 1579 his son-in-law wrote that the Queen 'durst commit her life to his trust' and 'where the young sort of men, wanting experience and trust, did forget their duties, such old servants as you are would remember themselves'. He is referred to frequently in Symonds D'Ewes' parliamentary diaries. He was not a soft man. When a fellow M.P., William Parry, was found guilty of treason in 1585 More proposed that a more hideous means of executing him than the usual traitor's death might be found; fortunately this proved to be beyond the imagination or the stomach of his fellow M.Ps. More was rarely recorded as speaking in Parliament but he served on committees and was the kind of M.P. whose support his constituents found it useful to enlist.

George More succeeded to his father's office in the Court of Exchequer, became Lieutenant of the Tower of London and Treasurer and Receiver-General to James I's eldest son Prince Henry before the prince's premature death. On issues such as purveyance – the right of the crown to commandeer goods and transport – from which Surrey suffered severely, being a county near to London and the court but not rich in natural resources, an M.P. like More and, locally, his fellow justices formed a bridge between the exercise of royal power and local people's sense of grievance. The Mores assumed that Parliament had a duty to grant supply and to trust the sovereign to redress grievances rather than to force a 'bargain': 'the chief ends of parliaments are the grievances of the commonwealth and the king's supply'. This perhaps is shown

also in Sir George More's comment to Parliament: 'consider what we are – parliament men, trusted by our country [i.e. county] and subjects to a great king'. This duality was broken in the 1640s, when king and country divided.

Borough representation in the Elizabethan period was largely in the hands of the Howards and the Mores. The Howards possessed Reigate as a family seat and William Howard of Lingfield sat for almost the whole of Elizabeth's reign. He is only known to have spoken once in the House, to complain of 'the great disorder of serving-men and boys in hurting and misusing of other persons on the staircase leading to the Commons chamber'. His elder brother, Lord Howard of Effingham, obtained for him a county seat in 1589. Sir William brought his son Edward Howard in as member for Reigate in 1597 at the age of eighteen and Edward held it until his death in 1620. The Howards bought Bletchingley in 1560 from the executors of Sir Thomas Cawarden and acquired Gatton with Privy Council support when Thomas Copley, although a blood-relation of Elizabeth through the Boleyns and with the Queen as godmother to his eldest son, made a 'spectacularly ill-timed' conversion to Roman Catholicism and left the country in 1570. Burghley had a hand in nominations to Gatton, the members including Francis Bacon, who in fact chose to sit for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, and John Puckering of Kew in Surrey and Weston in Hertfordshire, who was Speaker in 1584 and 1586: when Puckering was elected for Gatton in 1586 his name was inserted in Burghley's own hand in a blank return for the borough. At Bletchingley, the M.P.s were Howards, their neighbour Richard Bostock and his nephew and heir Bostock Fuller, and, when Lord Howard of Effingham was Lord High Admiral, Admiralty officials. Haslemere was largely served by connexions of the Mores – Sir George More bought the borough in 1601. Guildford, apart from successive Mores, was represented by John Austen, who launched the appeal for the Grammar School at the beginning of the reign, and his son George, book-keeper to William More, clerk to the guild merchant and clerk of the peace of the county, by Thomas and Laurence Stoughton of Stoughton and by a variety of Howard and Cecil servants. Southwark, as at most periods, was mainly represented by local tradesmen.

County elections in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took place normally simply by 'shout' (acclamation), which could last for hours as a celebration of success and affirmation of local unity. If this was indecisive they went to a 'view', when supporters of the various candidates, probably in their liveries, divided and the sheriff decided which group seemed larger. Only if this failed was a count taken, the voters going before the sheriff in turn to declare their choice. There survive in the records of Chancery the accounts for expenditure of Sir Nicholas Carew when he was elected in 1515: overnight accommodation for himself and his companions in Leatherhead, presumably en route from Beddington, and food and drink supplied mostly by the Angel Inn at Guildford to celebrate his election. In the reign of Elizabeth nationally there were polls in only 3% of county elections; those there were showed extensive bitterness and violence. Generally the Privy Council and local magnates could sew matters up effectively. The nearest Surrey came to a poll was 1558, when five candidates appeared – Sir Thomas Cawarden, Sir Henry Weston, Thomas Copley, Charles Howard and Thomas Browne – but even in this year it is not clear that matters were pressed to the vote. Cawarden and Browne were elected.

The government could usually ensure the return of a majority of favourable

M.P.s at a general election. In 1539 Sir Roger Copley offered the nomination of one member for Gatton to Christopher More, and the negotiations ended with Cromwell making the nominations. More told Cromwell that he had discharged Copley from paying the M.P.'s wages as 'there is but one house in the town to any release and help to the same'. In the same year Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, rode around Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire to ensure support for the government in the elections. He was in any case the main influence in Guildford and when he visited the town he advised the townsmen to let him nominate members prepared to remit their M.P.s' wages (2s. a day) in part or in full. They agreed to let him nominate one but wanted Daniel Mugge, a townsman, as the other and the Earl wrote to Cromwell commending Mugge as 'an honest man . . . whom I think will do right well his part in such things as the King's majesty intendeth'. This influence was often not so much to secure political support in the modern sense as to ensure that a sufficient number of 'useful' men – privy councillors, lawyers, civil servants – were elected who could keep the business of the House moving. 1539 was in this respect exceptional because Cromwell was keen on religious and political grounds to keep control of elections out of the hands of Bishop Gardiner of Winchester. M.P.s themselves were likely to be more concerned with local issues than national. The M.P.s for York in Edward VI's parliaments reported back to the city on such matters as a bill to unite two York parishes but did not mention either the 1549 or 1552 Prayer Book Acts.

The Reformation Parliament was a new phenomenon – a parliament which lasted seven years, although it only met for one or two months each year. One result was that, because of the number of M.P.s who died, by-elections were initiated. These were particularly easy for the Crown to control.

The period from the accession of Elizabeth through to the Civil War was formerly seen as the period when the House of Commons gained in independence and power compared with the crown and the House of Lords. An observer in 1639, when Charles I had reigned without Parliament for ten years, might have wondered what the Commons had won. An observer in 1649, when Parliament, led by the Commons, had defeated the King in two Civil Wars and executed him, might have seen the 'winning of the iniative' as a truism. In practice, in this period the Crown needed the Commons for taxation and at times to support its policies while the Commons asserted its right to influence policy without often being able to produce solid results. The influence of Parliament can easily be overstated. Sir Thomas Smith in 1565 stated: 'What can a commonwealth desire more, than peace, fidelity, quietness, little taking of base money [and] few parliaments'. Henry VIII in 1536 excused himself for burdening the country with a new Parliament by explaining that there was a problem – the succession to the throne – for which it was essential and Elizabeth I in 1572 justified summoning a Parliament despite having held one the previous year by the claim that there had been a time in the past when parliament met annually. Parliament sat for about 5% of the total time covered by Elizabeth's reign, approximately one month every two years. Sir Francis Walsingham, who sat, as befitted his Privy Councillor status, as senior M.P. for Surrey, 1572-89, is never known to have spoken in Parliament, hardly ever seems to have concerned himself with borough patronage and scarcely ever refers to Parliament in his papers. It was the period 1603-60 which probably first brought a significantly political element into the Parliamentary process; a belief that Parliament was an

institution to protect the rights and liberties of the subject. Yet even in the 1620s a Parliament was 'an event and not an institution'. Unity between Crown and Parliament was seen as necessary for national well-being and international reputation. M.P.s were more interested in the well-being of their counties, and their own pockets, than national issues. In 1625 when an invasion was feared in Essex, the people of Huntingdonshire replied that the defence of Essex was none of their business. Charles I ruled for eleven years, 1629-40, without a Parliament. During this period many former and future M.P.s served him loyally as sheriffs and J.P.s. In the 1640s Surrey M.P.s split 12-2 in favour of Parliament, only Sir Thomas Bludder of Flanchford, M.P. for Reigate, and one of the Southwark M.P.s, Edward Bagshaw, going with the King to Oxford, although others were by no means republican. This placed Surrey with other south-eastern and eastern counties firmly in the Parliamentary camp. The 1640s and 1650s gave evidence of the extent of Parliament's power over people's lives and estates. As a result, increasingly candidates regarded it as more important to secure a seat than to avoid defeat. By 1660 and 1661 M.P.s were being elected or defeated on the strength of a highly visible record of their political, governmental and military activities in the preceding twenty years.

In the 1650s Oliver Cromwell experimented with new modes of parliamentary representation, expanding the county representation to six, giving Southwark two members and Guildford and Reigate one each, and disfranchising Bletchingley, Gatton and Haslemere. This experiment was reversed in 1658. The problems of matching the needs and policies of government with the expectations of Parliament proved as difficult for Cromwell as for Charles I and, ironically, taxes rose to levels Charles would never have dared to have imposed.

Fig. 2. Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth I, who was M.P. for Surrey, 1572-90. Elizabeth granted Walsingham a lease of the manor of Barn Elms, Barnes, in 1579. **[SRO 4348/1/50/1]**

Fig. 3. Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707) of Marden Park, M.P. for London and for Bletchingley between 1679 and his death. With John Morris he purchased the manor of Marden in 1672 and the borough and manor of Bletchingley in 1677 and these passed to Clayton alone in 1678. He was London's wealthiest citizen and a Whig. [SRO 4348/2/31/4]

The Case of Maurice Thompson Esq for Blechingly in y County of Surry as it stands upon the report of y Comittee of Elections

The Election is agreed to be by those onely who have y freehold of y Burgage houses & that there is no more then one voite for a house

		voices
At y Election	Mr. Thompson had	29
	And Mr. Evelyn had	40

By order of the Comittee each party gave [illegible] of y persons they excepted to in the poll

And Mr. Thompson excepted to of Mr. Evelyns poll ... 31
And Mr. Evelyn excepted to of Mr. Thompson's poll ... 17
So that Mr. Thompson had indisputeable voices ... 12
And Mr. Evelyn had indisputeable voices ... 9

Mr. Evelyn hath endeavoured to disable 12 & no more of y 17 voices he excepted to of Mr. Thompson's poll, so that allowing those 12 to be bad voices 5 of y 17 remaine good voices 5 being added to Mr. Thompson's 12 indisputeable voices

Mr. Thompson hath in all good voices ... 17

Mr. Evelyn hath attempted to justify no more then 13 of y 31 excepted to in his poll y rest his Councell allowed to be bad voices

Two of which 13 viz Wm Bist & John Jewell are allowed to be good voices The remaining 11 voices are these

Wm Russell, John Russell — Are onely Trustees for their Father y rent proved by y tenants to be paid to the Father ever since 1678 & by him acknowledged to be received

Tho. Bromfield, Edw. [illegible], Richd. Bromhall — They all voted for one house, are Trustees for Mr Evelyn & y rent proved to be constantly paid to him

Richd. Jewell Junr. Voted for y Green Dragon & John Jewell voted for y same

John Grisbrooke — Is a Minor voted for a house wch his father [illegible] gave him but produced no conveyance

Wm Patridge — onely lives in y Schoole house as Schoole [illegible] onely there during y pleasure of the Trustees [illegible]

Richd. Hayes Senr — voted for part of a house which Richd. Hayes Junr. his son conveyed to him y 10th of Sept last

Robt. Shaltcrosse — voted for a house called Blechingly house which is customary or upland & no Burgage house & never any vote given for it

Tho. Puggett — voted for an Upland or customary house which is no Burgage & never any vote given for it

So that 11 of y 13 voices attempted by Mr Evelyn to be justifyed are as aforesaid disabled & there are onely remaine two good voices of y said 13 which being added to y 9 good voices before allowed him

Mr. Evelyn hath no more then good voices ... 11
And Mr Thompson good voices ... 17

Fig. 4. In the Bletchingley election of 1695 Thomas Howard was elected but there was a disputed election for the second seat between Maurice Thompson and George Evelyn. In this statement of case Thompson argues for the disqualification of various Evelyn voters. [SRO 60/9/13]

Haslemere, February 28. This Day the Freeholders of this Borough, met and Subscribed the following Declaration.

