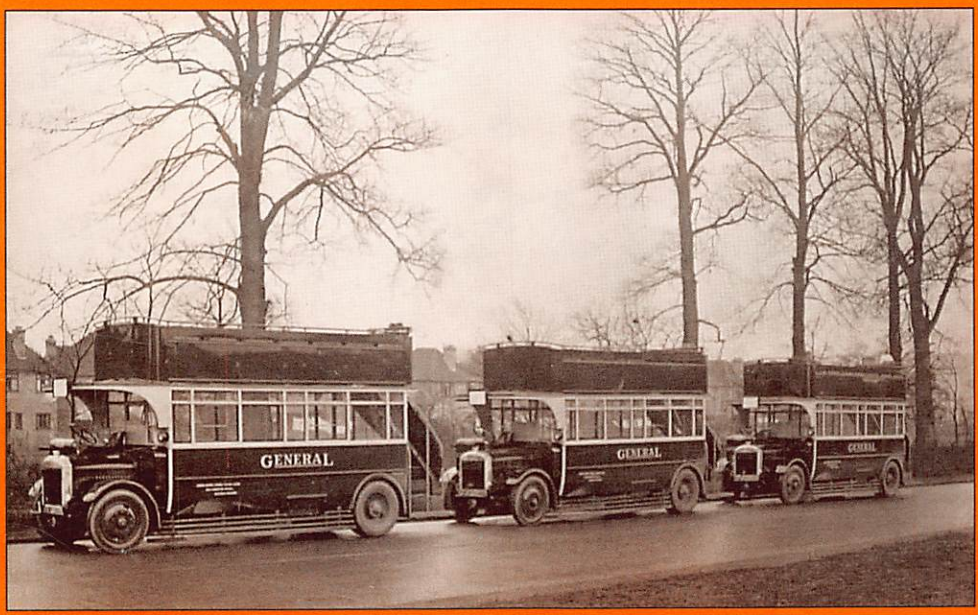
SURREY HISTORY



William Everest of Epsom

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The Manor and the Feudal Construction of Space

General James Edward Oglethorpe

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

The meetings organised by the Committee include a one-day Symposium on a local history topic, and various lectures. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time and these are available from bookshops throughout the county.

Membership on the part of local history societies will help the Committee to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. Members of Member Societies may attend the Symposium and other meetings at a reduced fee and obtain publications at a special rate from the Hon. Secretary. Member Societies may also exhibit at the Symposium and sell their publications there.

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Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intending authors are invited to consult the Hon. Editor for advice before proceeding. To assist in setting the journal, articles must be typed clearly, with minimum errors, in double spacing and with a wide margin on the left-hand side. They should be sent to the Editor, Tim Everson, at the address above. Please enclose a stamped, addressed envelope.

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William Everest of Epsom:
Alleged Corruption and the 'Modernisation' of Surrey Local Politics in the 1830s and 1840s

Max Everest-Phillips

Public Apology

WHEREAS I the undersigned, WILLIAM HASTED, of Epsom, in the County of Surrey, Coachmaker, did on the 20th day of April last, and on other occasions, use certain false and malicious expressions, reflecting on the Character of WILLIAM EVEREST, Esq., of Epsom, with reference to the discharge of his duties as Vestry Clerk, and Clerk to the Magistrates of this District, and Mr. Everest in consequence brought an action against me, but upon my earnest supplication has consented to stay the Proceedings, on *my making a Public Apology, discharging the Costs of such Proceedings and paying the sum of One Hundred Pounds.*

Now, therefore, I the said William Hasted, beg to express my very sincere regret that I should have been induced, under any circumstances, to make use of the disgraceful language referred to, and *I do declare that the same was a mere invention on my part, and wholly without foundation*, and that I feel very grateful to Mr. Everest for his lenity towards me in discontinuing the legal Proceedings he has instituted.

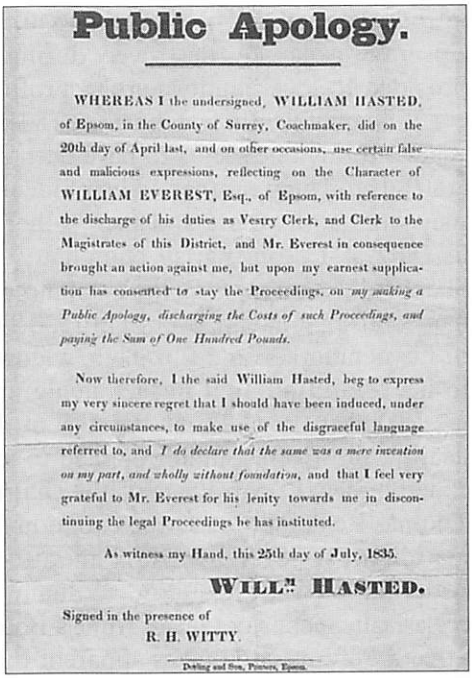
As witness my Hand, the 25th day of July, 1835.

WILL^{M}. HASTED.

Signed in the presence of
R.H. WITTY

Dorling and Son, Printers, Epsom.

The recent discovery of this printed public apology published to settle unsubstantiated corruption allegations made in 1835 by a former Overseer



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of the Poor concerning the Vestry Clerk (also the local solicitor and magistrates' Clerk) throws valuable sidelight on the reforming atmosphere of 1830s local politics in Epsom.[1] Such printed apologies are very rare in local history archives in England, and this example is of particular significance for the way this accusation reflected the tensions of a period when local as well as central government was witnessing a period of unprecedented change. Responding to the political expectations from the successful ending of the Napoleonic Wars, a series of reforms ensued – in 1815 an Act had required parishes to assess the true annual value of property; the 1818 and 1819 Sturges Bourne Acts reformed the management of parish vestries and poor relief; in 1831 the Hobhouse Act, as part of the political clamour leading to the 1832 Great Reform Act, created universal local suffrage, annual Vestry elections (although only a third of the Vestry membership retired each year), and a single vote system, although the property qualification for both the electorate and vestrymen remained high; while the 1833 Lighting and Watching Act, and the 1834 poor law reforms expanded the functions of local parish government. Local government was further profoundly altered by reformers of the 1820s and the 1830s on Parliamentary select committees and Royal Commissions pushing forward reform of the constabulary and urging magistrates to support radical change, stigmatising constables as unsuitable for modern law-enforcement, as an example of 'rotten' local governance.

National political and social tensions were reflected on a magnified scale in the small villages of Surrey closest to London, like Epsom. The metropolis was rapidly encroaching, a process hastened through population growth, the development of the turnpike road, followed by the coming of the railways[2] and modern urban refinements such as the

introduction of gas lighting (in 1840). While the historic old village of Epsom was largely destroyed during this process, the opportunities provided to local landowners to profit were considerable.

William Everest was born in 1801.[3] We know nothing of his early years although he seems to have been close to his younger brother John (1803-32). Their mother (whose identity remains unclear) died when they were both young and their father John (1751-1821) was remarried in 1809 at Epsom parish church to a local spinster, Elizabeth Grace Shepherd. Relations with their stepmother were apparently good. William named his first daughter born in 1830 Theresa Grace, evidently in honour of his stepmother, and Elizabeth, widowed in 1821, in 1841 gave property to her 'grandson' (but in fact step-grandson) William Alexander.[4]

In February 1822, at the age of 18 and shortly after his father's death, John Everest junior applied to join the East India Company as a cadet, under the patronage of the chairman of the East India Company, Thomas Reid, on the recommendation of John's evidently well connected guardian, W. Stevens Esq., an attorney residing at the parish of Aldermanbury in London. William Stevens was Treasurer of the ecclesiastical charity Queen Anne's Bounty, with offices at 68 Old Broad Street.[5] Stevens' job makes apparent that the basis of his link with John Everest senior was probably professional as well as personal, and shows that John Everest senior moved in reasonably well connected London as well as Home Counties' legal society.

On his application forms in 1822 for the East India Army John stated that he had received a 'classical education' at the Reverend D. Brewster's grammar school, so it is likely that William attended the same grammar school. It is not known whether John ever met his relative (and then still obscure Indian Army colleague) George Everest during his time in India, although George Everest is known to have made the effort to meet other relatives who were serving in the subcontinent.

In William's early professional years we know he was financially cautious (or sartorially unsophisticated!) for in the remarkable book of accounts and personal notes kept by the local Epsom tailor Thomas Furniss[6] for the period 1820 to 1836, William Everest is recorded in the late 1820s as only ordering one pair of trousers a year. Furniss also records another curiosity – that there was another Everest amongst his clients in Epsom, one 'James' Everest, whose outstanding bills in 1826 and 1827 for 18 pairs of trousers altered and two pairs made were finally cleared by William Everest, indicating a family connection. The dates

make it clear that 'James' was actually either Furniss's error or a later mis-transcription for 'John', William's brother serving in the East India Company's army in Madras.[7] East India Company records confirm that John took leave in England in 1826 and returned to India in July 1827, so he clearly spent his leave with his older brother in Epsom re-equipping his wardrobe at William's expense![8]

Their father John Everest (1750-1821), classified as a 'gentleman' by 1800,[9] was apparently living in Marylebone in the early 1800s as well as in Surrey but later settled permanently in the Epsom and Ewell area – by the time of his death in 1821 (at Ruxley Farm, Ewell) he was well established, holding such additional important local posts as Steward of the manor of Ewell,[10] from 1800 to 1816 Steward of the Manor of Ashtead,[11] and Steward of Headley Manor during 1778 to 1785, and again from 1804,[12] and Clerk of the Epsom Turnpike road.[13] The Epsom solicitors firm of Gumersalls credits him as being its founder.[14]

William Everest, like his father, probably qualified in law through articled training at the family's solicitors firm – Everest and Martyr, Attorneys, of Thornton Row, Greenwich. The profession of solicitor was largely unregulated at the beginning of the 19th century when the Law Society was founded. It was granted a Royal Charter in 1845 which empowered it to enforce national standards of conduct and education. About the same time the term attorney was dropped in favour of the term 'solicitor'. Everest and Martyr, established by John Everest (1718-69), became an important London legal practice under John's son William Tristram Everest (1747-1825), the solicitor for both the Royal Greenwich and Chelsea Hospitals, deputy lieutenant of Brecon, and father of Sir George Everest of mountain fame. William Tristram Everest had retired from Greenwich to Surrey but, with influential county connections, was still practising from Hampton Court in the 1820s.[15] Since we find Tristram Everest 'of Greenwich, gent.' engaged in land deals in Charlton and Woolwich in 1775,[16] (William Tristram called himself 'Tristram'),[17] the references to 'William Everest' in 1822 and 1826 involved in leasing a public house and with the brewers in Charlton and Woolwich with George Matthew Hoare, James Woodbridge, and Frederick Woodbridge, brewers and co-partners 'Hoare & Co.' may refer to our William Everest (who would have turned 21 in 1822, and inherited business interests from his father in 1821).[18] The Everest legal network in the home counties of the 18th century had already enabled William's father John Everest (1750-1821), the son of William Everest (born Greenwich in 1710, died at

Bromley in 1777; uncle to John Everest 1718-1769),[19] to prosper, moving to the Epsom area by 1777 when he was appointed clerk to the Commissioners of the Land Tax for the hundreds or division of Copthorne and Effingham.[20]

William's family background proved useful – very soon after he had qualified in the mid-1820s he had quickly secured lucrative official posts. He does not appear in *Pigot's Directory* for 1823-24, but had established himself by 1828 (on the birth certificate for his oldest son William Alexander Everest his profession is given as 'solicitor'), by when he was already Clerk to the local Justices of the Peace, Sir James Alexander and James Trotter.[21] The previous March 1827, on the resignation of the then incumbent, he had secured a post at the heart of local government, that of Vestry Clerk in Epsom at £30 per annum salary on the 'understanding that he will also act as Clerk to the Select Vestry'.[22] He held the post for the next 14 years of rapid social and political change combined with the beginnings of unprecedented urban growth of the area.