WE *whose Names are Subscribed, being Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Antient Borough of* Haslemere *in the County of* Surrey, *do Declare that we will not Elect, nor give any of our Voices for the Electing of any Person or Persons whatsoever, to be a Burgess or Burgesses for this Borough in the next ensuing Parliament, who were Members of Parliament, for this or any other Borough, City or County in* England *or* Wales, *in the Two last Parliaments held at* Westminster, *or in that held at* Oxford, *or in any of them, and did give his or their Vote or Votes for the Bill for the Excluding our present Soveraign Lord the King,* (*then Duke of* York) *from Succeeding His Brother our late Dread Soveraign,* King Charles *the Second, in the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom: Nor for any Person or Persons who was, or were a Member or Members of any of those Parliaments, and cannot prove, and make it appear to us, That he did openly and avowedly oppose and give his Vote against the passing of the said Bill.*

And this we do Declare in pursuance and towards the performance of that solemn Promise contained in our Address to our late most Gracious King Charles *the Second, That we would take all possible care, whenever there should be occasion for calling of another Parliament, to send such Members from this Borough as we should have good assurance were Cordially and Zealously affected to His said Majesties Person, and Family, and to the Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, as by Law Established. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto Subscribed our Names the Eight and Twentieth Day of* February *in the First Year of the Reign of our most Gracious Soveraign Lord* Jam.s *the Second by the Grace of God, of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith,* &c. Annoq; Domini, 1684.

VII.

But what must make,
The stoutest quake,
And all with Horror gape,
At one strange Birth
This Cow cast forth
Eight Calves in human Shape.

VIII.

Then to amaze
And Wonder raise,
('Tis a true a Thing I tell ye)
Each Calf did draw,
Against all Law,
A Freehold from her Belly.

IX.

For in this Cow,
Each did somehow,
A Tenement possess,
How big this Beast
Must be at least,
From thence, Sirs, ye may guess.

X.

The Crew march'd out
An horrid Rout,
No Bear's Cubs could be bolder!
Each Calf did vote
And swear by Rote,
He was a good Freeholder.

Fig. 5. Haslemere elections. On the left is a declaration of the Haslemere freeholders on 28 February 1684/5, after the accession of James II, that they would not elect anyone who voted for the exclusion of James from the succession. They duly elected two Tories, Sir George Vernon and George Woodroffe. On the right are four verses from an election squib of 1754, 'The Cow of Haslemere', satirising the subdivision of freeholds in Haslemere to secure the victory of James More-Molyneux and Philip Carteret Webb over the sitting members, Peter Burrell and James Oglethorpe, who had represented the borough since 1722. The 'Cow' was a public house which was divided into eight vote-bearing freeholds. [SRO Acc 1363/10/1; Acc 1363/23/3]

Party organisation emerges in the 1670s. Previously there had been temporary factions on particular issues, but by 1678 Shaftesbury was using the language of two parties – Court and Country. Another pair of terms, 'Whig' and 'Tory', was entering the language. Tories were initially the supporters of Charles II and his prerogatives and of the Church of England. Whigs sought to kerb the power of the crown and favoured toleration of religious dissent. In the Exclusion crisis of 1679-81, over the right of Charles II's Roman Catholic brother James to succeed to the throne, Whig newspapers were publishing the exclusionist case and Tory pulpits the loyalist case. Both sides were publishing pamphlets. Electors began to show their political instincts. In March 1679 Onslow and Evelyn defeated the Tory M.P.s, but Evelyn found that the 'most abominable custom' of treating cost him nearly £2,000. In the October election, on the other hand, the freeholders took him 'on their shoulders and carried him to the Crown Inn' and then themselves invited the re-elected M.P.s to the White Hart for dinner. The crown and its agents remained active in influencing elections. In February 1679 the fear was expressed that the sheriff would try to trick the electors by calculated vagueness as to the date of the forthcoming election. In 1685, James II's only election, as the diarist John Evelyn records, the sheriff adjourned the election to Leatherhead and, when it rained and the Whigs scattered, declared the Tory candidates elected. James II's assault on borough corporations, withdrawing their charters and replacing them with new ones, was particularly threatening to the electoral system, because in many cases the personnel of the corporation, or the mayor as returning officer, determined who would be the borough's M.P.s. The reigns of William and Mary and, especially, Anne, were a period of continued intense Whig-Tory battling, the Whig sloganising against 'France and Popery' being opposed to the Tory cries of 'The Church in Danger'. Overall in the period 1701-14 the Surrey county seats tended to swing with the prevailing national situation, like other south-eastern constituencies: London and Westminster, Middlesex, Kent and Hampshire. Reigate always offered one safe Tory seat, Guildford and Southwark one safe Whig seat, and Bletchingley under the Claytons two safe Whig seats.

When George I succeeded to the throne in 1714, he immediately installed a Whig administration. The Tories were out of power for the duration of his reign and his son's and politics was fairly quiescent. The government always had a built-in majority. The Tories were tainted with Jacobitism; it is worth remembering that in 1745 the Young Pretender got as close as Derby, and as late as 1752 George Heathcote, a former Southwark M.P., was principal manager of a plot to restore the Stuarts with Prussian help. As a result they remained in a minority and constituencies like Bletchingley, Reigate and Guildford, which had lively elections often fought on party lines between 1660 and 1714 and especially under William and Mary and Anne, settled into quiescence in the hands of a single owner – Bletchingley – two related owners – Reigate – or one dominant family with occasional battles over the second seat – Guildford. Gatton remained firmly in private ownership.

'Whig' and 'Tory' remained as descriptive terms until after the Reform Bill. 'Tory' has remained in popular use to the present day. Strength of party organisation and party feeling waxed and waned. At times a party might dissolve into groupings following individual leaders and a Whig grouping, say, might be

in opposition when the Whigs formed the government. The Whigs who followed Pulteney formed the main opposition to Walpole's Whig administration. The Whig/Tory division was crossed by a form of Court/Country divide. Many M.P.s supported whatever government was in power, either because they were committed to forwarding the necessary business of government or for less creditable reasons. Others possessed a natural suspicion of government as involving high taxes and corruption. A member might move from opposition to government for reasons of principle or profit, or move the other way for reasons of principle or pique. In 1766 when party managers drew up lists of M.P.s they distinguished between Rockingham Whigs, Grenville Whigs, Bedford Whigs, a government party, Tories (described in one list as 'country gentlemen'), doubtful and/or absent members, and unclassified members. The three lists do not agree in their identification of individual members with parties. In the later eighteenth century with the American and French revolutions and the Napoleonic Wars issues of principle began to divide members more markedly although the lines of division did not always fall along the party divide, nor were members necessarily consistent in their views. The rise of urban politics generated radicalism which goaded the modern Whigs towards adopting reform of parliament and government.

By the eighteenth century, Parliament was sitting regularly for five or six months each year from November or December: the London season. In 1694 the Triennial Act was passed to enable the electors to control Parliament by enforcing elections every three years but in 1716 the Whigs increased the power of parliament, or rather the administration's control over Parliament, by passing a Septennial Act which increased the length of Parliament to seven years. The only exception was that a Parliament's life terminated if the monarch died: it was still the servant of the Crown.

By the early eighteenth century the need to manage the House of Commons, with its control over taxation and its relative volatility, had become paramount. It became almost a necessity for the king's chief minister to sit in the Commons. Sir Robert Walpole was the first of these commoner prime ministers. George I and George II being Germans, with limited English and no personal power base, were particularly dependent on such ministers. Walpole's fall in 1742, when it became clear from a vote on an election petition that he no longer had a Commons majority, is the first clear-cut example of a minister resigning because of lack of a parliamentary majority. It is also the first example of the removal of a leading minister by kicking him upstairs to the House of Lords, rather than by some kind of legal process such as attainder.

With the decline of major issues Parliament became again primarily a body for passing taxes, promoting local bills – enclosures, turnpikes, bridges – and private bills to untangle family settlements or occasionally to permit a divorce. In 1755, for example, there were sixty Public Acts, but 39 of these were local, including Acts to prevent the holding of any market in Borough High Street, Southwark, and another act enabling Southwark market to be held on a different site; an act to repair and widen the roads from Sutton through Reigate to Povey Cross and from Sutton to Ewell; an act to widen and repair roads from Epsom to Tooting and Ewell to Kingston; an act for repairing the Epsom to Horsham road; an act to establish a ferry from Ratcliff to Rotherhithe; and an act to enable the parishioners of Holy Trinity, Guildford, to sell houses to raise money to rebuild the parish church. There were also fifty-six private acts. Since

many of the 21 non-local Public Acts were fairly routine and hardly any were, in the modern sense, political – one was to raise one million pounds by a lottery – we can see that local people might well regard their M.P.s as being usefully busy when they promoted these turnpike and market and other acts effectively and smoothed over any opposition to them, without worrying about political issues. There was considerable benefit in having at least one member able to influence the government and its business managers. There might also be a benefit in having a member able to influence opposition members in the interests of the locality.

In any case, neither Government nor Parliament was concerned with the matters which dominate modern politics – education, health, social welfare, the planning of the environment or of society. The poor law was of some concern because of its impact on public unrest. Criminal law became increasingly a concern during the century. Foreign affairs, then as now, was a matter primarily of government prerogative, although, then as now, M.P.s had strong views and tried to influence the government and issues of war and peace aroused more widespread political feeling: it was war with Spain which fatally weakened Walpole's power before his fall.

In the eighteenth century it was still the exception for elections to be contested. Normally a county meeting would be held about a year before an election was due. Generally, if both M.P.s were willing to continue and neither had seriously offended the county, they would be invited to continue. Occasionally, as in 1761 when Thomas Budgen was rejected at the Surrey county meeting, a replacement needed to be found urgently. Where there was the likelihood of a contest, canvassing would have taken place in advance; in 1794 Sir John Frederick of Burwood spent £ 105 on his canvass. If the election went to a contest, this could last for weeks: a 1785 Act laid down a maximum of fifteen days. The electorate was about 2,000 in the 1660s and had doubled by the early nineteenth century, by which time the population of the county was 321,537 (1811). Voters were marshalled from all over the country and party organisation came into play. As early as 1708 when a mysterious disease incapacitated large numbers of horses, Surrey Tories arranged for barges to convey voters up the Thames from London. Elections for different constituencies might begin and end at different times. When Admiral Keppel was court-martialled and turned against the government, George III used all his influence in ensuring his defeat at New Windsor in 1780. Keppel was immediately invited to stand for Surrey and, despite the Government spending £ 4,000 on opposing him, he was returned with Sir Joseph Mawbey, defeating Sir Thomas Onslow. No election caused a change of government in the eighteenth century. This came from loss of royal support, as when George III succeeded to the throne in 1760 and brought in the Tories, or occasionally through loss of parliamentary support. Elections might confirm a change of government, as they did in 1715 after George I had dismissed the Tories and in 1784 after George III had replaced the Fox-North coalition by Pitt. The government, apart from directly controlling many seats, especially in dockyards and ports, could offer a variety of inducements to a number of borough owners and voters for their support, and in any case there was always a bloc of supporters – some who would nowadays be civil servants, some placemen and sinecurists.

The American War of Independence and the desire for reform brought a

return to political consciousness and activity. The French revolution intensified this, but the outbreak of war stifled effective opposition. Other issues such as Roman-Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform began to divide the government from the Whigs, and non-party issues, of which the abolition of slavery was the main one, brought ethical values into politics. The Tory government became identified with opposition to reforms. The result of these changes was seen in an increase in the number of contested elections, especially at county level. Between 1790 and 1820 Surrey and Kent had five contested elections; Hampshire, Middlesex and Hertfordshire each had four.

The Onslows and the county

Sir George More last sat in Parliament in 1625/6. In the following Parliament, 1628, Sir Richard Onslow was elected M.P. for Surrey. Like the Mores a strongly Protestant family, the Onslows were even more successful, almost monopolising one Surrey seat from 1628 to 1774 and one Guildford seat as well from 1660 until 1830, on the eve of the Reform Act. Sir Richard Onslow's grandfather, a lawyer of Shropshire origin, acquired property at Knowle in Cranleigh by marriage. He sat for Steyning in Sussex from 1558 and was Speaker in 1566. Sir Richard's father was a Puritan who took little part in public life. Sir Richard himself, a devout Presbyterian, was one of the great majority of Surrey M.P.s who took Parliament's side against Charles I. He raised his own regiment of horse in the early stages of the Civil War. The 'red fox of Surrey' was nevertheless a strong monarchist who was imprisoned at Pride's Purge when the Presbyterians were excluded from parliament. He supported the offer of the crown to Cromwell and was rewarded with a seat in the 'Other House', Cromwell's equivalent of the House of Lords. Onslow moved to West Clandon at this time and acquired a social and political interest in Guildford. In 1660 he made the mistake of trying, with his son, to monopolise the county seats, and was defeated amid cries of 'No Rumper! No Presbyterian'. Guildford, however, conveniently delayed its election to return them both.

The Onslows showed considerable ability over several generations. Sir Richard was described by his great-grandson, Arthur Onslow the great Speaker, as 'a person of great spirit and abilities, very ambitious and much set on raising his family'. He was active in regulating the corporation of Guildford 'for the sake of his friends and to hinder his enemies from ruining his interest in that town'. His great-grandson described him as cunning, and explained this by the uncertainty and confusion of the times which made it very difficult for a man whose principles did not lead him to extremes of any party: the problem of the politique through the centuries.

Arthur Onslow, Sir Richard's son, was described by his namesake and grandson as 'a man of great plainness and sincerity and of the most remarkable sobriety of life, not anyways formed for the business of the state' but he maintained the family interest. Like the successful Mores before him he 'knew more of the law and the constitution, especially what related to the administration of justice in the country, than perhaps any country gentleman of that age'. Perhaps an even greater tribute was that of Sir Nicholas Stoughton. In 1679 Stoughton, a zealous Nonconformist, appeared at the hustings with a very numerous following. Onslow and he had long been at law over property, and Stoughton was reminded of Onslow's 'obnoxious' treatment of him. 'My Lord',

he replied, 'it is true Mr Onslow has treated me extremely ill in detaining an estate which I think belongs to me, but I can safely trust him with the rest of my property, and look upon that, and my religion and liberty too, [as] much more secure in his hands than in yours'. Thus the anti-Catholics held together against Charles and James. When Onslow was buried at Cranleigh in 1688 the funeral was so well attended that James II saw it as a political statement against himself.

Arthur passed his impregnable seat on to his son Richard, called 'Stiff Dick' from his commitment to the Whigs, who held Guildford even in the Whig debacle of James II's election in 1685, and Surrey from 1689 to 1708. Richard was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1708 and steered the Act of Succession, which secured the Hanoverian succession, through the Commons. He lost his seat in the Tory landslide of 1710, when he was found a seat at St. Mawes, but represented Surrey again from 1713 until 1715 when his services to the Protestant succession won him a peerage as 1st. Lord Onslow and the Lord Lieutenancy and his son Thomas succeeded him as knight of the shire.

Thomas had sat for Gatton, Chichester and Bletchingley in Queen Anne's reign and succeeded his father as 2nd. Lord Onslow, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey and High Steward of Guildford in 1717. He appointed his uncle, Denzil Onslow of Pyrford, who had sat for Haslemere, briefly for Surrey and from 1701 for Guildford, as out-ranger of Windsor Forest so that Denzil could vacate his seat at Guildford to contest his own county seat 'for the sake of keeping up the interest of the family'. After a brief interval, the Onslow family interest was taken up by perhaps the greatest of them all. Arthur Onslow of Imber Court was a successful barrister who was brought in on the family interest for Guildford from 1720 to 1727 and Surrey thereafter. He was chosen as Speaker partly by chance, it appears, after visiting Sir Robert Walpole socially when Walpole was in danger of losing office, and partly because Walpole feared Spencer Compton, the existing Speaker, as a rival to himself. Elected Speaker in 1728, Onslow retained the office until 1761. He created the modern office of Speaker as a non-partisan figure who 'cajoled both parties and obliged neither'. Until then, the Speaker, although occasionally speaking out on behalf of the House, as Lenthall did to Charles I over the Five Members, was primarily seen as a Government business manager. Onslow, although still a member of the pre-session ministerial meetings to discuss business, was the first modern neutral Speaker. When challenged with supporting the government in 1742 on grounds of self-interest, he resigned his sinecure office of treasurer to the navy. In 1741, writing to Sir More Molyneux, he said of electoral corruption: 'God knows there is so much of it almost everywhere that I dread the consequences of it with regard to the virtue and morals of the nation. I say this to you as a man of virtue to whom I can disclose my heart without being liable to be laughed at'. Nevertheless, like any gentleman of his time, he promoted his son George's interests, obtaining him a seat for Rye, a Treasury borough, in 1754 and the post of Surveyor of the King's Gardens in 1760, and handing over to him his Surrey seat in 1761. When George Onslow gave up his seat in 1774 the family hold on a Surrey seat was lost, although the family retained a Guildford seat into the nineteenth century. The other county seat might be filled by Tories (Lord Guernsey, 1715-19 and John Walter, 1719-27), and an opposition Whig (Thomas Scawen, 1727-41; Lord Baltimore, 1741-51 who was nearly defeated when he was appointed to office) and a government supporter, Thomas Budgen, 1751-61.

Fig. 6. The House of Commons, c.1730, by Thornhill and Hogarth. Arthur Onslow, M.P. for Guildford, 1720-27, and Surrey, 1727-61, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1728-61, in the Speaker's chair is in conversation with Sir Robert Walpole. In the row behind the Clerk and his assistant are Sydney Godolphin (Father of the House), Col. Richard Onslow, M.P. for Guildford, 1727-60, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, M.P. for Reigate, 1722-38. [SRO 4348/3/78/1]

By this time the urban radicalism of the commercial classes of south London was beginning to disturb the control of the Surrey seats by the country gentlemen. Sir Joseph Mawbey, a prosperous vinegar distiller of Vauxhall, bought the Botleys estate near Chertsey in 1763 and began to take a prominent part in county affairs, becoming Chairman of Quarter Sessions in 1770. From 1761 to 1774 he represented Southwark and in 1774 he contested Surrey, losing by a couple of hundred votes. He rather self-consciously stressed his status as a gentleman but some of the Surrey gentry dismissed him as a parvenu. George Onslow wrote that at the county meeting when Mawby presented himself as a candidate 'every gentleman of every party united against . . . Sir Joseph . . . so the county will not be disgraced, thank God'. A year later, however, having retired from business, Mawbey was successful in a by-election and he held the seat in the 1780 and 1784 elections. He was almost always in Opposition. He described himself as acting 'uniformly upon principle' and 'a man of plain sense', although Horace Walpole regarded him as 'vain, noisy and foolish'. Mawbey himself suggested that the county gentry appreciated him as a man of business even though they disapproved of his background.

Mawbey lost his seat in 1790, having moved over to support the Administration. Surrey's radicalism continued with Lord William Russell, of Streatham but of the great Bedford Whig family. Russell was only 21 when elected for the county at a by-election in 1789, and he held the seat until 1807 by which time he had sold his Surrey property. Thereafter Surrey radicalism was maintained by Samuel Thornton, the great Clapham evangelical, and W. J. Denison of Denbies who survived after the Reform Act in the West Surrey seat until 1849. The cause of this radicalism was probably identified by Lady Spencer of Wimbledon who in 1806 observed, 'One can never be certain of the ground one treads on in such sort of neighbourhood to London and where property is so sub-divided'. Surrey nevertheless usually partnered a radical with a supporter of the Administration. Sir John Frederick of Burwood Park began as a Whig but by 1794 when he was elected, with Russell, for Surrey, was clearly a supporter of the Administration. The French Revolution and the resulting war had moved him, like Mawbey, to the right. He was succeeded by George Holme Sumner of Hatchlands, heir to a 'nabob' (a successful East India merchant), who was a strong supporter of Pitt. Sumner had challenged the Grantley interest at Guildford the previous year and Lord Grantley and Lord Onslow negotiated his return for Surrey to keep their Guildford seats safe. This political balance between the two county seats is a reminder that, although Surrey was a relatively lively county – it had had regular contests up to 1727 and these began again in 1774, with only occasional unopposed returns, at least at General Elections – contests were by no means on purely party lines.

By 1826, Surrey had lined up firmly in the Reform camp, electing C. N. Pallmer of Norbiton Hall as Denison's partner. In the 1830 election Colonel Jolliffe of Merstham, a large local landowner with the weight of property on his side but a government supporter, was defeated by Denison partnered by John Ivatt Briscoe of Chertsey, husband of Mawbey's granddaughter and inheritor of his estates and politics. Grey, the Whig leader, recorded that Surrey reformers had expressed themselves willing to pay most or all of the expenses of a candidate who would stand 'in the popular interest' and they paid for the carriage of opposition voters to the poll.