The rapid economic boom of the post-Napoleonic wars in the area around London directly benefited a young professional like the newly qualified solicitor William Everest in Epsom in the 1820s. Until then the village had been famous only for the brief 18th-century boom of the Epsom Wells as a health resort and the races, but the beginning of a period of rapid expansion was symbolised by the rebuilding of an enlarged parish church in the mid-1820s. In the late 1820s new commercial interests saw the area's considerable potential to exploit the London market – a highly speculative building plan was put together to rebuild the Grand Stand at the Epsom racecourse at a cost of £14,000 – by the time it was opened in 1830 the redevelopment had run up a lawyer's bill alone of £557.[23] William Everest was also involved in other property deals with or on behalf of various local land-owners, for example in a land conveyance in Epsom on 30 October 1829 involving one of the leading local families, the Northey family of Woodcote Green.[24]

Another 'new' beneficiary of Epsom's boom was William Dorling. Dorling, printer of the 1835 'Public Apology', had moved to the village in 1821. He had set up a stationer and printer's shop in the centre of Epsom by the mid-1820s, where soon after he started printing the famous 'Dorling official race cards' for the Epsom course.[25] William Dorling and William Everest knew each other well, serving together on the Epsom Vestry in the 1830s, and when William Everest briefly resigned as Clerk of the Epsom Vestry in 1835 during the scandal surrounding Hasted's

accusations of corruption, it was Dorling who replaced him. Deals among the small property-owning class of Epsom underscored this close-knit but rapidly changing village world of the early 1800s – in 1820, for example, we find that John Everest had sold a substantial property for £1,550 to a member of the Whitmore family, who in turn rented it out to a member of the Pagden local brewing family (John Pagden had been elected a Churchwarden in 1828) – all these families figuring prominently in local Vestry politics during the period of William Everest's engagement in it.[26]

One guide to Surrey in the 1820s entitled *The Surrey Tourist* describes Epsom as 'a large and well-known village, containing many considerable houses'. William Everest's practice was conspicuously thriving – he moved to one of the prestigious houses of the village, The Cedars, in 1830 or early 1831 which was to be his residence for over a decade.[27] In October 1830 he was appointed as one of the ten Surveyors of the Highway (along with other leading local figures such as John Pagden, Henry Gosse and William Dorling) for the following year, and by 1834 he had secured prominence in the county's legal echelons when he was appointed a Master Extraordinary of the Court of Chancery for Surrey (along with John Keene and Samuel Silver).[28] *The memoirs of a Bow Street Runner* by Henry Goddard, published by Museum Press in 1956, concerns an investigation by Goddard into the murder of a Mr. Richardson in Epsom in 1834. The book refers to a consultation concerning the investigation that took place in the offices of 'Messrs. Harding and Everest', local solicitors and Baron De Tessier, then one of the Epsom Magistrates.[29] William Everest, now well established as one of the new professional class of minor local gentry in Epsom, had also become a patron of local antiquarian research, subscribing to several local histories, including the monumental five-volume *A Topographical History of Surrey* by Edward Wedlake Brayley, published between 1841 and 1848. Perhaps in return for his subscription as well as for completeness Brayley, in commenting on the 'seats of the gentry' in and around Epsom, notes: 'In Church Street, also, is The Cedars, in the occupation of Wm. Everest, esq.'.[30] The 1851 *Post Office Directory* for Surrey gave official recognition to William Everest's status among the twenty or so 'Gentry' of Epsom, both long-established local families and the small group of 'new' professionals qualifying for this social category.[31] Such a position required him to uphold his reputation, such as by paying his rates on time, and fulfilling his civic duties. At one meeting in 1840 the Vestry noted that the Surveyors of the Highway were 'authorized to accept Mr. Everest's

offer to set back the yard wall of the Premises in his occupation [The Cedars] in a straight line with the wall of the forecourt'.[32] At a Vestry meeting on 15 October 1841 William Everest also secured what he clearly regarded as suitable rateable values on some of his properties, including the 'premises occupied by Mr. Everest' at £20 (possibly his solicitor's office), and 'the house occupied by Mr. Everest in Hallwell's fields [The Cedars] be rated at £25'.[33]

In the early 1830s, therefore, as the local solicitor, Vestry and Magistrates' Clerk and one of the leading qualified professional figures of the local community, William Everest was already well established in a key role in local Epsom politics. The Vestry (both 'open' in which all inhabitants and ratepayers could participate, and 'select' – a self-perpetuating committee of the local elites), in addition to its ecclesiastical duties (such as maintaining church property, dealing with the Tithe commissioners and appointing churchwardens), was the main instrument of local government, in charge of maintaining the highways and supervising poor relief raised through local rates, as well as running local charities to help the needy. In Epsom by the early 1830s the budget was not inconsiderable. In 1834, for example, it was spending £563 on helping the poor (e.g. buying shoes and food), £380 on the upkeep of local roads, around £130 spent from charities for the poor, and additional smaller sums on miscellaneous other running costs – such as two guineas spent on winding the church clock. The Vestry, despite its sober-sounding ecclesiastical title, was sufficiently secular usually to meet in such local hostelries as the *King's Head Inn* conveniently located opposite the church, or at the main public house in Epsom, the *Spread Eagle Inn*, and even on occasion at 'the Coffee House' in Epsom.

In the early 19th century the open and select Vestry in Epsom usually worked harmoniously, until the late 1830s when under a new, controversial vicar it became a platform for aspiring local politicians reflecting stresses of growing social change, a precursor of the political and religious upheavals throughout the vestries of England in the middle of the century over Nonconformism.[34] The crisis over alleged corruption of 1835, therefore, can be seen to mirror complex local tensions over the wider reform process in English local governance.

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, the crisis developed from the unprofessional handling of the annual accounts for the period 1834-35 of the parish's outgoing Overseers of the Poor. An initial Vestry scrutiny had revealed a major irregularity, 'it appearing on the face of the accounts

that a balance of one hundred and thirteen pounds eighteen shillings and seven pence is due from Mr. William Hasted, the late Overseer up to the twenty-fifth day of March last.' As a result, a most unusual special notice was read out in the parish church on the last Sunday in April 1835, announcing that the Vestry would hold a special meeting on 1 May 1835 to pursue the matter further. At this point William Everest discovered that one of the late Overseers of the Poor, William Hasted, had repeatedly publicly asserted, and apparently in writing, that William Everest had accepted bribes from previous Overseers in order to make their accounts appear correct. Hasted's accusations over William Everest's activities as Clerk to the JPs are not recorded. Hasted's first outburst, on 20 April at the time of the initial audit of the 1834 accounts, indicate a poorly educated frustration with the new professional concern for due process, accountability and timely reporting.

William Everest, as part of a new more professional engagement with local politics, must immediately have understood the importance of confronting this personal attack on his reputation and professional standards. Accusations of corruption were one traditional diversionary tactic in pre-reform politics, but they now also threatened to undermine the standard-bearers of qualified professional integrity in local public office. As a result, William Everest commenced legal proceedings against William Hasted.[35]

The personal as well as socio-economic dynamics of this political clash are unclear, and unfortunately there is only very limited evidence of either Hasted's or Everest's political attitudes.[36] William Hasted was born in Epsom of a local family – his father may have been John Hasted who ran the *Crown* public house.[37] William worked as a coach-maker. His modest social standing can, however, be judged by his 21-year lease in 1836 on a small cottage off East Street in Epsom,[38] and by the lack of domestic servants at his home in Clay Hill in Epsom in 1841, compared with the eight servants employed at the Everest home, The Cedars. However, like William Everest, he had qualified for the vote under the property qualifications of the 1832 Reform Act, and as a ratepayer was entitled to participate in Vestry proceedings.[39] His artisan social status, however, marked him out from the main personalities in the Epsom Vestry – such as the old local gentry families like the Northeys of Woodcote House, or the dynamic new representatives of middle-class business and professions such as William Dorling and William Everest. Hasted's apparently unsophisticated attempt to cover up his own failings

by asserting corruption in the management of the Vestry's finances seems to reflect not just personal and social frustrations but also a pre-reform era approach to resolving local problems.

At the Vestry held at the Poor House in Epsom on 1 May 1835 the Vestry resolved unanimously 'that the present Overseers be directed to enforce the payment pursuant to the Statute' to secure the return of the missing £113 18s. 7d. from William Hasted, and a full explanation of the discrepancy. William Everest informed the Vestry 'that pending such proceedings and from the necessarily painful feelings under which he suffers from such an imputation against his character', he thought it right to tender his Resignation of his situation of Vestry Clerk. William Everest had the complete backing of the Vestry, which was determined to show its readiness to tackle Hasted's manoeuvre head-on. It passed a vote of full confidence in and support for both William Everest and the previous Overseers who had also been accused: 'the Vestry have heard with extreme regret the communication and are convinced that the charge thus made against Mr. Everest unsupported as it is by any proof is a false and wanton libel upon Mr. Everest's character and also upon the characters of the former Overseers alluded to in Mr. Hasted's charge'. The Vestry recorded its 'cordial and sincere thanks' to William Everest 'for the uniform ability and integrity with which he has executed his office of Vestry Clerk and their great regret that they should for even so short a period lose the benefit of his valuable services' and appointed William Dorling as his temporary replacement as Vestry Clerk.[40]

Hasted's actions were clearly motivated by local tensions, not financial irregularity, for by the next Vestry meeting two weeks later on 15 May 1835, William Everest had been able to provide a completely satisfactory account of the missing £113 18s. 7d. Hasted was now fully aware that he had overplayed his hand, and during the next two months Hasted knew he faced potential financial ruin. It was also most unlikely that he could afford the legal costs of defending his position in court, particularly without any evidence to substantiate his claim. William Everest's interest was not only in clearing his name and defending the reputation of other Overseers of the Poor, but also in publicising the ethical standards and transparency of the Vestry in an era of widespread local government reform. As a result, Hasted agreed to publish through the Dorling printing company the remarkable unconditional and grovelling public apology quoted in full at the start of this article, which appeared on 25 July. He also agreed to pay hefty damages of £100 – over three times

William Everest's salary as Vestry Clerk. Hasted's humiliation had been complete.

Precisely two months later, at the Vestry meeting of 25 September 1835 William Everest informed the members of the conclusion to the affair, and the Vestry voted to support his immediate resumption of the office of Vestry Clerk. He seems, however, to have been cautious about doing so, his next documented appearance at Vestry meetings being on 4 August 1836, but he signed the minutes regularly thereafter. Hasted's reputation was permanently blighted. He did not play a further active role in local public life in Epsom, and died there in 1854. William Everest, however, remained active in the local politics of the Vestry and ratepayers' meetings for another five difficult years.

During the first decades of far-reaching economic and social change after 1815, the Church in Epsom had facilitated compromise. The curate Joseph Darby had often chaired Vestry meetings in the 1820s while the then vicar, Fleetwood Parkhurst, apparently kept a low profile. The appointment of a new vicar in 1839, however, aroused strong passions and split the parish and vestry, while rapid social change was dramatically altering the physical and demographic structure of the village. Benjamin Bradney Bockett M.A., who was to stay in the post of vicar of St Martin's parish church in Epsom until his death in 1883, was a notorious eccentric. In February 1828 his behaviour had hit the local newspapers when at Hatton Police Court he was charged with taking and carrying away the daughter of William Bramwell, Esquire, of Tavistock Street in London, although the daughter and her mother affirmed their assent and approval of Bockett and the charges were eventually dropped. On another occasion, when his Bishop threatened to suspend him for refusing to open the church for a baptism, Bockett had responded with typical lack of discretion: 'My Dear Lord Bishop, If you suspend me, I'll be hanged. Yours faithfully in Christ, Benjamin Bradney Bockett'.[41] Such a personality exacerbated tensions such as in April 1839 when the Vestry had resolved that 'the Board of Guardians be informed that the valuation of the Parish laid before the Vestry by the Surveyors appointed by the Board appears to the Vestry from the personal knowledge of the individuals composing the Vestry so inconsistent with the true value that neither they nor the Parish officers can undertake to make a Rate upon that valuation'.[42] Conflict raged on every issue under the Vestry's care, from setting the poor rate to objections to establishing a chapel of ease on Epsom Common; the cost of the church organ and the organist's

salary, with one proposal to sell the organ to defray the church building debts; a bitter row in August 1842 over the high fees imposed by Bockett for erecting tombstones leading to threats to establish a separate burial ground; arguments over the vicar's alleged neglect of his duties including visiting parishioners; and ill-feeling over the appearance of the local church school schoolmaster as a witness at the Assizes.[43] Bockett was supported by the same group led by George Ede and the builder and auctioneer Lawrence Langlands who had consistently opposed better management of the parish and vestry during the 1830s, and decisions taken at one meeting were now frequently reversed at the next when the 'modernisers', the William Everest group, turned out in enough numbers to secure the majority and control the Vestry.