Surrey ss: 28th March 1722

Poll at Reigate

then taken by William Stevens(?) Bailiff at an Election for two Burgesses for the said Borough of Reigate. Tho. Parker(?) Clerk

Tenants Names	Freeholders Names and places of Abode	Sir Jos. Jekyll	James Cocks Esq.	Humphry Parsons Esq.	Richd. Rider(?) Esq.
Widow Ellis	Samuel Newton of London	/	/	–	–
Daniel Ffiel(?)	Ditto	–	–	/	/
James Bryant	Ralph Weller Aldgate	–	–	/	/
John Holman	Mr. Robert Hockdell(?) Walbrook	/	/	–	–
William Lee	Henry Stone Headley Sussex	/	/	–	–
Thomas Wix	Richd. Dowdney London	–	–	/	/
John Wren	Joseph Twynham Aldgate London	–	–	/	/
Allen Edwards	Ditto	–	–	/	/
Late Wid. Butcher	John Glazbrook Reigate	–	–	/	/
John Bignall	James Lee Reigate	–	–	/	/
Gabriel Brown(?)	John Newman Reigate	–	–	/	/
George Hills	William Batchellor Reigate	/	/	–	–
Thomas Ashfield	John Mann(?) Fleet Street London	/	/	–	–
William [illegible]	George Jordan Charlwood	/	/	–	–
John Wicks	John Shove Betley(?)	/	/	–	–
Wid. [illegible]	Thos. Jordan Esqr.	/	/	–	–
James Wicks	William Jordan Gent	/	/	–	–
Florence Jordan	Thomas Dodge	/	–	/	–
Widow Constable	[illegible]	/	/	–	–
William [illegible]	Ditto	/	/	–	–
John Albury	Thos. Peyto Bletchingly	/	/	–	–
Widow Robinson	Thos. Mickle St. Martins	/	/	–	–
Saml. Mathew	Ditto	–	–	/	/
William Sutton	Mr. Edwd. Bayman London	/	/	–	–
Late Hen. Pledge	Thos. Sanders Charlwood	/	/	–	–
	Carrd. forwd.	16	15	10	9

Fig. 7. First page of voting list for the 1722 Reigate election. Sir Joseph Jekyll and James Cocks, the Whig candidates, were successful, confirming their families' domination of the borough which was not contested again for over a century. This copy was made by William Bryant as agent in 1786 when Lord Somers and Earl Hardwicke renewed their family pact. Bryant included voting lists for the elections between 1698 and 1722, the descent of each burgage and a list of burgages in 1786 assigning them to Hardwicke and Somers and describing them as 'antient' or 'doubtful'. Published poll books were similar to this page. [SRO 445/1]

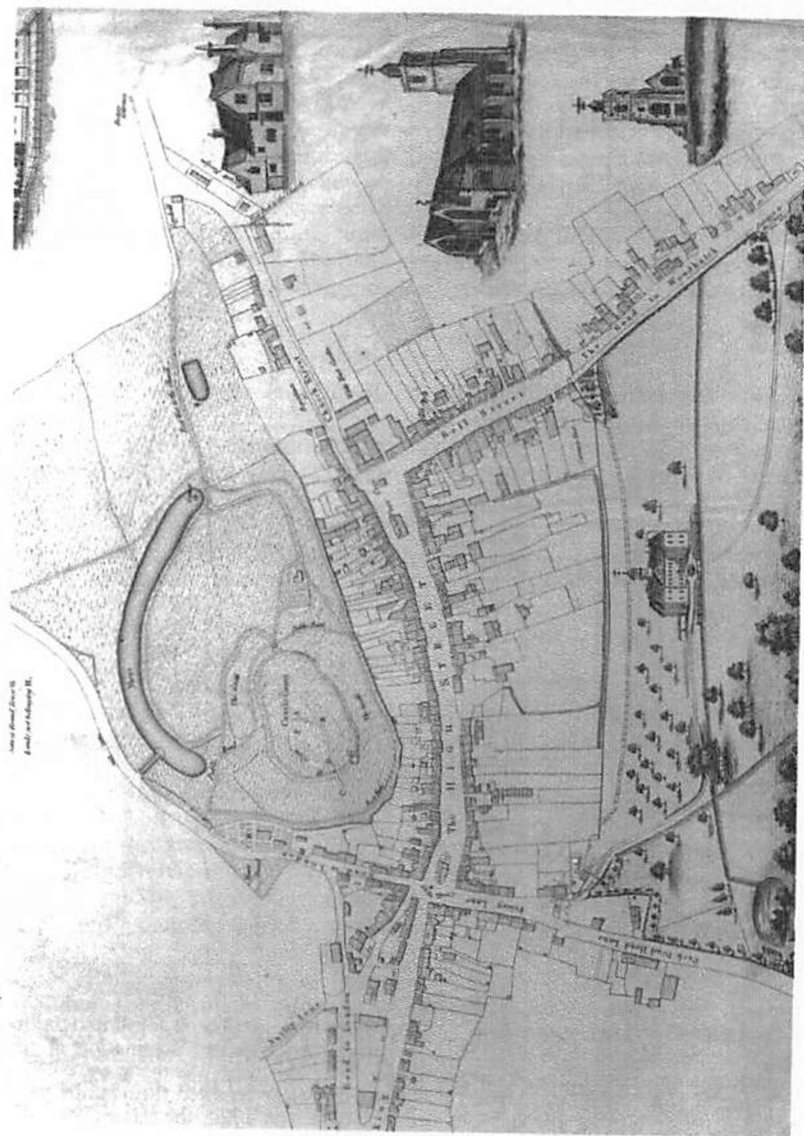

Fig. 8. Part of a map of Reigate which locates the burgage tenements. The numbers are the same as in Bryant's survey of 1786. [SRO 4348/2/39/2]

The boroughs from Restoration to the Reform Act

The Exclusion crisis, when two elections in 1679 and one in 1681 followed the eighteen-year Cavalier Parliament, was a period of active contests in the boroughs. In March 1679 every Surrey borough seat was contested; in October 1679, all but Gatton and Guildford. Even the small Surrey boroughs of Bletchingley and Haslemere were subject to contests. After 1660, when Gatton's twenty voters produced an 11-11-11-10 result, the borough was largely controlled by Thomas Turgis, son of a London grocer, who sat in thirteen consecutive Parliaments regardless of the overall party situation between 1659 and 1701. He was a staunch country Whig, described by Shaftesbury as 'thrice worthy' in the Exclusion crisis. The other Gatton seat was at this time controlled by the Upper Gatton estate, also in country Whig hands. Gatton remained safely in the hands of successive owners of the two estates through the eighteenth century: William Newland, who inherited Turgis' estate in 1703, was succeeded by George Newland until 1751 when it was sold for £ 23,000 to James Colebrooke. Upper Gatton was in the hands of the Docminique family until 1745 when it passed by inheritance to the Humphreys and thereafter to the Tattershalls. It was in 1765 that this hamlet borough acquired its 'town hall', an open Doric temple in Gatton Park with an urn and the words 'When the lots have been drawn, the urn remains. Let the well-being of the people be the supreme law. The place of assembly of Gatton. Let evil deception be absent'. Gatton then passed through various hands. In 1774 Sir William Mayne, a successful Scottish businessman, bought both seats, and when he tired of Parliament in the 1780s he put a price of £ 36,000 on Gatton. By the turn of the century it was in the hands of Mark Wood, a nabob who had made a fortune of £ 200,000 as chief engineer of Bengal. He bought Gatton for £ 90,000 from the assignees of John Petrie, another nabob, when Petrie failed. James Christie, the auctioneer, said of the estate that it 'opens the doors of St. Stephen's chapel and the gates of paradise'. With a population of 40 and an electorate of 7 at most it was the safest of seats, although in an 1800 by-election a radical barrister, J. Clayton Jennings, obtained one vote which Wood's brother-in-law, the retiring member, James Dashwood, promptly disallowed as constable and returning officer.

Reigate was unlike Gatton in being the scene of close contests during the Whig-Tory battles of Queen Anne's reign, with Sir John Parsons of Reigate Priory generally successful as a Tory. Parsons died in 1717, and after the 1722 election, which was the last in Surrey for a long time when a majority of seats was contested, the Somers Whig interest, inherited by the Jekyll, later Yorke and Cocks families, dominated the borough for the rest of the century. From 1722 to 1857 only members of the Jekyll/Cocks/Yorke families sat for Reigate with very brief intermissions when clients of the families or allies in government sat. Late in the century the dismissed Yorke agent William Bryant, whose activities have supplied superb documentation of the borough, tried unsuccessfully to upset this comfortable arrangement and he and his son remained as irritants in the system until after the Reform Act.

Bletchingley remained in Clayton hands until Sir Robert Clayton in 1779, fearing parliamentary reform, sold the reversion to his cousin John Kenrick. When the agitation died away he tried to renege but by the end of the century the borough had passed to the Kenricks. Haslemere was subject to battles over

its control until James Lowther, earl of Lonsdale, purchased the majority of the freeholds in 1780, generally providing his seats to government supporters. By the early nineteenth century the Nortons, Barons Grantley, were sharing control of Guildford with the Onslows.

Fig. 9. Gatton Town Hall, 1765. This folly in the grounds of Gatton Park consists of an open Doric temple and an urn. The words on the pedestal of the urn read 'Stat Ductis Sortibus Urna'; 'When the lots have been drawn, the urn remains'.
(Photograph by David Yellan, courtesy of Surrey County Council, Environment Department).

Fig. 10. Admiral Augustus Keppel (1725-86), M.P. for Chichester, 1755-61; New Windsor, 1761-1780; Surrey, 1780-82. He was created Viscount Keppel, 1782. Keppel became a popular hero when he was cleared after a court martial. Defeated in his Windsor seat by the efforts of the king he was immediately returned for Surrey. [SRO 4348/3/95/3]

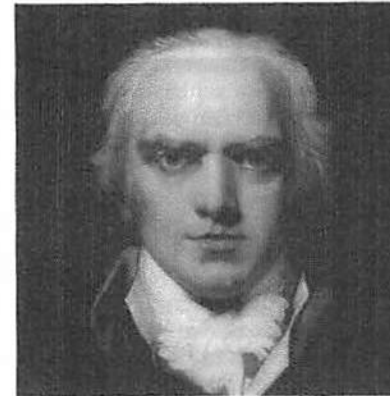

Fig. 12. Henry Thornton (1760-1815) of Battersea Rise, Clapham, M.P. for Southwark 1782-1815. He was a strong supporter of his cousin William Wilberforce in his campaign to abolish the slave trade. According to the *History of Parliament*, he was 'An outstanding philanthropist, the intellectual mainstay of the Clapham evangelical group and a most scrupulous Member of Parliament'. [SRO 4348/1/25/1]

Fig. 11. Sir Joseph Mawbey (1730-98) of Botleys, Chertsey, M.P. for Southwark, 1761-1774, and for Surrey, 1775-1790. A radical Whig and a supporter of John Wilkes, he was almost continuously in opposition until the late 1780s. His portrait shows him reading a classic Whig treatise, the *Discourses concerning Government* by Algernon Sidney, executed in 1683 for alleged treason against Charles II. [SRO 4348/4/11/1]

Fig. 13. George Holme Sumner (1760-1838) of Hatchlands, M.P. for Ilchester, 1787-90; Guildford, 1790-96, 1806-7, 1830-1; Surrey 1807-26. He was generally a government supporter, but Lord Liverpool commented that 'his temper and his manners are considered as offensive and overbearing'. [SRO 4348/3/79/5]

The trade in boroughs, and in votes, can make the whole system seem a matter of cynical exploitation. On the other hand, the pocket borough was the one constituency for which a man of ability but without money or personal influence could aspire to be elected. Both Pitt and Fox were first returned for pocket boroughs and it has been suggested that such boroughs served rather like party organisation today in bringing a more than local dimension to the electoral process. At Reigate, Sir Charles Cocks made his family seat available for William Bellingham, Pitt's secretary, further evidence of Whigs supporting the Tory administration. Gatton M.P.s included Edward Harvey, 1761-8, who as adjutant-general fought for proper standards in Army appointments; William Congreve, who as comptroller of the royal laboratory developed military rockets and was awarded a Russian knighthood for their part in the Battle of Leipzig; and John Fleming, 1818-20, 71-years-old when elected, retired surgeon to the East India Co., scholar and naturalist and author of a catalogue of Indian Medicinal Plants and Drugs. Bletchingley in its last years as a constituency elected two future prime ministers; in 1827 the young William Lamb, later Lord Melbourne, and in 1831, when the electors of Cambridge University had rejected him, briefly providing a seat for Viscount Palmerston. It is also true that only in the smallest boroughs was the proprietor's control absolute. In most boroughs, influence, respect, the 'purchase' of support by the gift of a book to the Cranston Library at Reigate or almshouses or a town hall at Haslemere, was also desirable or even necessary. The electorates were in the region of over 200 at Reigate, 150 at Guildford, 90 at Bletchingley, 65 at Haslemere and seven at Gatton.