At the annual meeting of local ratepayers William Everest on 8 September 1839 was appointed one of the nine Inspectors for the 'lighting and watching of the Parish' among other duties to consider installing gas lighting as authorised by the 1833 legislation – on condition that no inspector be allowed to become a shareholder of any gas company to be established in Epsom – gas lighting came to Epsom the following year. On 15 October 1840 William Everest was re-elected an Inspector of 'lighting and watching the Parish' at the annual ratepayers' meeting when the inspectors were authorised to raise and spend £150 for the coming year. But on 30 March 1841 William Everest resigned as Vestry Clerk. At the Vestry meeting soon after 'Mr. Everest stated that in pursuance of the Resolution of the Vestry of the 17th April 1840 he had during the last 12 months taken charge of the Parish Books and Papers but that he declined having custody of them any longer and requested the Vestry to appoint some other person to take charge of them – resolved that the thanks of the Vestry be given to Mr. Everest for his kind assistance and attendance during the time he was Vestry Clerk and also since his resignation of that office during which time he has continued to hold the Parish Documents'.[44]

The reason for his resignation appears to have been that local politics had become so acrimonious that the £30 salary was no longer sufficient incentive for him to remain a neutral observer. Having resigned, he could play an active part in Vestry proceedings and uphold higher standards of transparency and effectiveness in the delivery of local services. At a particularly bitter Vestry meeting on Friday 2 July 1841, held to consider setting the poor rate, William Everest recommended a rate of eight pence in the pound. George Ede promptly rejected this and instead proposed a lower rate of six pence in the pound, and demanded a poll of ratepayers

to decide. This was an unprecedented challenge to the legitimacy of the ratepayers' meeting convened under Vestry auspices. William Everest instinctively understood the importance of ensuring as wide a popular participation as possible to legitimise the process, and therefore countered by advocating that the Poll should commence immediately and run until 4pm, recommence the following day, Saturday, between 10am and 3pm, and then on Monday open at 8am and finish at 2pm. While others opposed this (suggesting the Poll be restricted to Friday and Saturday only) the new spirit of citizen participation prevailed, and Mr Everest's motion was carried. The stormy meeting then descended into an unparalleled pettiness. The Vestry considered a proposal that the salary of the church organist be £30, William Everest then recommended that that was inadequate and proposed raising the salary to £40, whereupon two members (George Ede seconded by Lawrence Langlands) moved to oppose this, proposing that no salary be paid – a vote was duly taken and Everest's amendment was duly carried. Everest's influence remained in the ascendant, highlighted when in October 1841 he was elected Chairman of the annual meeting of ratepayers to authorise the work of the Inspectors for 'lighting and watching' the parish.

William Everest remained actively involved during these tempestuous years in the Epsom Vestry of the first half of the 1840s, following Bockett's appointment. At one meeting in October 1842, for example, Everest was nominated for the Chair of the meeting by Stephen Pagden and Alexander Wood. Ede and Langlands immediately nominated another candidate, but Everest was elected on a show of hands; a similar meeting occurred a year later when, on 26 October 1843, William Everest was again successfully elected Chairman of the Vestry meeting. At a meeting on 27 January 1843 Everest moved a Resolution to overturn a decision taken a week earlier by the previous Vestry meeting, on 20 January 1843, chaired by Bockett and led by George Ede, to alter the tax assessments for the parish. Everest's motion was now carried, and a new rate was set at Pagden's suggestion.

On 25 March 1844 William Everest had been nominated a Churchwarden for the coming year by Bockett, apparently either to try to win him over, or as a way to divide the 'modernising' group within the Vestry who were concerned by Bockett's behaviour. Although the vicar held, in theory, the traditional authority to nominate, in practice Epsom had become more consensual, reflecting its strong middle-class professional population, so his attempt to nominate to the post without consultations with the parishioners and ratepayers caused uproar. The

vicar was obliged to withdraw whereupon the vicar's associates, George Ede and Lawrence Langlands, nominated Everest. Although another candidate was also proposed the 'modernisers' were not present and the Ede/Lawrence motion was carried. This put William Everest in an impossible position and at the next Vestry meeting a week later on 30 March 1844, William Everest stated that '"under existing circumstances" he felt obliged to decline the post'.

His active energy for local politics, however, went into decline from the mid-1840s, perhaps because of disillusionment, professional considerations or possible growing ill-health, and he gradually became less engaged in Epsom life.[45] One of his last appearances at Vestry meetings was on 15 October 1846 when he was elected Chairman of the meeting, and yet again was appointed one of the Inspectors of the Highway, along with Stephen Pagden. George Ede also faded from the scene, but Langlands stayed on as an increasingly moderate voice. Indeed relations between the vicar and Vestry gradually improved during the late 1840s, and on 1 April 1850 this was recognised in quite an extraordinary fashion when the Vestry at the end of the meeting that day passed a vote of cordial thanks to Bockett for his 'kindness and Impartiality in the Chair this day'.[46]

William Everest had certainly found during the 1840s that his position as leading solicitor in Epsom was increasingly challenged. George White had been born in 1809 in London[47] and moved to Epsom in the late 1830s and in 1840 William Everest, acting as trustee for the local coal and corn merchant Alexander Wood, had arranged White's lease of a property, Ashley House in the centre of Epsom, from Wood.[48] In 1848 George White had erected beside his home, Ashley House, a building to house both the London and County Stock Bank, and the new County Court with jurisdiction over the parishes of the Epsom Union. White's growing challenge was reflected in the posts he held by 1851: Clerk to the Trustees of the Epsom Roads, Solicitor to the Epsom Branch of the London and County Stock Bank, Solicitor to the Leatherhead Gas Company, Commissioner for taking Affidavits, and he had replaced Everest as a Master Extraordinary in Chancery. William Everest remained Clerk to the Magistrates, and also Clerk to the Board of Guardians[49] and to the Commissioners of Taxes, and Superintendent Registrar[50] of the Epsom Union.

William Everest's career in local politics illustrates the emergence in Surrey by the 1830s of a new professionalism which, in promoting responsible transparency and accountability, laid the stable foundations

for later improvements in 19th-century local governance. The 'Public Apology' of 1835 provides a unique insight into a key stage of that process of reform.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Mrs Georgina Treeves of Sidmouth for drawing my attention to this item in the Surrey section of the Arthur Everest Ephemera Collection (now in the private Yoko Dochi Archives, Toyama, Japan), and for securing permission from the Collection trustees to publish this sidelight into my great, great-grandfather's life.
2. The London and Croydon Railway, renamed the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway in 1847, and the London and South Western in 1859.
3. In the 1841 Census he gave his age as 35, suggesting that he was born *c.*1806. Inaccurate reporting of age, however, is quite common – William's grandson Arthur Everest reported his mother as aged 50 for her death certificate, when she was actually 68! There are at least twenty-four William Everests whose births are recorded in the home counties in the period 1780 to 1810, but the only William Everest son of a John Everest – William's father's name is known from the property transactions recorded in H.L.Lehmann: *The Residential Copyholds of Epsom* (Epsom, 1987) – with a brother John in Madras in 1825 (on the subscriber list for the anonymous *Some Particulars relating to the History of Epsom* of 1825) was born in St Marylebone Parish in 1801. John born in 1803, joined the 13th Native Infantry regiment of the East India Company as a cadet in 1822, and died a lieutenant in 1832 – see below).
4. H.L.Lehmann, *The Residential Copyholds of Epsom* (Epsom, 1987), property 6c11, p.167; George White's remarkable notebook on local Epsom personalities of the mid-19th century records that she died on 4 February 1848 and was buried at Trinity Church, Walworth – Surrey History Archive: The Registrar General's Book: Edwards Collection.
5. See *Kent's Directory* of 1794 (at http://www.londonancestor.com/kents/kents-s.htm) for Stevens. The Queen Anne's Bounty was the name applied to a perpetual fund of first-fruits and tenths granted by a charter of Queen Anne, and confirmed by statute in 1703 (2 and 3 Anne, c.n.), for the augmentation of the livings of the poorer Anglican clergy.
6. William Thomas Furniss 1802-1872 was a local antiquary, a constable and collector of rates in Epsom.
7. V&A Museum MSL.1994/5, NRA 38891.
8. John Everest's military service, and furlough dates, at India Office Records L/MIL/11/41, page 47. He had a long history of illness in India, and died in 1832 just before he planned to return to England to recuperate. He was buried at St Mary's church, Madras.
9. Surrey History Centre, 2703/1.
10. Surrey History Centre, 2103/4/1: hold the post from at least 1805 probably until his death: for in this position he was examining the legal papers over copyright arable land in Ewell Fields in September 1805; Surrey History Centre, 2103/4/2: still in this capacity in July 1809; Surrey History Centre, 2103/7/1: acting on 15 April 1816 'to demise and lease customary or copyhold messuages or tenements situated within the manors of Ewell and Cuddington' – which included the Northey estate.
11. Surrey History Centre, 2703/1: Court Rolls of the Manor of Ashtead.
12. Surrey History Centre, 439: the next Steward was appointed in 1829, but since John Everest died in 1821 there must have been an interim.
13. Surrey Record Society, vol.xxxii, October 1931, *Returns of the Turnpike Road Trustees, 1820-21*. John died at Ruxley farm, Ewell and his two sons William and John proved his will in October 1821 at the probate court of Canterbury.
14. Gumersalls Solicitors firm of Epsom deposited the item 6574/1/1 papers at the Surrey History Archive in 1999.
15. E.g. Surrey History Centre, 2186/8/72 when he was acting in April 1821 on behalf of the estate of William Thompson, deceased, concerning Thompson's landholdings in Surrey on the Limpsfield estate, on the affairs of which John Everest was also involved.

16. London Metropolitan Archives E/MW/C/1869-70 of 1775; E/MW/C/54 of 1783.
17. See *passim* the J. Smith biography of Sir George Everest, *Everest: Man and the Mountain* (1999).
18. London Metropolitan Archives E/MW/C/776/1 of 1822 and E/MW/C/1062 of 1826.
19. I am grateful to Jim Smith, author of the excellent recent biography of Sir George Everest, *Everest: Man and the Mountain* (1999) for this genealogical information on the extended Everest family connections.
20. Surrey History Centre 6574/1/1: the Minute book of meetings of the Commissioners of the Land Tax for the hundreds or division of Copthorne and Effingham, 1777-1807, and of the general meetings of the Commissioners for the whole of Surrey, 1783-1798. Meetings took place at Morris' Coffee House, later the Coffee House, Epsom.
21. The first record of Everest holding this post is the printed notice for widening a footpath in Epsom issued by Everest as Clerk to the Justices, on 28 November 1827, Surrey History Centre 895/4/11. The follow-up notice for this, of 4 March 1828, is in the Ewell History Centre, as well as at Surrey History Centre 6106/11/1-2.
22. Epsom Vestry Records, 1817-27, microfiche.
23. E.E. Dorling, *Epsom and the Dorlings* (London, 1939), p.54.
24. Surrey History Centre, 4073/(11).
25. His son Henry Dorling was the Clerk of the Course in the mid-19th century largely responsible for its healthy management and finances, and Henry's daughter Isabella who married William Everest's workaholic professional rival George White, found fame as the author of *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book*.
26. H.L. Lehmann, *The Residential Copyholds of Epsom* (Epsom, 1987), property 5c14, p.157.
27. The 1841 Census shows he was living there with his wife Harriet (aged 30, five years younger than her husband) and five children (Theresa aged 11; Em(m)a aged 8½ years; Harriet aged two; Frederick aged 3½; and Elizabeth aged one month – William Alexander then aged 13 was apparently away at school (or staying elsewhere on Census night) along with ten other residents of the house, mostly domestic servants and their families, but also one 15-year-old clerk who was presumably apprenticed to William's solicitor's practice. By the 1851 Census The Cedars had been transformed into a small, private girls' boarding school. It was owned then by Edward Moulton Barrett of Wimpole Street, father of Elizabeth Barrett Browning: Surrey History Centre, item2702/1/3. When Barrett granted the 21-year lease on the building to Rebecca Eisdell, the headmistress of the girls' school in 1853, the rent was £130 per annum: see Surrey History Centre 2702/1/7.
28. Public Record Office: file C/202/223/16: appointment of 27 January 1834.
29. I am grateful to Trefor Jones, author of a forthcoming history of the Epsom magistrates, for this reference.
30. *Op. cit.*, vol.iv, p.369. Another work was the anonymous *Some Particulars relating to the History of Epsom* of 1825 for which Mr. J. Everest of Madras was another subscriber – see footnote above.
31. His professional practice partnerships, however, seem to have been fairly fluid – in 1834 William Everest's partnership as already noted was called 'Harding & Everest'; *Pigot's Directory* for 1839 suggests that William Everest by that time had a new partner, for his legal practice was then called 'Everest & Bell'. The 1851 *Post Office Directory* for Surrey lists William Everest apparently now working on his own, among the twenty or so 'Gentry' of Epsom.
32. Epsom Vestry Records 1827-1837 (Surrey History Archive, 4340) meeting of 26 March 1840.
33. Epsom Vestry Records 1827-1837 (Surrey History Archive, 4340) meeting of 15 October 1841.
34. W.E.Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England* (Cambridge, 1974), pp.23-4.
35. Such accusations were also of course a key tool for pushing reform – allegations of widespread police corruption were a crucial impetus to the reforms of Sir Robert Peel, although the reality of this image has recently been seriously questioned. See e.g. R.D. Storch, 'The Old English Constabulary', *History Today* (November, 1999).

36. Following the 1832 Reform Act, William Everest qualified as a voter in the West Surrey constituency and the first opportunity to use it came in the election of 1835 (William Hasted, the coachbuilder of Clay Hill, Epsom, had also qualified for the vote, and turned out to use it). William Everest was one of the few among the 2,967 voters in the constituency who did not choose to use his new voting right – perhaps because it was not a secret ballot and publicly siding with two of the three candidates was inappropriate for Epsom's solicitor, Vestry Clerk and Clerk to the local magistrates. In the 1849 West Surrey election he again failed to vote – like much of the electorate perhaps through apathy over only two candidates and the long-time MP W. J. Evelyn and R. Wyatt Edgell (Evelyn securing the majority by 156 from a total turn-out of just over 2,100). In 1852, however, William Everest and his son William Alexander Everest turned out to vote for W.J.Evelyn and Henry Drummond who defeated Colonel Challoner by 261 and 225 votes respectively.
37. H.L.Lehmann, *The Residential Copyholds of Epsom* (Epsom, 1987), property 2c12 (p.66). With presumably his brother James Hasted, William Hasted owned three messuages and a quarter of an acre off South Street (property 3c18, p.106).
38. H.L.Lehmann, *The Residential Copyholds of Epsom* (Epsom, 1987), property 10c2 (p.236).
39. William Hasted was born in *c.*1801 (if he was not lying! – he was aged 40 according to 1841 Census) also married to a Harriet (aged 35 – with no domestic servants or children recorded in the Census).
40. Epsom Vestry Records 1827-1837, Surrey History Archive 3296/3/1, fiche 3. John Chandler, William Dorling, Thomas Whitmore and nine other members signed the minutes. There is no evidence currently available on whether Hasted's assertions were technically slander or libel, and if the reference to libel was exact, how and where this libel was written or published.
41. *Parish History of St Martin of Tours* (Epsom: n.d.), pp.15-17.
42. Epsom Vestry Records 1837-1841 (Surrey History Archive, 4340).
43. Vestry Minutes from 1842 at Surrey History Centre, 3132/2/5 (and on microfiche).
44. Epsom Vestry Records 1827-1837 (Surrey History Archive, 4340) meeting of 8 April 1841.
45. He gave up the tenancy of the Cedars, and seems to have spent less time in the area, and his son William Alexander Everest took over the solicitor's firm in the 1850s – although apparently unsuccessfully so – reputedly due to alcoholism. Certainly William Alexander was cut out of his parents' wills – his father and mother died (having moved first to Milton House, Brighton and later Beach Street, Deal evidently to benefit from the sea breezes, in December 1866 and July 1867 respectively.
46. Surrey History Centre, 3132/2/5 (and on microfiche 2+ for Books 1842-83).
47. Surrey History Centre, Edwards Collection: Epsom Registrar General's Book: This was George White's own record of local personalities: he noted his own date of birth as 17 September 1809, his baptism at St Mary's, Newington; and the christening of his first daughter Esther at Croydon in 1832.
48. Surrey History Centre, 895/1/8-11. Everest again acted for Wood in 1850 when he finally sold White the freehold of Ashley House – see Surrey History Centre, 895/1/12-22.
49. In 1834 the Poor Law Amendment Act established boards of guardians to manage poor relief over groups of parishes in poor law unions.
50. District Superintendent Registrar of the new Registration District. These did not follow church parish boundaries, but were based on those of the Poor Law Act of 1834.

The Civil War and its Aftermath

Egham and Thorpe 1642-1675

By Ron and Dorothy Davis
Egham-by-Runnymede Historical Society

Introduction

No major battles took place on Surrey soil but the county was important throughout the English Civil War as a route to and from the capital. Sieges were laid to Farnham castle, the town suffered under military occupation and a number of hangings for military offences took place there.[1] In Kingston, another important strategic town, there was a skirmish even before the rival standards were raised. In January 1642 Colonel Tom Lunsford with other officers of the King's army and later Lord Digby sought to take advantage of the royalist feeling in the town and gathered

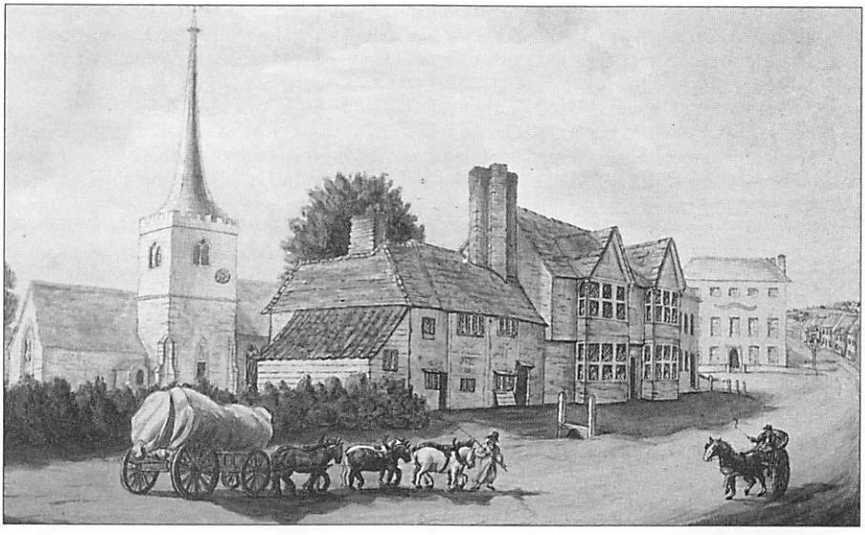

Fig.1 An undated watercolour showing Egham on the main road to the south-west. The three-storey building on the right is the *Kings Head* inn. (Copyright The Egham Museum Trust.)

with troops and 400-500 horse. Sir Richard Onslow, one of the Knights of the Shire, entered the town with his militia and, despite meeting with a hostile reception, dispersed the royalist forces and re-established order. Digby fled and Lunsford was arrested and proclaimed a traitor.[2]

Most Surrey towns saw no such action but still suffered the privations of war, having to endure high taxation and the constant stress of troops passing through or being billeted on local householders. Towns like Egham that lay on main roads out of London were particularly susceptible. (See Fig.1.) This article gives examples of the demands made on the inhabitants of Egham and the neighbouring village of Thorpe during the Civil War and lists some of the many claims made by them for compensation.

1. Events leading up to the War 1630-1642

Fear on one side that Calvinism might prevail in the English church and on the other that Roman Catholic worship might be re-established caused deep schisms in the country.[3] There were also political reasons for the conflict, unreasonable imposition of taxes being one. In 1630 Ship Money, previously only levied on ports, was extended to inland towns, which already paid Coat and Conduct money towards the army. Thorpe was assessed for £22 6s. 8d. in Ship Money in 1636,[4] while Egham was assessed for £35 in the same year.[5] Nicholas Stoughton, who was Sheriff of Surrey in 1637-8, had great difficulty collecting Ship Money in the county[6] and in 1640, of £600 due for Coat and Conduct money in Surrey, only £3 had been collected. In June of the same year the five Hundreds of West Surrey refused to pay.[7]

In that part of Egham nearest to Windsor Great Park (See Fig.2), there had been conflict with the Crown for centuries over the imposition of forest law. Charles I further alienated the local yeomen by claiming that the whole of Surrey was in the Forest of Windsor and attempting to interfere with manorial rights. Petitions from Surrey towns, including Egham and Thorpe, were made to the Earl of Holland, Chief Justice in Eyre, claiming the rights of pasture, turbary, and liberty to coppice wood without a licence from the forest officers.[8]

In 1640 the Long Parliament appointed a Commission, which included Sir John Denham of Egham and Wolley Leigh of Thorpe, both loyal to the King, to investigate, but the final decision on forest boundaries was left to a jury, of which Richard Mountain and William Kirkham, both prominent men of Egham, were members.[9] The ordinary inhabitants of Egham and its neighbouring parishes were, however, unwilling to await

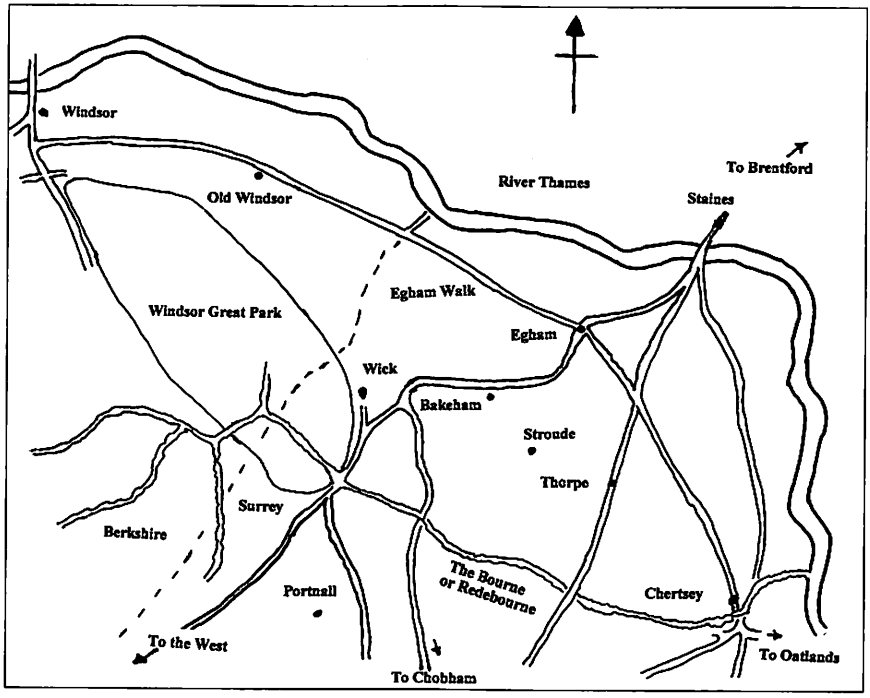

Fig.2 A Diagram of Egham and its Environs based on the Map of Windsor Forest from John Norden's Survey of the Honour of Windsor 1607, with additional place names. Scale: approx. 1 inch to 2 miles.

the outcome and took the law into their own hands. They gathered in large groups of 80-100 and killed a number of the King's deer, ignoring the pleas of the Chief Keeper of the Egham or Red Deer Walk. When some of the protesters were arrested, they were promptly released by their companions.