These towns can be contrasted with Southwark. Southwark was a large borough with an electorate of about 3,000 from the 1660s to the early nineteenth century. It was contested at four general elections out of six and three by-elections between 1715 and 1747 and at five out of six general elections and two by-elections between 1754 and 1790. From the seventeenth century it was usually represented by a Southwark brewer – sometimes two – and its other M.P.s were mostly London merchants. It first elected a radical in 1761 (Mawby). Another, elected in 1774, was Nathaniel Polhill, a supporter of John Wilkes. From 1796 to 1806 it was represented by George Tierney, 'Citizen Tierney', a leading Whig who briefly became party leader. Southwark elections involved a high degree of payment and treating. The less controlled a borough was, the more overt was the venality. This came to an end, as far as one Southwark seat was concerned, when the evangelical banker Henry Thornton of Clapham was elected in 1782. Thornton was only 22 years old. Southwark was accustomed to treating but Thornton refused. It was accustomed to seek to instruct its members how they should vote but Thornton refused to be instructed: you could not have a free Parliament if its members were slaves. In 1784, for once, he had to yield to his constituents over Pitt's shop tax, which he had supported and which he later said made him more unpopular than any representative of any place before. Yet he held his seat until his death in 1815.

The story of Surrey elections, electors and elected members is a complex story of the relationship between government, parliament and various classes of people, and between the centre and localities. It is a subject for which the county is a particularly apposite unit, because for much of their history the county members, like the lord lieutenants, the sheriffs and the justices of the peace, were at the point at which royal power and central government worked

with or against the local establishment. The difference was that only in the elections did the local establishment have the last word.

NOTE ON SOURCES:

This article is written with the purpose of providing local historians in Surrey with general background for research into Surrey politics up to 1832. It is based on a talk I gave to Surrey Local History Council Spring meeting, 1996. Its aims are similar to three talks I have given to Surrey Local History Council symposiums: *Sport in Surrey* (1979, published in *British Society of Sports History Bulletin*, January 1985), *Pastors, Parishes and People in Surrey* (1984, published as a booklet by Surrey Local History Council, 1989) and *Crime and Punishment in Surrey* (1992, published in *Surrey History*, vol. IV, no. 5, 1993). I have attempted to give the 'feel' of parliamentary and local politics and not a systematic political history. The standard histories of England will provide any necessary chronological framework.

This article is based more heavily than those publications on a single source, although a massive and extremely comprehensive one, the *History of Parliament: The House of Commons*. This comprises for each period it covers a general introduction to the House of Commons in the period, a detailed description of each constituency with full list of members and results when there was a contest and a biography of each M.P. The periods covered by volumes published to date are 1386-1421, 1509-1558, 1558-1603, 1660-1690, 1715-1754, 1754-1790 and 1790-1820. A pre-war volume covers 1439-1509 in much less detail.

The 'missing' periods include three very significant ones for Parliamentary activity: 1602-1660, 1690-1715 and 1820-1832. These are covered, as are more specific topics in parliamentary and electoral history, in a number of specialist works which are identified in the standard histories and would be too many to list here.

M.P.s for all Surrey constituencies, 1290-1924, are listed in J.E. Smith, *The Parliamentary Representation of Surrey* (1927). There are articles on some elections and aspects of Surrey politics in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, e.g. J. S. T. Turner, 'An Augustan Election. The 1710 General Election in the County of Surrey' (Vol. 68) and R. Munden, 'George More, 1553-1632, county governor, man-of-business and central government office holder' (Vol. 83). Hooper's *Reigate* and Swanton's *Bygone Haslemere* give good accounts of the control of politics in those boroughs.

Original sources for politics and elections are multifarious and widely spread. The extensive footnotes in the *History of Parliament* are the best guide to sources for the periods they cover. Poll books, lists of voters giving the candidates for whom they voted, survive for many of the contested elections. Some are held locally and there is a good collection in the Institute of Historical Research, London. Much of the correspondence of political leaders and their families is in the British Library and indeed in record offices throughout the country. Surrey History Service holds papers of the Mores of Loseley and other material relating in particular to some Haslemere, Bletchingley and Reigate elections.

The portraits and other illustrations bearing the reference SRO 4348 are from

the Barclay collection acquired two years ago. In addition to the Hassell water colours for which the collection is best known, it contains a considerable amount of other illustrative material, and in particular prints of people connected with Surrey. Photographs of documents in Surrey Record Office were taken by Ken Simmons.

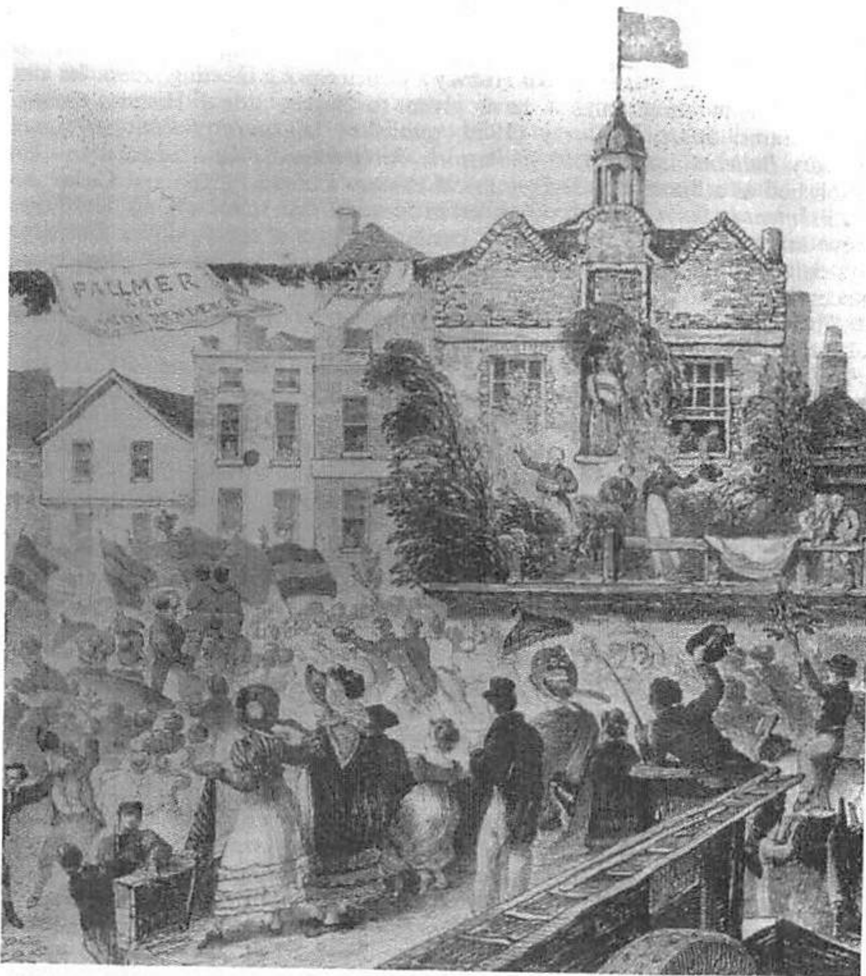

Fig. 14. The reception of C. N. Pallmer in Kingston market place after his election as M.P. for Surrey in 1826. Pallmer lived at Norbiton Hall, Kingston. (Courtesy of Kingston Museum and Heritage Service [K1-348])

A FEARLESS AND UNSPARING HAND

(and a cautious defence of 'Innovation or Inconsistency' as exhibited by Mitcham Church)

R. J. Ninnis

The Gentleman's Magazine for July 1821 carried a devastating criticism of the architecture of the 'New Church at Mitcham, Surrey' contributed by 'E. I. C.'.[1] The search for the identity of this contributor was greatly assisted by a footnote to Gerald Cobb's discussion of the development of the Gothic Revival in architecture in his *The Old Churches of London*.[2] This led to the entry for Edward John Carlos (1798-1851) in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and then to Carlos's obituary notice in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, where confirmation of the identity of 'E. I. C.' with Carlos was found.[3] He was a descendent of the adopted son of Colonel Careless (later Carlos) who helped King Charles II escape his enemies after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, and was with the king in the oak-tree at Boscobel. Brought up at Newington (near the Elephant and Castle), Surrey, 'E. I. C.' was by profession an attorney (solicitor) in the City of London; and it is of interest to note that it was from locations in the City that George Smith (1782-1869), F.S.A.,[4] Surveyor to the Mercers' Company, and architect of the new church at Mitcham, operated.[5]

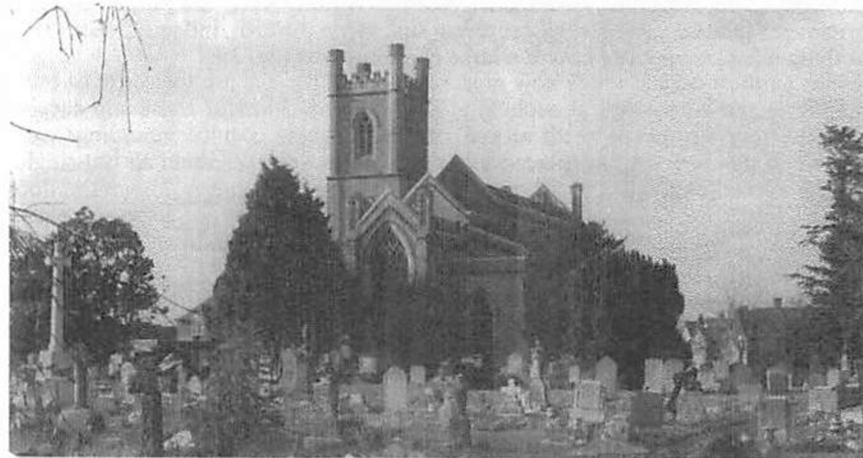

Fig. 1. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Mitcham, from the north east, showing the truncated pinnacles and broken roof line. (Except for Fig. 2, all of the illustrations are from photographs were taken by the author in 1991).

Carlos was a passionate antiquary, working to save from destruction, among other buildings, the splendid church we know as Southwark Cathedral. His enthusiasm was not, however, confined to medieval architecture for he objected

to the demolition of two of Wren's City churches,[6] and he was also appreciative of the neo-Classical compositions of some contemporary architects, evidently prefering the richer Roman style (e.g. Birmingham Town Hall), to the 'bald and poverty struck' Greek Revival (e.g. Fishmongers' Hall, in the City of London).[7] The obituary notice in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1851 described Carlos as a 'great admirer and true disciple of John Carter [and he] became a worthy successor of that energetic advocate of the ancient architecture of this country in the pages of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Wherever, in days of less taste than the present, he traced the footsteps of innovation or inconsistency, he exposed them with a fearless and unsparing hand'.[8]

So it was that thirty years earlier, at the age of twenty-three, Carlos came to Mitcham to inspect the newly rebuilt parish church of St. Peter and St. Paul. He briefly alludes to the improved state of knowledge of medieval architecture, then launches his attack:

'the antiquary is disgusted by an erection intended for a church, whose grotesque ornaments, fantastic decorations, and poverty of appearance render it a blemish rather than an ornament to the parish whose misfortune it is to possess it. . . . To the majority of modern 'Gothic' buildings these remarks apply too forcibly, and I am sorry to add to the number Mitcham Church, Surrey, which has been lately rebuilt' (Fig. 1.).