On 7 January 1642, the jury decided, against the King, that no part of Surrey was in the forest except the park at Guildford. As if in retaliation for this, the Earl of Holland forthwith stopped all agistment (pasturing of cattle) in Windsor Great Park. The inhabitants of Egham were once more incensed and returned a most strongly worded petition, defending their rights, stating that they were, by ancient custom, allowed to pasture their cattle in the park.[10] Only an unsatisfactory 'holding' reply was received, as other more momentous events were afoot.[11]

With the King's standard raised in Nottingham in August, Parliament acted to secure the approaches to London: Sir Richard Onslow established

Fig.3 The *Catherine Wheel* inn, Egham 1668. Note the foot traveller and on the left the water carrier. (Copyright: The Egham Museum Trust.)

himself and the trained bands of Southwark at Kingston. This was not popular in such a royalist town: the people called them roundheads and wished the cavaliers would come.[12] A further 20 troop of horse was needed to hold Kingston for Parliament, so that Sir Richard could set up his headquarters and later that of the Surrey Committee at the *Crane* inn. He started a recruiting campaign and by the autumn had a Regiment of Cavalry with himself as Colonel.[13]

Parliament also sent Colonel Ven with 12 companies of Foot to take possession of Windsor Castle early in October.[14] Such a move could not go unchallenged and Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, a young man experienced in continental warfare, was sent in early November to dislodge them. Lacking artillery, however, a necessity when taking a fortress as strong as Windsor, Rupert failed and moved downstream along the River Thames to make his headquarters in the town of Egham. This was the inhabitants' first experience of military occupation and at this early stage of the war Prince Rupert's fame (or infamy) had not spread. In fact, the people of Egham did not know who he was and called him 'Prince Robert'. Where he stayed in the town is not certain but a good guess might be the *Catherine Wheel* inn. The landlord, James Guy, later put in a massive claim for £315, having lost corn, hay, sheep, butter, wine, beer and timber to the troops. He also stated that his fixtures and fittings had been damaged. (See Fig.3)

Rupert was clearly stocking up for future 'fights' and there is little doubt that Egham town was looted. The other inns reported losses similar

to the *Catherine Wheel*'s, with the *Swan*, an inn still standing on the banks of the Thames at Egham Hythe, also claiming for sea-coal. The Egham farmers lost stock, particularly sheep, as well as hay, corn, beans and poultry. Rupert's men were based in Egham for five days and when they had finished raiding the town farms they moved out south and west, taking produce from estates on the outskirts of Egham in Stroude, Bakeham, Egham Wick and Portnall. (See Fig.2)

Rupert's intelligence must have reported on Egham's puritan vicar, William Reyner. While at Oxford, en route to London by way of Egham, a royalist force had taken all the books, bedding and clothes belonging to his student son, Samuel. At Egham they also took the vicar's books and the contents of his house, as well as loads of hay and corn, worth £240 in all. The total losses in the town amounted to nearly £2,000, which included £500 lost in bills, bonds and writings by Mr Mountain, clearly a wealthy inhabitant and one of the jurymen who had inquired into forest matters in 1640.

Some attempt at legality was maintained during these proceedings by the issuing of 'warrants' for the goods taken. These were later collected by the town's Inquisitors, James Guy, the inn keeper, William Kirkham, gentleman of Egham and John Fabian, who held the reputed Manor of Egham Wick, and sent to the Surrey Committee at Kingston for settlement. Alongside their signatures they added a note that reflects the deep distress, mistrust and uncertainty engendered by civil conflict and military occupation. The Inquisitors were unable to obtain as full an account as they would have liked 'by reason of the residence of the Enemy amongst us': some possible claimants had burnt their warrants 'for feare' and other documents had no date.[15] (See Appendix)

While at Egham, Rupert interviewed two 'gentlemen' who claimed they were merchants. Rupert was right to be suspicious: the men, noticed on Hounslow Heath the following day, later reported what they had observed to the House of Commons.[16]

During his stay at Egham, Rupert made an abortive foray towards Oatlands, near Weybridge (See Fig.2), but on encountering some parliamentary forces, retreated. There are stories of a pitched battle between Oatlands and Kingston with many losses. This was described in a pamphlet published at the time but most experts think it was purely propaganda.[17]

Rupert joined the King at Colnbrook, where an abortive peace conference took place on 8 November and returned to Egham two days later. Parliament, worried about the King's advance, had moved about

1,000 available troops, plus some horse, to Braynford (Brentford) and on 12 November, in a heavy mist, Rupert moved from Egham to attack these parliamentary positions.[18]

It was a victory for the Royalists. Rupert in retaliation then ordered the town of Brentford to be sacked: 'As a punishment for having attached itself to the side of the rebels without consideration for its duty of loyalty to its prince.'[19] Everything of value was taken from the town, orchards were spoiled and houses burnt. Some parliamentary soldiers were driven into the river and shot at. Many were drowned. Ten of Essex's soldiers captured at Edgehill were used as a human shield. After Brentford the royalist forces advanced towards London, but they were tired and short of ammunition. Furthermore, they then faced 24,000 men of Essex's army, many of them from the London Trained Bands.[20]The sacking of Brentford (and possibly the previous looting of Egham) united London behind Parliament.

While the King and Rupert were making their way back through Surrey and Berkshire to Oxford, they found Farnham castle empty. They left Sir John Denham of Egham and 100 men to garrison the castle for the King. Within weeks Farnham castle was attacked by Sir William Waller and the gate blown in with a petard. All the garrison including Sir John were taken prisoner.[21] He was imprisoned in Poultry Compter in London for about a year, then released and allowed to retire to the Court at Oxford. A Parliamentary garrison occupied Farnham castle throughout 1643-4 while Sir John Denham continued to write poetry at Oxford, publishing 'Coopers Hill', a pastoral poem describing a favourite Egham landscape, 'on a sort of brown paper, for they could get no better'.[22] In July 1648, Farnham castle was put into a 'condition of indefensibleness' for which a County Rate was levied.

2. The Events of 1643

After the disturbing events of autumn 1642 Egham was never again troubled by the royalist army. Only two of its inhabitants, Sir John Denham of The Place, appointed Sheriff of Surrey early in 1642, and Sir Robert Foster of Great Fosters, Justice of the King's Bench, felt strongly enough to leave their wives and estates behind and join the King at Oxford.[23] Some people were, doubtless, indifferent to the rights and wrongs of the conflict and wished only to be left in peace to farm or trade. Many, however, with the recent tyranny of the Crown in forest matters and the occupation of Prince Rupert's troops in mind, welcomed parliamentary rule and willingly held office in its administration.

The ever-present parliamentary forces were, however, equally demanding. Things the army wanted it took from the populace; things the populace couldn't provide, the populace paid for in new taxes. In the north-east of Surrey, where there were also many active supporters of Parliament, quartermasters demanded free quarter when regiments were billeted in such towns as Mortlake and soldiers commandeered supplies of all kinds.[24]

A town like Egham was expected to provide transport and provision for passing troops. In January 1643 two horses worth £20 were taken from William Kirkham by the Commissaries responsible for the taking of horses. Sir William Waller's soldiers took two horses from Thomas Board to draw artillery, which, as Thomas said, 'I never had agayne'. Thomas had already lost £10 worth of oats to Essex's artillery at Windsor in 1642. From November 1642, while stationed at Windsor, Colonel Ven's men were also busy appropriating items from the Egham populace. Twenty-four bushels of mashlyne, a mixture of wheat and rye for making bread, valued at 3s. 6d. a bushel were taken from Richard Strood, while Captain William Stakhurst, acting for the Colonel, took a mare worth £4 from Robert Sanders. While Essex was at Windsor, Thomas Rolfe, who was later appointed High Constable for the Half Hundred of Godley, lost 104 sheep worth £31 and three more sheep in November.[25]

Actual warfare continued elsewhere. Charles laid siege to Gloucester but Essex moved rapidly from London on 26 August and on 20 September the Royalists were defeated at the first Battle of Newbury. Once again Egham was full of soldiers, draining the resources of the innkeepers and farmers. John Tucker, the constable, who quartered 'my Lord General's troope after the Newbury fight', was owed some £45 for quartering English officers and men as well as Dutch and French troops. The presence of foreign troops in Egham is apparent in several references: on one occasion the Widow Standen, possibly of the *Red Lion* inn, 'had taken from her by three Dutch soldiers all her wearing clothes worth £3'. Providing enough men for the battle left the road to London open and undefended and Essex was careful to keep guard during his return to London. In October James Guy of the *Catherine Wheel* had to find pasture and fodder for 459 horses for which he was owed £7 13s., per day (4d. a horse), while troops were guarding Egham Hill. When Sir William Waller's forces kept guard at Egham in October, possibly while on their way to Farnham, the farmer, Thomas Milton lost £20-worth of hay, oats, barley and pease. Sometimes unidentified soldiers demanded keep:

Fig.4 Manorhouse Farm, Coldharbour Lane, Thorpe: The left-hand side of the farmhouse is a typical lobby entry, central chimney building of the early 17th century. It would have been new when the Perry family were living there in 1643. (Photograph 1990 by the late Desmond Mills.)

in November John Newton claimed money for accommodating three men, 'under whose command he know not', for a fortnight.[26]

The village of Thorpe also suffered from the attentions of Sir William Waller's forces. Ten of Captain Turpin's dragoons with their horses were billeted on a yeoman called Perry for a week. Then Captain Turpin, Captain Clarke, a woman, three men and five horses were quartered on him for a month. The main trouble arose, however, from a man called Johnson under Major Strahon's command, who, while quartered at Egham, came to Mr Perry's with ten other soldiers for 30 bushels of oats for the major. For some reason, Johnson and his men were not immediately let in so they broke all the glass windows. Johnson started to curse and swear and threatened to kill everyone in the house. He ran into the yard with a lighted candle and threatened to burn down the barns. In the end he was restrained by a gentleman from the house and some soldiers from the town, attracted by the noise. Unfortunately, Mrs Perry, who was pregnant, miscarried and was very ill for three months afterwards.[27] The family involved was probably that of George Perry who in November 1641 had leased Thorpe Farm from Wolley and

Elizabeth Leigh and Bridget Minterne (Wolley's grandmother) for £1,500 and already owned property in Thorpe. Since it included a piece of land called the Burridge of 22 acres it is likely that the house involved (see Fig. 4) is that now known as Manor or Manorhouse Farm.[28]

Life was also hard in Parliamentary Surrey for the wives of the so-called delinquents who had retreated with the King to Oxford. Lady Anne Foster, wife of Sir Robert, was left behind to manage the estate at Great Fosters as well as her household in her husband's absence. She was also expected to provide free quarter for as many as 20-30 Parliamentary soldiers, had all her horses taken from her, her household goods inventoried with the threat of removal, while her tenants were forbidden to pay their rents. Not surprisingly she fled to London with her five children to put herself at the mercy of Parliament and to try to defend herself and her husband.[29] Ann Denham was reduced to having to appeal to the Committee for Sequestration for provision of 'child-bed linen' in 1643.[30]

3. The Events of 1644

Fighting took place at Cheriton in Hampshire in March 1644 and, as a result, it was Godalming's turn to be full of soldiers. Householders were given tickets stating how many men they were to accommodate and, as in Egham, there was always a great demand for horses.[31]

By this time as well as the ad-hoc seizure of goods, bills for military expenditure were made out in surprising detail. For Colonel Jones' personal expenses at Farnham castle, Egham was to pay £23 and Thorpe £13; providing horse, pistols and saddles for Sir William Waller would cost Egham £14 and Thorpe £9; a dragoon horse would cost Egham £4. For the Surrey forces at Newbury that were besieging Donnington castle, Egham was to pay £6 and Thorpe £3. One of the largest items, however, was for the 'Association & Garrison at Farnham Castle' for which Egham's bill was £271 and Thorpe's £163. General Fairfax's New Model Army did not come cheap either: it would cost Egham £294 and Thorpe £162.[32]

The job of collecting the money was in the hands of the local yeomen and tradesmen such as Phillip Osborne and Thomas Bowling, both farmers at Portnall, as well as William Eastwicke, Robert Nash and Robert Browning, under the Inquisitors for the parish of Egham. The money was usually paid over at Kingston but at other times sums were sent to Guildford. On one occasion when Nash and Browning were in receipt of £10 16s. 8d., £7 15s. 8d. was paid over to Kingston and £2 was

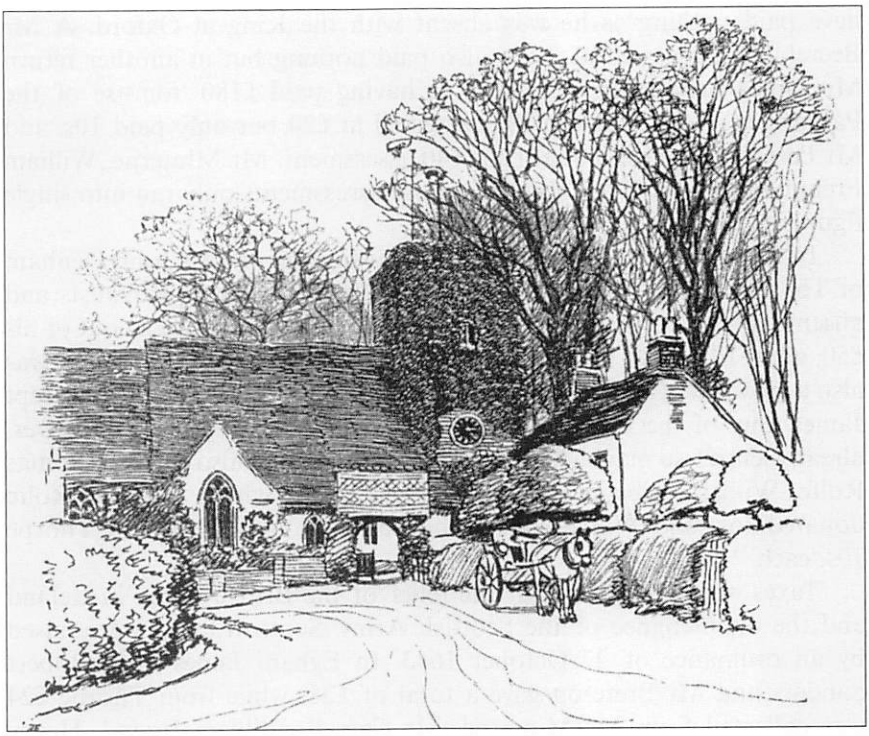

Fig.5 Thorpe, a line drawing by Hugh Thomson from *Highways & Byways in Surrey* by Eric Parker (Macmillan, 1909) p.207.

entrusted to the constable, John Tucker, to deliver to Guildford. However, 'it was taken from him at Cobham (probably Chobham) by the Cavaleers.' This is not an implausible story as Chobham Common was a wild and dangerous area, but whether this was a genuine example of royalist infiltration or the ruse of an ingenious thief, must be left to the imagination. For some reason also the remaining guinea (£1 1s.) was unaccounted for.[33]

In order to pay for the war Parliament also introduced 'assessment and excise'. Assessment was a land and property tax levied on the 'true yearly value of rents, annuities and offices'. This taxed the gentry. In Egham and Thorpe they were made to pay 'the 20th and 5th part' (assumed to mean 25 per cent). Excise taxed the poor, being levied on beer, meat, salt, starch, soap and paper.[34]

The success rate in the collection of taxes was not consistent. In Thorpe (See Fig. 5), Wolley Leigh was assessed at £40 but appears to

have paid nothing as he was absent with the King at Oxford. A Mr Beereblocke, assessed at £100, also paid nothing but in another return Mr James Beerblocke is quoted as having paid £180 'for use of the Parliament'. Mrs Minterne was assessed at £20 but only paid 10s. and Mr Perry paid only £3 out of his £40 assessment. Mr Minterne, William Freind and Henry Bartholomew, whose assessments only ran into single figures, paid in full.

In Egham, Sir Robert Foster of Great Fosters and Sir John Denham of The Place were both assessed at £100 but both being Royalists and absent from the town did not pay. Randall Brereton paid £20 out of his £50, while Elizabeth Ridlie assessed at £10 paid nothing. Maybe she was also a Royalist. The others assessed at single figure amounts paid, except James Guy of the *Catherine Wheel*, assessed at £5. He, had, however, already lent £5 so maybe he was excused. Sums were also lent by Thomas Rolfe, William Gibson and Henry Fletcher of Egham. Thomas Rolfe donated 15s. and William Westbrook and Thomas Penner of Thorpe 10s. each.[35]

Taxes were also raised for the relief of the British Army in Ireland and the maintenance of the Scottish Army. Scottish loans were raised by an ordinance of 27 October 1643. In Egham James Guy, Robert Sanders and Mr Brereton gave a total of £28, while from Thorpe £24 was collected from Mr Minterne, Mr Carrall, William Friend, Henry Barth and William Goring. A collection was taken for the relief of Protestant refugees from Ireland and the contribution list must contain nearly every inhabitant of Egham and Thorpe. The contributions range from 6d. to £6.[36]

In Egham, horses were still being requisitioned for the garrison at Windsor, a roan gelding worth £3 from Humphrey Hedger on 3 June and, on another occasion, a roan mare worth £4 from Robert Sanders, who had already suffered a similar loss. Charles, a soldier, had taken a mare worth £3 from the Widow Standon in February.[37]

After defeating the Royalists again at Newbury the Parliamentary Army went into winter quarters around Reading and Farnham and it is likely, therefore, that a number of undated claims for 'Free Quarter' in the Egham accounts relate to this time. Robert Turner was not paid by the Lord General's, the Earl of Manchester's or Sir William Waller's forces for 'diett hay and sheepe £5-5s' while the Earl of Manchester's foot soldiers left owing £1 16s. to Thomas Rolfe 'in horsemeat and mansmeate'. Fourteen shillings-worth of goods had not been paid to Mr

Mountayne, while £2 7s. was owed to Thomas Heathcocke, a wealthy yeoman who lived at Stroude to the south of Egham.

In 1644 the Perry family of Thorpe were unfortunate enough to have yet more unruly parliamentary soldiers billeted on them. The ten troopers they had quartered on them broke open most of the locks about the house and brought in three or four extra soldiers. The Perry children had to be taken out of their beds at midnight and accommodated elsewhere. The soldiers compounded their misdemeanours by taking away sacks and money and also oats, which they tried to sell in the town.

In December 1644 and January 1645 the parish of Egham defined a rate of four pence a day for the quartering of a man and four pence a day for the quartering of a horse at the inns. Smaller establishments like Henry Edmonds's billeted only two or three men at a time but on one occasion he lost a rick of hay and tares worth £8 while soldiers were carelessly practising shooting in his yard. Robert Browning of the *Swan* inn, however, had room for 20 or 30 men at a time. Also in Egham at this time were Major Hambleton and other Scotch Reformadoes, who were officers often holding a commission but with no regiment.[38]

4. The Events of 1645-9

Colonel John Dalbier, a professional Dutch soldier, was present in Egham on several occasions, sometime in 1642 and later in 1644 when there is also a reference to 'Colonel Crumwells troops' being in Egham.[39] Dalbier played an important part in raising the siege of Basing House in Hampshire in October 1645. Its owner, an ardent Royalist, had held out throughout the war. Dalbier had arrived in August to make a more effective onslaught on the house. He even engaged in chemical warfare, firing burning hay mixed with sulphur over the walls.[40]

Egham and Thorpe continued to pay taxes for the garrison in Farnham castle, for the soldiers who marched to the west from there in August 1645, for major events like the campaign in Ireland and for small enterprises such as the raising of a troop of horse in 1648 to be commanded by a Major Hill.[41]

The minister of Thorpe, whose theology was suspect in the eyes of Parliament, was removed from office.[42] Egham's vicar, William Reyner, on the other hand (see Fig.6), flourished under Parliamentary influence and favour. He had received various augmentations in salary, one from the lands of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor and another from the lands of a delinquent.[43] He was clearly held in high esteem by the Lords

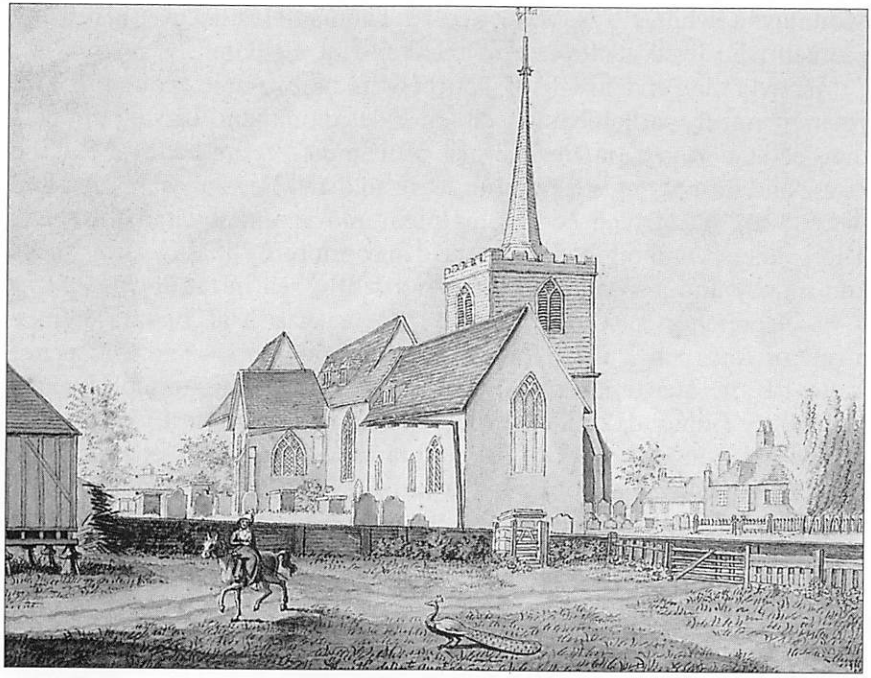

Fig.6 Egham church 1804 but much as it would have looked in Reyner's time. It was demolished in 1817. Note the Manor farm granary on the left. (Copyright: The Egham Museum Trust.)

of Parliament for in 1644 he had been invited to preach a sermon before the House of Commons itself and chose the theme: 'Babylon's Ruining Earthquake and the Restauration of Zion'. He was invited to serve on several doctrinal committees, one on the distinction between church and civil government[44] and another 'for the judging of Scandall'. He and Sir Richard Onslow were both appointed to this in 1647 and would enquire into the conduct of the clergy in the counties.[45]

With the King in Parliamentary custody the war was officially over. When negotiations amongst Crown, Parliament and Army came to nothing, however, because of extremists on both sides, the Earl of Holland with Dalbier at his side hoped to rally moderate opinion. They attempted an uprising in Surrey in support of a constitutional monarchy; shots were fired at Ewell, Nonsuch and on Kingston Common but nothing came of the venture.[46]

Charles I was removed from imprisonment on the Isle of Wight in September 1648 and eventually conveyed to Windsor in December, staying

at Vernon House in Farnham and at Bagshot Lodge en route. He was put on trial and executed in Whitehall on 30 January 1649.

Some months later the village of Peper Harow with seven neighbouring parishes remonstrated about the excessive number of soldiers still quartered upon them.[47] Egham also continued to entertain troops, the parish register having the following entry for 16 September: 'Buried Mr Jeffrey Read Sirrgon to one of the Lord General's troop died at the Catran Whele at Egham on 15 September and buried in the Churchyard at Egham.'

5. Sequestration of Properties and the End of the War

Following the King's execution, his property and that of Queen Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales were sequestered. The land included the farms and tenements of the Crown Manor of Egham and was put up for sale in 1650. Some pieces were acquired by local men such as William Kirkham of Egham and James Clarke of Staines; others attracted buyers from as far away as Huntingdonshire. Most of the purchasers were, however, parliamentary officers.