Some of his most severely critical remarks regarding the exterior of the church refer to the now truncated pinnacles (so we can only judge them from their appearance in old prints and photographs):

'The bluntness of these pinnacles, and the profusion of some kind of ornament . . . renders them only conspicuous pieces of deformity', and of the pinnacles formerly at each corner of the tower, 'these have a great profusion of the same unmeaning foliage that is attached to the others. But the large globular ornaments placed at the tops are even still more absurd. Indeed I have seen nothing it [sic] resembles, except a large cauliflower'. (Fig. 2.).

The exterior details which now most easily catch the eye are the series of busts that form the label stops at each window and door. Most of these still survive (but the very weathered heads at the ends of the gable cornice mouldings were lost when the coping was replaced in 1991). Carlos deplores them all but singles out for special condemnation those on either side of the window above the door to the vestry on the south side, east of the tower. They are now somewhat defaced but enough of them is left for us to be able to recognise them from Carlos's description:

'[These] on account of the singularity of the association, deserve to be noticed as, perhaps the greatest absurdity ever invented for embellishments of a Church. The first of these heads is furnished with a grotesque countenance, large ears, and a conspicuous pair of horns, and is intended, no doubt, for the eternal Enemy of Mankind, whilst the second, strange to tell, is a mitred Bishop. The first time I believe the head of a Devil has formed an *embellishment* of a Christian Church . . . why it is coupled with that of the Diocesan, is equally as unaccountable as the existence of the other incongruities introduced into this building. . . . Churchmen should never suffer such ludicrous subjects to disgrace a *sacred* edifice'.

But, by this time, the Anglican Church was stirring from its eighteenth-century torpor and (even if the devil does look less worried by this encounter than does the bishop) it is likely that these heads were intended to represent

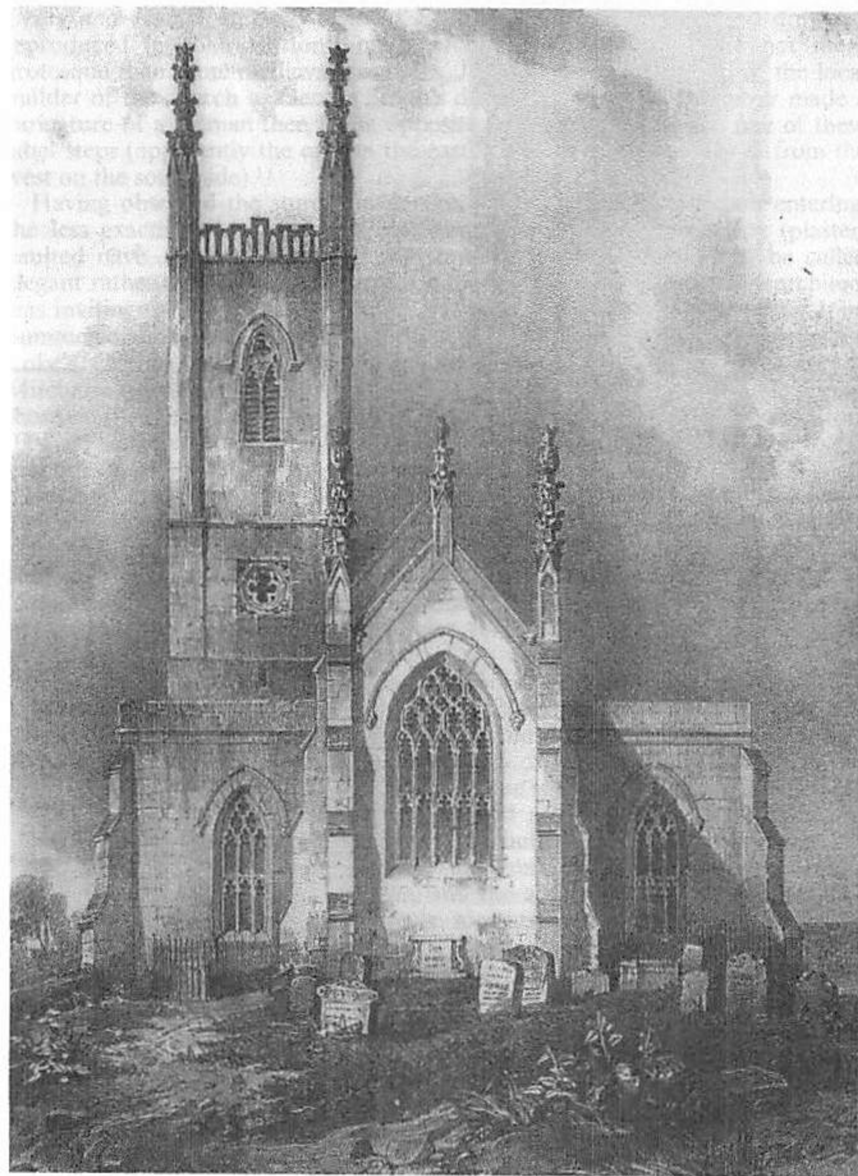

Fig. 2. Eastern View of 'Mitcham Church, drawn from Nature by J. S. Rackstraw, & on stone by L.Hague and printed by R.Miller, 14 Paternoster Row', showing the original form of the pinnacles. (*Courtesy of Eric N. Montague*).

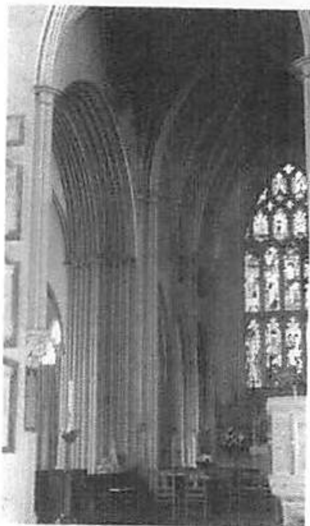

Fig. 3. Mitcham Church: The north side of the chancel seen from the nave, showing (centre left) 'an enormous pier ... its gigantic size serves only to render the slender forms of its neighbours still more observable '.

Fig. 4. Mitcham Church: The plaster vault of the nave seen from the chancel.

nothing more unseemly than the opposition of the Church to evil (Fig. 5.). The pinnacles, as originally built, may have been indefensible, but the label stops (though as likely to have been influenced by the illustrations in Strutt's *The Dress and Habits of the People of England* [9] as by the measured drawings reproduced in John Britton's many architectural volumes)[10] are not more grotesque than some medieval examples. J. R. Chart, the grandson of the local builder of the church to George Smith's design, related that the carver made a caricature of a woman then living opposite the church to serve as one of these label steps (apparently the one on the east side of the second window from the west on the south side).[11]

Having observed the sturdy proportions of the exterior, and upon entering, the less exacting visitor may be pleasantly surprised by the soaring (plaster) vaulted nave, where the slender piers produce an effect that might be called elegant rather than mean. But there is nothing here to suggest that the architect was inviting us to take his Gothic scholarship very seriously, in a way Sir John Summerson found 'rather embarrassing' at James Savage's contemporary St. Luke's, Chelsea [12] (a church Carlos found very much more agreeable).[13] Here at Mitcham, in the interior, the most imaginative arrangement of Gothic forms, those on the north side of the chancel, failed to elicit a favourable response from 'E. I. C.' If followed carefully it may be possible to relate his description to the reality:

'One division of the South aisle is occupied by the tower, whose plain walls assimilate with the meanness of the whole. Opposite to this clumsy intruder is a heavy obtuse arch, formed into numerous mouldings, and resting upon an enormous pier, covered with perpendicular mouldings – another attempt to introduce the member of a Cathedral into a Parish Church, where its gigantic size serves only to render the slender forms of its neighbours still more observable' (Fig. 3.).

Yet it is just such 'innovation' and 'inconsistency' that lend the building a degree of charm that is lacking in many churches of this and subsequent periods. Adherence to, and rationalisation of the ground plan of the earlier church, together with the incorporation of the base of the thirteenth-century tower seems to have led to irregular sub-division of the space either side of the chancel. This includes a vestry on the south side and a 'North Chancel' or 'chapel', marking proprietary rights in this part of the building as specified in the Act of Parliament for 'repairing and enlarging' the church.[14] In all of this the spirit of the old church still seems to operate, and the architectural treatment of these features with marked contrast in scale suggests a spaciousness exceeding the actual dimensions of the church.

Economics probably dictated sparse ornament and there is a conspicuous thinness about the ceiling mouldings of the 'chapel', vestry and vestibules (but this contrasts with the treatment of the ceilings of the nave and chancel, with their many elaborate foliate bosses). Nevertheless, the screen of twin-pointed arches beneath the larger arch separating the 'chapel' from the north aisle is a severe but elegant feature (similar to the more complex fifteenth-century device on the north side of the chancel of the Essex parish church that is now Chelmsford Cathedral). All these elements are duly censored in the severest terms by Carlos.

The division of the chancel into 'quire' and 'sanctuary' by variation in ceiling vaulting pattern is surely enhancing (this arrangement, together with the massive

piers and arch on the north side, may alternatively suggest a crossing, in which case the eastern bay of the north aisle becomes the northern arm of a transept), and its expression in the broken roofline, and the unusual position of the old tower, south of the chancel, adds an element of complexity to the exterior. This provides an agreeable contrast to the bland symmetry established by the placing of the projecting vestibules, 'chapel' and vestry at each corner.

Carlos found the building complete (his letter addressed to 'Mr. Urban' of *The Gentleman's Magazine* is dated 29th. June 1821) but commented:
'The wood-work is not yet finished; there is little doubt but it will be of a piece of the edifice, which will at least have the merit of being a uniform piece of carpenter's Gothic'.

Indeed, J. R. Chart's photograph of the interior looking west in 1861, shows a completely box-pewed and galleried interior, with the Gothic case of an organ (installed in 1834) towering up in front of the west window. We also know from R. M. Chart's text that if we had stood in the middle of the east end of the nave, between the high reading-desk (on the north side) and the still higher pulpit (on the south), and looked eastwards, we would have seen a 'reredos of Gothic Arches, the recesses being painted a chocolate colour and inscribed in gilt letters with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed'; the standard fittings of a pre-Tractarian Anglican interior.

In 1827 Carlos, who seems to have been as interested in church fittings as in architecture proper, argued strongly against the supposed legal requirement to place the Ten Commandments over Anglican altars, 'a law dictated by the spirit of Puritanism, and only held up by custom';[17] almost twenty years later the Cambridge Camden Society was to argue on the same subject.[18] Indications of Carlos's own ecclesiological ideal are presented in his water colour, dated 1832, entitled 'Interior of a chancel of the Time of King John'.[19] The effect might be seen as proto-Puginesque. Among the other furnishings, the altar is arranged as in contemporary Roman-Catholic churches, with six candlesticks and a tall crucifix rising over a triptych-like reliquary or tabernacle (instead of a more historically likely and simpler 'English' arrangement, evidence for which is found in medieval manuscript illuminations).