Soldiers on leaving the Parliamentary Army were given debentures, a kind of 'post war credit', with which they could purchase land. Most frequently the soldiers had little idea what to do with their debentures and sold them to their officers who used them to buy land and property.

The Manor House and demesnes of the Manor of Egham fell into the hands of John Blackwell of Mortlake in 1650. The first half of the purchase was made by debentures from Major Phillip Shippon, the Surgeon Lodowicke Somerfield, sundry troopers and a lieutenant. Blackwell paid 15s. 9d. in money. For the second half of the purchase Blackwell used a debenture of his own amounting to £31 11s. 4d., which he had received for his service as Cornett to Captain Juxon's Troop of Horse in Colonel Hanney's Regiment in the Earl of Essex's Army. The rest was paid for in debentures from a lieutenant, a trooper and Captain Charles Shaftoe whose two debentures were worth over £900. Thus for the equivalent of £2,004 17s. he obtained a 99-year lease on prime Egham property.[48] Two years later he acquired the whole of the Hundred of Godley and in 1656 was appointed Sheriff of Surrey and called to Cromwell's 'House of Lords'.[49]

The *Catherine Wheel* inn and other property were sold to Edward Orpin of Barwick who was a Captain in Colonel Overton's Regiment of Foot. He, like Blackwell, paid partly in cash and partly in debentures.[50]

The estates of those loyal to the King were also forfeit: in October 1651 the estate of Wolley Leigh, Lord of the Manor of Thorpe, was ordered to be sequestered notwithstanding the claim of his widow, Elizabeth, that it was a joint holding. Wolley had died while serving with the King but had wisely taken the precaution of settling his estates on his wife. When Elizabeth was able to produce a certificate proving her deed of jointure dated 6 March 1645, the sequestration was discharged and Elizabeth retained her rightful inheritance.[51]

After the King's death in 1649 Sir Robert Foster compounded for £322 and was allowed to return to his residence at Egham and resume the office of JP on condition that the vicar of Egham, William Reyner, testified that he remained within five miles of his place of abode. He was still a 'suspected' person but in 1656 was granted permission to reoccupy his chambers at Serjeants Inn. His movements were still monitored, however, and he had to inform Major-General Kelsey of any intended return to Egham.[52] Sir John Denham, being heavily in debt, had mortgaged his Egham lands and did not return to the town.[53]

The Rev. William Reyner remained high in favour with the Commonwealth. In 1653 he received a further grant of £50 a year from the Lambeth 'Augmentations of Church Livings' and two years later a further yearly grant of £34 1s. 8d. from the tithes of Farnham. When this amount fell short by £4 1s. 8d. the balance was made up from four Sussex parishes.[54] In 1656 Reyner petitioned Cromwell for a further increase in salary, saying he had laboured in the parish for 40 years, 35 as vicar, and that he had 'nourished up a people who are so earnest for me to stay with them, though I have better offers I dare not leave'. He claimed the living was a bare subsistence for his family.[55] Cromwell directed the Council to grant the petition and Reyner received another £40 a year to provide the parish with an assistant who was to be a 'godly and painfull preacher'. The appointment had to be approved by the 'Commission for the Approbation of Public Preachers'.[56]

The man appointed as Reyner's assistant had impeccable puritan credentials: he was Richard Wavell, born on the Isle of Wight in 1633, the son of a Cromwellian major.[57] Richard soon became one of Reyner's family, marrying Anna Bale, the vicar's step-daughter, in 1658.

The death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, in September 1658 signalled the end of the Commonwealth. Amidst increasing unrest negotiations with Charles II began.

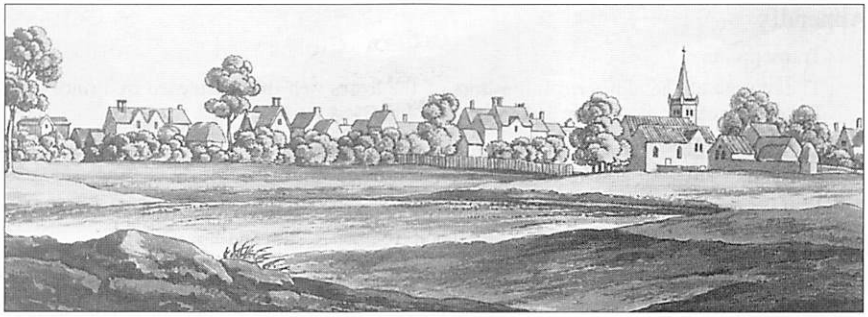

Fig.7 Egham from the south, a watercolour from a drawing by artists travelling through England with Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1669. (Copyright: The Egham Museum Trust.)

6. Restoration of the Monarchy

Charles II was proclaimed King in May 1660 and within a few days landed at Dover: the Commonwealth was over.

In Egham (See Fig. 7) neither William Reyner nor Richard Wavell could in conscience conform to the demands of the new regime. In October 1661 Reyner refused to read Common Prayer or to administer the Sacrament according to the Book of Common Prayer.[58] Not surprisingly both men were ejected under the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Under this Act the Prayer Book was restored and clergy who could not support everything in it were deprived of their livings. Reyner continued to live in Egham cheerfully enough; 'thro' care of Divine Providence was in no want', being supported during this time by occasional legacies from well-wishers. Reyner died in Egham in 1666, 'worth little or nothing', as he claimed, but was still remembered nearly ten years later as a former minister.[59]

Richard Wavell still had relatives by marriage in Egham and still owned a house there in 1675.[60] It is not known, however, how long he remained in the parish after the Restoration. He eventually went to London where he became Pastor of Pinner's Hall, Old Broad Street. He died in Newington in 1705 and is buried in Bunhill Fields near John Bunyan.[61]

Despite the return of a conforming Anglican vicar to Egham in 1662, the puritan influence remained strong in the parish in the 18th century with a Lecturer being regularly appointed by private subscription to provide unequivocal Protestant teaching.[62]

Appendix

Transcription

The returne of the aforesayd Inquisitors of the losses wch they susteyned by Prince Roberts forces in November 1642 when the fight was att Braynford.

Mr Willm Reyner mynister of Egham lost by Prince Roberts forces in bookes Corne hay cattell houshold goods of all sorts to the value of £240-00-00

James Guy of Egham Innholder lost att the same tyme in Corne hay sheepe Cattell bread Cheese butterwine beare wood Tymber & spoyling household goods to the value of £315-13-00

John Geary Innholder lost att the same tyme in hay oates Bread bearemeat & other goods to the value of £118-10-00

Robert Browning Innholder lost att the same tyme in hay Oates bread wine beare wood Seacoles diett & other thinges to the value of £71-00-00

John Tucker lost att the same tyme in sheepe Corne hay & other provicon (provisions?) to the value of £87-10-00

Thomas Milton lost att the same tyme in sheepe corne & hay to the value of £20-00-00

John Lovell lost att the same tyme to the value of £10-00-00

John Stockham lost at the same tyme in Hay Cattell & other goods to the value of £35-00-00

Nicholas Bullen lost att the same tyme in sheepe & other goods to the value of £10-12-00

Phillip Osborne lost att the same tyme in hay Corne sheepe & other goods to the value of £40-15-00

Henry Goodwin lost att the same tyme in wearing clothes pewter sheepe & other goods £4-00-00

Mr Bayle lost att the same tyme in Corne hay horses & other goods to the value of £50-00-00

Richard Stroud lost at the same tyme in Corne bread & other diett to the value of £17-13-00

Thomas Rolfe lost att the same tyme in sheepe Corne Hay & other goods to the value of £30-00-00

John Plumridge lost att the same tyme 60 sheepe to the value of£15-00-00

Thomas Day lost att the same tyme in bread beare & other thinges to the value of £20-00-00

Richard Weekes lost att the same tyme in Malt Barly Poultry sheepe beanes wood bread & beare to the value of £105-00-00

John Fabian lost att the same tyme in sheepe corn & diverse other goods £30-10-00

Mr Samuel Reyner lost att Oxford (he being a student there) in bookes bedding & wearing clothes to the value of £20-00-00

William Kirkham lost when Prince Roberts forces lay att Egham in Hay Oates diett & other things £20-00-00

Thomas Bowling lost att the same tyme in horses sheepe Clothes Corne Hay fre quarte(r) to the value of £10-00-00

Mr Richard Mountayne lost att the same tyme in Corne Hay & household stuffe to the value of £40-00-00

Mr Mountayne lost att the same tyme in bills bonds & other writtings worth £500-00-00

Mr Weekes lost att the same tyme in hay Corne diett & other thinges to the value of £110-00-00

There then follow the signatures of James Guy, William Kirkham, and John Fabian and alongside the following note: 'If in this accompte we fall short of giving that satisfaccon wch is desired wee declare it is because by reason of the residence of the Enemy amongst us wee could not gett soe full an accompte as we did endeavo(ur) divers having for feare burnt their warr(ant) and from others we cannot discov(er) the dates of their warrants' (Transcribed by Ron Davis, July 1992.)

Notes

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26. PRO SP 28/178.

27. PRO SP 28/178.
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32. PRO SP 28/334.
33. PRO SP 28/178.
34. PRO SP 28/178.
35. PRO SP 28/334.
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37. PRO SP 28/126-1 and SP 28/178.
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Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful for the kind assistance of the staff of the Public Record Office, Egham Museum, Surrey History Centre and Surrey Archaeological Society Library. They would also like to thank Jill Williams for notes on the history of Thorpe and the Egham Museum Trust for permission to reproduce their four postcards of Egham.

The Manor and the Feudal Construction of Space

Dennis Turner

The phrase 'the feudal construction of space' may or may not have been coined by Dr Tom Saunders:[1] in any case, it is a useful one. It can stand as encapsulating the topographical aspects of manorialism or the impact of feudalism on the landscape in particular, the impact of landlords who reordered the landscape and lives of their feudal tenants.

The word 'manor' first appeared in England soon after the Norman conquest and *manerium* is found in Domesday Book as an alternative to vill. There are, perhaps, few subjects in local history so surrounded by confusion as the manor but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, this essay is offered in the context of the current discussions of village formation in Surrey.[2]

Some confusion surrounding the manor is to some extent excusable, for it can reasonably be claimed that there is indeed little that is simple about the subject. As Prof. Paul Harvey explained twenty years ago:[3]

> From the start [the word manor] had two distinct but closely related meanings. It could be the residence of someone who had a claim to belong to at least the middle range of the landholding classes. This was clearly its primary meaning: it derives from the Latin *manere*, to remain, and is related to the English mansion, the French *maison*. And it is a meaning that it has continued to bear from that day to this when we speak today of a manor, the picture that comes to mind is the large house of a well to do country gentleman ...
>
> But much more often in medieval England [the term] 'manor' meant a single administrative unit of a landed estate, whether or not it contained a residence of the holder. Already in 1086 the instructions for collecting the information for Domesday Book assumed that the whole country was divided into territorial units, each held of the *king* by one landlord, the lord of the manor. (In the Surrey folios of Domesday Book, these are referred to as vills which can normally be taken as equating to

> manors.) A very large estate (which would often be called an honour) might contain a hundred or more of these units; a small one might consist of a single manor. The compilers of Domesday Book had some difficulty in applying their instructions, and they classed as manors landed properties that were very varied in size, value and structure ...

Harvey probably had in mind, in his encapsulation of the territorial manor, the 'unitary' Midland type: he made no discussion of the 'multiple estates' found in the Celtic west and elsewhere. In 1933 J.E.A. Jolliffe had considered the Kentish version of that phenomenon at some length, without using the term. Two years later Jolliffe referred to the 'federate manor', an estate composed of several village units, not necessarily contiguous, i.e. what F.W. Maitland had earlier called an 'integral estate'.[4] Jolliffe saw the ultimate origin of this manorial form to have been the federative unit of the 'folk', which was at times fossilised in a 'soke', i.e. *folkright* over *folkland* under private or royal lordship.