A practical criticism by Carlos regarding the indirect passage in and out of the church at the west end may have been justified, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century the usual Victorian alterations were carried out. These included, at various times, the conversion of the space occupied by Smith's western porch into a baptistery and the abolition of the box pews. The galleries were also amended, and the side ones eventually removed; the existing reredos, pulpit and font are also replacements.[20] The original staircases with their simple iron- and woodwork remain in the western vestibules and, apart from the cutting back of the lower parts of the attached shafts and the introduction of carved stone demi-angels as corbels on the chancel arch, the architecture of Smith's interior remains remarkably complete. This is possibly because a deep and liturgically useful chancel had been provided by adherance to the medieval plan.

Carlos's demands for archaeological correctness and his condemnation of the light-hearted manipulation of style seen in Mitcham Church are characteristic of the ernest moral attitude to architecture, and especially 'sacred' architecture, which was soon to find its greatest exponent in A. W. N. Pugin.[21] Ironically, this produced buildings undoubtedly more correct, but usually with no more medieval atmosphere than this church at Mitcham. This is 'Regency'; they are

'Victorian', Other architectural critics were still appreciative of the freer application of style,[22] and Smith's buildings, ranging from Greek Doric to Tudor Domestic, were generally well received.[23] Few of his works have survived, but we can still assess his abilities, for instance, in stuccoed neo-Classical Ionic at St. Albans Town Hall in Hertfordshire, and in stock-brick Gothic at St. Michael's Church, not far beyond the old Surrey/Kent border, at Blackheath Park. Smith died aged eighty-six at Newlands, his country home at Copthorne on the Surrey/Sussex border, on 5th. January 1869.[24]

It is tempting to ponder the personalities of Carlos and Smith, two City professionals in the age of Romanticism. The one escaping whenever possible from the prosaic world of the law courts to indulge his enthusiasm for architecture.[25] The other regularly engaged in architectural practice, being able to apply the gamut of historical styles, and add an individual touch, to many designs for a long series of commissions. Perhaps Carlos's use of initials to sign his contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine* really did conceal his identity from at least some of his contemporaries and was socially helpful. The architect and the critic must have met, even if not for some years after Carlos's criticism of Mitcham Church, for in 1832 they were both in distinguished artistic company on the Committee for the Preservation of Crosby Hall, in the City of London.[26] Moreover after the burning of the Royal Exchange in 1838, the Lord Mayor's Court Office, where Carlos worked, moved to the east side of Old Jewry, and Smith's office was just behind Mercers' Hall, in Frederick's Place, only a few hundred metres away on the west side of the same street.[27] We can, perhaps, *imagine* them both crossing Guildhall Yard, or jostling on the busy pavements depicted in Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's numerous illustrations to *Metropolitan Improvements* and *London in the Nineteenth Century*, where some of George Smith's works are discussed and illustrated.[28]

But we have to make do with reality, and even if small comfort can be got from modern critics pronouncing St. Peter and St. Paul's Church at Mitcham one of only two distinguished as the *best* of the Surrey examples of the 'grisly stock brick churches in the minimum Gothic style called Commissioners' Gothic' and of Mitcham, add 'stuccoed and with bald Perp[endicular] detail'. They also note of Mitcham that there is a 'Tall interior with very pretty tierceron- and lierne-vaults' (Fig. 4.). Perhaps a moderately favourable interpretation of 'best', even in this context, can be sustained by noting that there is a suggestion that the two examples, at Mitcham and Virginia Water (1831, by Pocock), may be compared with (perhaps even contrasted to ?) other Commissioners' Gothic churches in Surrey 'sometimes very horrible'.[29]

At the local level, Mitcham Church makes an instructive comparison with other, former Surrey parish churches nearby, completely or partially rebuilt in the following twenty years or so, a period of increasing demands for accuracy of Gothic detail, even if not yet of changing Anglican liturgical requirements, e.g. Tooting Graveney (1828), Streatham (1831), and Wimbledon (1843). It may not be unreasonable, here, to add that since the Second World War, Victorian stained glass has been confined to the great east and baptistery windows, so that now light floods into the nave and aisles in a very pre-Victorian way; and in 1991, the interior was further enhanced by redecoration as part of the B.B.C.'s television series 'Challenge Anneka'.

Whether those who do not know Mitcham Church take the fore-going as encouragement or a warning regarding aesthetic merit, it is fortunate to have in

the part of historic Surrey that now forms the London Borough of Merton, a building that is a late product of the picturesque phase of the Gothic Revival, and it is of some interest that it should have provoked such a telling reaction from Carlos, a vigorous protagonist of that Revival's later, 'archaeological' phase.

Acknowledgements

The writer would like to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Eric N. Montague in drawing attention to E. I. C.'s criticism of the church, and for allowing benefit to be had from study of his unpublished 'History of the Parish of Mitcham', as also indebtedness to Mr. Montague's published work on Mitcham. Thanks are also due to the Reverend John Shepherd for his encouraging readiness in giving permission to visit and to photograph the church.

Notes and References

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 91 pt. 2, (July 1821), pp. 17-20.
2. Gerald Cobb, *The Old Churches of London*, (3rd. edn. 1948), p. 105.
3. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 35 N.S., (1851), pp. 442, 443.
4. Michael Kerney,'The Architectural Work of George Smith (1782-1869) in Greenwich and Blackheath', *London Topographical Record*, Vol. 25, No. 132, (1985), p. 143, where the correct year of Smith's birth (1782, not 1783) is given.
5. *The Builder*, Jan. 16th. 1869, p. 42 (obituary notice) and Jan. 23rd. 1869, p. 65 (letter from H. C. Barlow).
6. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 13. N.S., pt.1, (1840), pp. 461-464, cited by Cobb, *op. cit*., p. 101.
7. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 3. N.S., pt.1, (Mar 1835), pp. 293, 294.
8. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 35. N.S., pt.1, (1851), p. 442.
9. Joseph Strutt, *Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, (1796-99). The illustrations are derived from medieval manuscripts.
10. e.g. J. Britton, *The History and Antiquities of Salisbury Cathedral*, (1814).
11. J.R. Chart, 'Village Anecdotes', in H.F. Bidder (ed.), *Old Mitcham*, pt.2, (1926), pp. 15, 16. The church is a brick structure faced with Roman cement (stone being confined to the pinnacles) and the label stops are moulded in cement on brick or tile projections. Some of these have been repaired during 1996.
12. Sir John Summerson, *Georgian London*, (1962 edn.), p. 226.
13. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 96. pt. 1, (March 1826), p. 201.
14. 59 Geo.III, cap. xxxvi. A copy is at Surrey Record Office. [40/6/1].
15. R.M. Chart, 'Mitcham Parish Church', in H.F. Bidder (ed.), *Old Mitcham*, pt.1, (1923), p. 12; pt. 2, (1926), illustration facing p. 1.
16. N. Harris (compiler), *Mitcham*, The Archive Photographs Series, (1996), pp. 20, 21. This reproduces photographs of *c*.1870 of the church interior looking east, and an exterior view of the west entrance to the church.
17. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 97. pt. 1, (March 1827), pp. 211-214.
18. Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940*, (2nd. edn. 1965). pp. 58, 59.
19. Manuscript Collections by Edward John Carlos, Guildhall Library. [MS28910/4].
20. Eric N. Montague, *A Guide to the Parish Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Mitcham, Surrey*, (1992), p. 18 *et seq*.
21. Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, (1964) gives a survey of this development.

22. J. Britton and A.C. Pugin, *The Public Buildings of London*, Vol. 1. (1825), pp.292-294; Vol. 2. (1828), p.xxvi; Supplement by W.H. Leeds, (1838), pp.11-20, present examples of favourable response to Smith's works at the old Royal Exchange, St. Paul's School and the Corn Exchange.
23. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, (1978), pp. 753-4.
24. Michael Kerney, *op. cit*., p. 143.
25. James M. Kuist, *The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine at the Folgar Library*, University of Wisconsin, (1982) gives a comprehensive list of Carlos's contributions, many on both old and new churches in the expanding southern suburbs of London, then still in the county of Surrey. He was also a regular reviewer of architectural books.
26. E.J. Carlos, *Historical and Antiquarian Notices of Crosby Hall, London*, J.B. Nichols, London, (1832), pp. 57,58.
27. *Pigot's* and *Post Office London Directories*, (1826-7, 1832-3, 1846); and Wyld's 1842 revision of the City sheets of Horwood's, *Map of London*, Greater London Record Office [RM 12/E2/2].
28. James Elmes and T.H. Shepherd, *Metropolitan Improvements*, (1827-30). The octavo edition of 1847 has a slightly augmented and amended text, and the following works by George Smith are discussed in this on the pages indicated: St. Paul's School (Corinthian), pp. 194-196; The New Corn Exchange (Greek Doric), p. 271; Whittington's Alms Houses, Highgate (Gothic), pp.277-278; the New Tower and Entrance to the Royal Exchange (Corinthian), p.303. All of these are illustrated in the first edition (un-numbered plates). T. H. Shepherd, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, (1830-31). The plate showing an animated scene at the junction of 'Cornhill, and Lombard Street, from the Poultry' shows (at left) Smith's new tower to the Old Royal Exchange sharing the skyline with three City church towers.
29. I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Surrey, (2nd. edn. revised by B. Cherry, 1971) pp. 59, 60, 369.

Fig. 5. Mitcham Church: The Devil and the Bishop, label-stops of the south-east vestry window.

NEW MATERIAL FOR SURREY HISTORIANS

Accessions of Records in Surrey Record Office, 1996

David Robinson, Michael Page and Mary Mackey
Surrey History Service

Surrey History Centre

Following Surrey County Council's decision to build Surrey History Centre and the gaining of Heritage Lottery funding in 1995, the first half of 1996 was devoted to completing the detailed design of the full scheme. In Summer we went out to tender and in October M.J. Gleeson were appointed as contractors. Construction began in December and has continued in 1997. The exterior structure should be complete by the time *Surrey History* appears. Internal work then begins and the building is due to be handed over next May. We need to furnish it, move our collections in and prepare for opening to the public, which is planned for November next year (1998). Some concern was expressed by local residents when the building began to rise, because of its bleak, window-less appearance. We needed to explain that what they were seeing was the repository, which is in effect a 'building within the building' to minimise atmospheric changes and the need to control temperature and humidity by use of our air conditioning. As the public and staff areas began to be wrapped around the core, the building began to take on its more welcoming appearance.

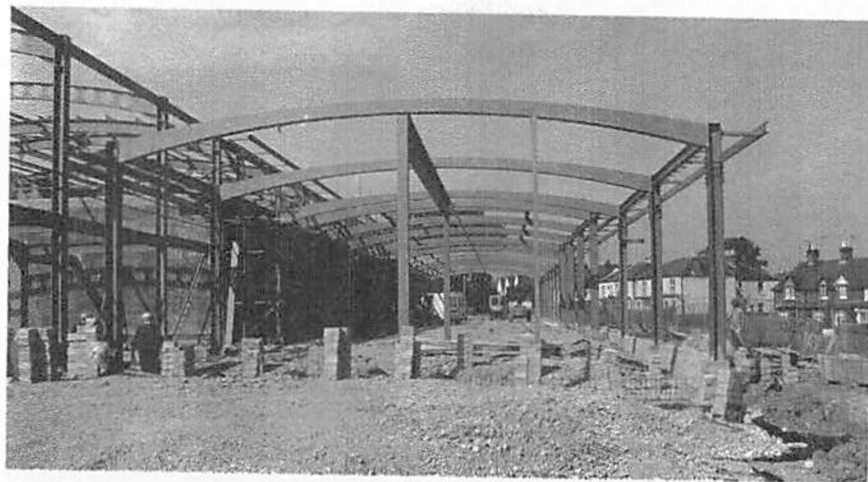

Fig. 1. Surrey History Centre, Woking, in course of construction, summer 1997. (Photograph by Roy Drysdale).

Teams of staff are working on a wide range of aspects of the move to Woking and the provision of our services when we open there. Any comments would be welcome. For those who have access to the Internet, there is a description of the Centre with pictures on a web site:

http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/libraries-leisure/shs/index/html.

Also on our web site you can find a list of recent years' accessions at County Hall and Guildford Muniment Room, an index to our collections (County Hall only) and other information.

Accessions:

We were not as active in 1996 as in other years in seeking new deposits of records because of the pressures of preparing for the move to the new History Centre in Woking. However accessions have continued to come in at a steady rate at both Kingston and Guildford, including many which will be of considerable interest to Surrey historians.

Crime in Surrey

A number of accessions are of interest for the light they throw on crime and disorder within the county and the response of the authorities to the problem. We have now taken in all the surviving records of the court of Quarter Sessions up to its abolition in 1971. The later records are almost solely judicial in nature, the court having shed most of its administrative functions to Surrey County Council in 1889, and among the newly listed records are indictments and calendars of prisoners detailing the offences of those appearing before the court and a representative sample of case files which give fuller information about individual cases. The records of the magistrates' courts covering the Guildford and Godalming area have also been deposited with us [ref: 6329] for the years after 1921 and these provide summary information about the great range of minor offences dealt with by the magistrates.

One of the alternatives to imprisonment which has been available to the courts since 1907 is supervised probation and we have now taken in the records of the Surrey Probation and After Care Committee [ref: 4504] which was established in 1928 to organize and supervise the probation service within the county. The minute books and annual reports of the committee provide fascinating information about the aims, successes and failures of the service.

The nineteenth century saw the establishment of industrial schools and reformatories for young offenders. We already hold the records of a number of these establishments and have now added the records of Chaworth School, Ottershaw, to our holdings [ref: 6358]. This school was founded in 1890 as a home for destitute children, but later became a residential school for girls with behavioural problems, run by a religious order. The records we have taken in include the log books maintained by the headteacher and admission and progress books which together provide a detailed picture of the work of the school.

It should be noted that many of the records described above are closed for varying periods of time, due to the sensitive nature of their contents.

Figs. 2 & 3. Mother Goose at Leatherhead Theatre, 1958; Vanessa Redgrave as Principal Boy & Nyree Dawn Porter as Fairy Goodheart. This was her first appearance in this country on her arrival from New Zealand. [SRO 6368]

Figs. 4 & 5. Thorndike Theatre topping-out ceremony: Dame Sybil Thorndike assists Michael Marriott, general manager, at the ceremony on her 86th. birthday. [SRO 6368]

The Thorndike Theatre, Leatherhead

The Thorndike Theatre, Leatherhead, began life as the Leatherhead Theatre Club, established by Hazel Vincent Wallace in 1951. Initially it was a repertory theatre, and until 1955 played alternate weeks in the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury. Several plays which premiered in Leatherhead went on to enjoy runs in the West End, and many distinguished names performed with the Club, including Vanessa Redgrave and Richard Briers. A new theatre opened in 1969, named the Thorndike Theatre after its patron and strong supporter, Dame Sybil Thorndike. It staged longer-running single productions but also did much work with younger actors and with schools. By the late 1980s it was staging fewer of its own productions and increasingly played host to touring companies or West-End try-outs, Sir Peter Hall's company using it as their regional base. However the 1990s were a time of financial struggle and with the withdrawal of two important subsidies the Theatre was forced to close in 1997.

In late 1996 we were delighted to receive on deposit records relating to the Theatre accumulated by its founder and retired administrative officer, Hazel Vincent Wallace [ref: 6356]. This deposit was followed, on the closure of the Theatre, by a further quantity of records [ref: 6368], including a comprehensive archive (production diaries, photographs, programmes, cuttings and posters) of the Theatre's productions from 1951. The two deposits together have ensured that a fascinating and remarkably complete section of regional theatre history has been preserved.

Surrey in the Second World War, and records of the Women's Royal Voluntary Service in Surrey, 1939-1994

The Surrey county centre office of the Women's Royal Voluntary Service closed in 1996, prior to a merger with the Sussex service, and the archives which had been accumulated there were passed to the Record Office. The Women's Voluntary Service for Air Raid Precautions was founded at a national level in 1938. In September of the same year, women in Surrey were starting to set up district offices, in response to a premature evacuation scare. The service became known as the Women's Voluntary Service for Civil Defence, or WVS. Surrey had eleven district offices, whose war work is illustrated in the archive by records of the Dorking office, including photographs and letters. Membership cards for the south-west volunteers are also held, recording name, address, area in which prepared to work, occupation, other war work engaged in, services offered, age, size for anti-gas clothing.

The WVS continued with new initiatives after the war. As well as participating in nationwide schemes such as the 'One-in-Five' project to educate women about how to cope in the event of a nuclear attack, Surrey branches worked for the relief of refugees arriving at Gatwick airport during the 1960s and early 1970s. The service became the Women's Royal Voluntary Service in 1966.

In addition to photographic evidence, volunteers kept detailed records of their experiences at the time, to be shared with other members. These 'narrative reports' are vivid, personal accounts of the women's work and the events in which they were involved.

Fig. 6. Civil Defence emergency feeding demonstration at Epsom in the presence of the mayor and mayoress, 1954. The cooker was improvised on site from bricks, a metal sheet to serve as a hot plate, an old iron grid for fire box and drainpipe sections as a chimney. A 'pug' of earth and water was mixed to act as cement. [GMR 5380/1/10(4)]

Hospital records

As the process of closing more of the great Victorian mental hospitals continues we have maintained a watchful eye on events to ensure that the records of these enormous establishments are preserved. 1996 saw a further deposit of records from West Park Hospital, Epsom [ref: 6334], and we have also received the burial registers of the Horton Estate cemetery, Epsom, which was the burial ground for the Epsom Cluster group of hospitals: Horton, Long Grove, The Manor, St. Ebba's and West Park [ref: 6336]. These registers have already proved of great interest to family historians, although the cemetery itself is no longer in existence.

Papers of Wilfrid Hooper, historian of Reigate

Surrey Record Office already held some of the notes and working papers of Wilfrid Hooper, author of the standard history of Reigate, but during 1996 we took in a number of his notebooks [ref: 4449] containing the fruits of Hooper's researches in a wide variety of sources. The books include indexed transcripts of some of the Reigate manorial records and Hooper's notes on subjects such as the Reigate races, local families and the impact of national events on the borough and parish.

Estate archives

We received a further deposit of the records of the Hampton Lodge Estate in Seale, Puttenham and Godalming, which provide evidence of the management of this considerable estate in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The records comprise title deeds, sale particulars and some estate correspondence.

The deeds of Little Tangley, formerly part of the Great Tangley estate, Wonersh, were also deposited. The deeds, including plans, cover the various parcels of the estate from 1714-1908, and the mansion house and farm until a sale of 1956.

Bottings Mill, Albury

The office staff were involved in the rescue of records from a disused and derelict mill at Albury. Bottings Mill was run as a corn mill and later produced various animal feeds. The records which date from *c.*1920 to *c.*1960 required urgent conservation on arrival at the Record Office. They had been stored in tea chests on the wet floors of the the mill building and suffered from mildew and damp. Some of the papers had deteriorated to the extent that they could not be salvaged. The customer account books, recording items conveyed on credit, include David Lloyd George.

Smaller accessions

Out of the more interesting or unusual smaller deposits of records we have received mention might be made of the following:

'The Trashurst Times' was a manuscript magazine produced by the children of Edward Nix, a banker who lived at Trashurst, in Holmwood, Dorking. These delightful magazines [ref: 4467], illustrated by the children, survive for the years 1884 and 1888-1892 and include news items on household and local events, stories by members of the family, and puzzles and quizzes.

The Chertsey Coffee Public House Company Ltd. was set up in *c.*1878 under the auspices of the Coffee Public Houses National Society Ltd., whose aim was to establish coffee and cocoa houses to provide an alternative to drinking in public houses for the working classes. The records we have taken in [ref: 6352] include annual reports, financial records and company correspondence.

In 1827 a large and detailed map of the parish of Walton on the Hill was prepared by the surveyor J. Fawcett, probably for poor-rate assessment purposes. The map had long been missing although the book of reference, listing landowners and acreages, was in the possession of the Surrey Archaeological Society. However in 1995 it was discovered that an alert estate agent had rescued the map, measuring two metres in length, from a client's rubbish skip, and it has now been deposited with us [ref: 6335]. Predating the tithe map by twelve years, it is the earliest known map of the entire parish and a wonderful source of information about buildings and inhabitants.

Dame Elizabeth Morgan of Chilworth (died 1633) was the widow of Sir John Morgan, knighted at Cadiz in 1596. In 1623 an inventory of her property was

made, including her 'wearing apparel lying in a great barred chest in her bedchamber' and a 'box of writings'. We purchased this inventory from a local dealer because of the fascinating insight it provided into the lifestyle of a member of the gentry in the early seventeenth century [ref: 4451].

Church Records

We have continued to take in deposits of records from parishes throughout the county under the Parochial Registers and Records Measure. Churches which have deposited include St. Mary, Addington; St. Edward, New Addington; Blackheath and Chilworth; St. Mary the Virgin, Burgh Heath and St. Mark, Tattenham Corner; St. John the Baptist, West Byfleet; Christ Church, Crookham (Hants.), St. Mary, Cuddington; St. Barnabas, Epsom; St. Mary, West Horsley, All Saints, Kingston; St. John the Evangelist, Kingston; St. Peter, Limpsfield; St. Peter and St. Paul, Lingfield; St. John the Baptist, Old Malden; St. James, New Malden; St. John, Merrow; St. Matthew, Redhill; St. Mary Tatsfield; St. Francis, Westborough; St. James, Weybridge; Wisley and Pyrford St. Nicholas; St. John, Woking and St. Peter, Woking.

Nonconformist church records have been received from Elstead United Reformed Church; Trinity United Reformed Church, Hersham; Godalming Unitarian Church; Haslemere United Reformed Church; Redhill United Reformed Church and Christ Church (Methodist), Worcester Park.

Surrey Films

We have recently transferred all our holdings of films and videos to the South East Film and Video Archive (SEFVA), in which we are a contributing partner. The archive collects moving pictures from the counties of Surrey, Kent, East Sussex and West Sussex, providing the expertise and equipment to allow these hugely evocative but fragile images to be preserved. The films we are transferring include fascinating footage of various Dennis vehicles in action, local newsreels from the Leatherhead area, a film promoting the Surrey Land Clubs in 1942, and amateur films from Reeds School, Cobham, and Claygate Junior School. They will all be assessed by the SEFVA archivist, stored in the correct conditions at West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, and ultimately copied on to video. These video copies will be available for viewing at several study centres throughout the region including the new Surrey History Centre.

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)
[Nearly out-of-print - remaining stocks with Kingston Heritage Service]

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

The Churches of Surrey
by *Mervyn Blatch*
1997 £ 30-00 (hardback)

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.