T.H. Aston proposed that most settlements had been created by the dependants and followers of one man.[5] Apparently this primary settler was seen by Aston much as the free peasant landowner of Maitland and Vinogradoff, 'owning the land which supported him, though farming it in association with his fellows, and responsible to no authority below the king for his breaking of local customs' and whose descent into villeinage was advanced by Sir Frank Stenton. However, there are wide differences between Stenton's view of early medieval rural history and the results of Finberg's work on charters, Jones' study of the multiple estate and Aston's own search for manorial origins. Peter Sawyer[6] argued convincingly that the historical debate had been ill-founded: shortage of evidence had led historians to ignore topographical aspects and to believe that there had been only minimal development of the Anglo-Saxon countryside. He documented the amount and nature of the tribute coming from the land to suggest that in many places the Saxon estates 'were already being fully exploited in the 7th century'. He questioned the extent of the shift to an arable economy, noting the presence in the early documents of substantial cereal as well as pastoral products. Rejecting the presumption of largely unsettled areas that appear in most historical geographies for the early medieval period written before 1970, Sawyer emphasised the unreliability of Domesday Book as a guide to one 11th-century settlement. While it had long been accepted that the Domesday surveyors did not list minor settlements separately, treating them as integral to the manor to which they had been attached, but the implications of this had been widely ignored.

Evidence for Aston's primary stage had been obscured by the 'discrete estate' (a confusing nomenclature), a landholding 'covering more than one significant settlement' identical with Jolliffe's 'federate manor'. Declaring that 'the structural variations in the cells of discrete estates, even in the cells of one estate, are of the utmost importance in manorial history', Aston speculated that the discrete estate was part of an original pattern, but the subsequent process of creating and dissolving those units helped to destroy the 'unity of lordship and settlement' that was the basis of the primitive estate.

Aston also suggested that the outlying lands such as *berewicks* (narrowly translated by Aston as 'barley farms') had little or no demesne and were similar to the *coloni* settlements dependent upon late Roman villa estates.[7] Aston subsequently refined his theory and concluded[8] that 'the variated [*sic*] social and agrarian landscape' resulted from the multiple effects of the late Saxon expansion of settlement.

In 1961 Glanville Jones, an historical geographer, introduced the term 'multiple estate' (seemingly identical to Aston's 'discrete estate' and Jolliffe's 'federate manor'). Jones, emphasising administrative continuity, contended that the 'multiple estate', with a principal settlement and a number of dependent ones, had the same organisation as the Welsh *maenor.* Jones agreed with Aston's view of the original servile condition of the Anglo-Saxon peasant but he asserted that the setting was not that of an integrated unit where a lord's-ingas group of dependents worked a single estate from a single village. He proposed that the Celtic, pre-Saxon multiple estate, with its scattered bond hamlets, gave explanation enough for the servile conditions that Aston had found in the early manor. Jones saw in Sussex and Wiltshire pre-Saxon multiple estates, which he located in the documents or inferred from late medieval hundredal centres. These landholdings, Jones further claimed, had developed the range of local resources to the point where the lands each controlled would have included a mixture of all available topographical and vegetative types.[9]

In 1966, E. Miller ascribed multiple estates to a form of social organisation that was alive and developing throughout England and during the whole Anglo-Saxon period. He pointed out that, while some 'federations' appear in the very earliest sources, others were being built up at various dates between the eighth and 11th centuries. He saw these developments as economic and linked to the production of renders in kind (food rents).[10]

The different approaches of Jones and Miller should not prevent us from seeing the multiple estates as a single phenomenon. John Blair has

rightly warned of the risk of seeing the multiple estate as universal but has equally demonstrated that such estates did exist in Surrey.[11] English and Turner have further discussed aspects of the multiple estates in the Blackheath Hundred.[12] To return to Harvey, he continues:

> [The variability of the manor] does not mean that we should envisage (as the Domesday instructions seem to have envisaged) the whole of medieval England [as being] divided into neat manorial units like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, just as it was divided into ecclesiastical parishes. Manors might overlap so that a single area lay within more than one manor ... Ultimately, all land in medieval England was held of the king, but [the] several levels of tenure (and thus several overlapping manors) might intervene between the Crown and the local manorial lord.

It is far from clear that the Domesday Survey recorded all the land but it is sufficient to see the norm as a situation where any given settlement or piece of land belonged to one manor or none and that individual manors can be members of larger estates.

Traditional documentary historians were fully aware of the varied nature of medieval manors but, with the current vogue for rather personalised local history, many will have studied only their own village or parish and will have concentrated on the more recent centuries. Consequently, many local historians may not be as conscious as they might be of the wide variations that existed between manors even within a single county. It is, however, only necessary to turn the pages of Manning and Bray or the *Victoria County History*, which are crammed with manorial descents, and to read the medieval paragraphs, to learn about the wide range of size, wealth and status of estates being called manors.

Few manors consisted of a single contiguous stretch of land. As time passed and sub-infeudation (i.e. a grant of land to a feudal sub-tenant in return for services) took place, complex patterns developed by division, amalgamation and land transfer. Cobham parish, for example, came to include the manors of Cobham; Dune, Doune or Downe (hence modern Downside); Northwood; Ham; and the reputed manor of Heywood. The two chief manors were those of Cobham and Downe, both of which were held by Chertsey Abbey: Cobham was held in demesne, Downe was in the hands of a feudal sub-tenant from at least the time of King John. These two manors comprised separate adjoining areas of land. Northwood was an island of land within Cobham Manor, belonging to Esher at the time of Domesday; Ham was a series of smaller islands, including islands in other parishes.

Manors not only varied greatly in physical extent, but also in population and function. They might be held by laymen, clerks or corporate bodies; they might be the holder's main estate or part of a much larger honour. They did not always have a resident lord. The circumstances of individual manors or blocks of manors could change with time. It is thus hardly surprising that the manor houses attached to them also varied greatly in size and function.[13]

A tenant in chief, who held land from the King, could deal with his manor in one of three ways: he could make a grant of it to a feudal subtenant in return for services; he could lease (farm) it to a sub-tenant for a negotiated rent; or he could work the manor directly for his own profit through a bailiff or steward. Some manors, particularly those belonging to the King, also received income from the territorial courts. But the manor might pass by sale, gift or inheritance from one tenant in chief to another: and it might be leased out for different periods to different sub-tenants. If a tenant in chief chose to grant a manor to someone else, he ceased to be the immediate lord, and accordingly surrendered his right to arrange or receive the rent and other revenues accruing to the estate, whereas if he leased out the manor in question, he retained both the lordship and the power to negotiate its lease from time to time.[14]

Strictly speaking, a manor should be defined as an estate created before 30 November 1290, when the provisions of 'Quia Emptores' came into force, and which met a number of other requirements. The statute 'Quia Emptores' forbade any further sub-infeudation but gave to tenants complete liberty of substituting new tenants in their place.[15] The estate must have been held in 'fee' or 'socage' (obscure though these terms may seem) and be called a manor in contemporary sources. Later, possibly not until the 15th century, the term 'manor' acquired a third meaning: a piece of landed property with enough tenants to justify the landlord exercising rights of jurisdiction in a private court.[16]

In reality, these are often impracticably legalistic ways of looking at the manor. It is frequently difficult or even impossible to establish what the population levels were or whether courts were held. Many medieval estates, such as Chaldon among others in Surrey, probably lacked sufficient tenants to justify holding courts. Numerous accumulations of freehold land in the 14th and 15th centuries that were being called manors by the 16th need not offend our sensibilities, whether or not there is evidence of a court although we might reasonably, if slightly pedantically,

insert the qualifier 'reputed'. We can, perhaps, accept as a 'manor' any estate large enough to have tenants over whose lives the tenant in chief has a large measure of control and where feudalism was the probable mechanism of that control, however much it has been obscured by the mists of time. Eric Klingelhöfer,[17] in discussing pre-feudal estates for which he chose to use the term 'early manors', usefully predicated that 'the early manor is defined territorially as the land of one or more family's farming units, control over which was in the hands of one man or institution, the lord, and upon which the exploitation of resources was organized'. This would seem to be a satisfactory concept to carry through into feudal times and one that is close to common usage.

In Surrey, a number of the estates later recognisable as manors emerge into the dim light of documentary history before the Norman Conquest. The county lacks the comparatively rich documentation of, for example, parts of Hampshire but Surrey manors can be recognised in a handful of largely 10th-century charters issued by the King to laymen: charters like the well known one of 947 granting the lands of Merstham.[18] Several grants to ecclesiastical bodies such as Chertsey and Westminster abbeys go back further (albeit frequently with suspect title) but cannot with certainty be taken as the same kind of tenure, at least to begin with.[19] The 10th-century land grants by the Anglo-Saxon kings can be seen as part of a system that was well on the way to feudalism. In the Domesday Survey we have a comprehensive (if not always comprehensible) overview at a specific moment after the feudal system had become firmly established in England.

There are many works explaining feudalism but Philip Grierson's translation of F.L. Ganshof's *Feudalism* remains one of the more useful and accessible. Ganshof (Professor Emeritus of the University of Ghent) dealt principally with feudalism in Germany and France between the Rhine and the Loire but, in doing so, provided excellent background to the English position, on which he also had much to say that remains relevant. He defined feudalism as comprising:[20]

> a development pushed to extremes of the element of personal dependence [vassalage and benefice] in society, with a specialized military class occupying the highest levels in the social scale; an extreme subdivision of the rights of real property; a graded system of rights over land created by this subdivision and corresponding in broad outline to the grades of personal dependence just referred to; and a dispersal of political authority among a hierarchy of persons who exercise in their own interest powers normally attributed to the State and which are often, in fact, derived from its break up.

Ganshof had no hesitation in seeing feudalism in the post-Carolingian world as early as the 10th century and even argued that the origins of medieval feudalism must be sought long before that, in the Frankish kingdom of the Merovingians. He provided a daunting bibliography of French and German sources to support his case.

The impact of feudalism is a vexed question but it is important, in the context of village creation, to revisit the problem. Dryers encapsulated that

> Lords lived a life of comparative leisure and comfort because they drew their income from the work of the rest of society. Their main interest in the peasants lay in gaining rents and services from them; this meant that they had some influence over many aspects of peasant life [but] this influence stopped a long way short of total dictatorial control of daily life.

However, feudal lords were not themselves free agents. They owed a variety of dues to their own feudal superior and ultimately to the Crown. They were expected by the King to levy an income from their estates 'not just for their own leisure and comfort', as Dyer put it, but to meet their feudal dues. Their incomes came either from charges (including rent) on their tenants or from the profits of demesne farming. Feudal rents were raised through extra economic forms of coercion, a necessary structural relationship defining feudalism. As Saunders has pointed out, while the peasants remained in partial control of the land, and consequently of their own means of subsistence, the extraction of rent had to avoid interference with that subsistence production or the whole edifice would collapse.[22] The feudal lords had to rely on judicial powers, political coercion, or physical force to appropriate the surplus of peasant families as rent. The particular form of this extra economic power varied over the centuries and from place to place but it was normally in the lord's interest to improve the efficiency of peasant agriculture and thus to enlarge the peasant's surplus.

Hence, in order that the lords might extract rents from the peasants, they had to hold judicial and fiscal rights over the defined units, their private estates or manors, subject only to the final power of the Crown. In other words, the lord had effectively to 'own' the land. This can be seen as a further defining element of feudalism. Ganshof,[23] writing at the height of the 'Cold War', was scathing about 'the way in which the word [feudalism] is used by historians ... behind the Iron Curtain' but English speaking academic Marxist historians have recently sharpened our appreciation of the socio-economic aspects of feudal control in this country, as Saunders has demonstrated.[24]

Marxist economic historians have been taken to task for their excessive concentration on the means of production, whatever period they are studying[25] but, nevertheless, non- or even anti-Marxists should have little difficulty in agreeing that control of the means of production was a fundamental aspect of feudal society. More feudal service was involved with production than was concerned with military obligation.

Thus the feudal mode of production had its material basis in agrarian societies: societies in which the overwhelming majority of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the land. Such cultivation was primarily for subsistence but it also needed to produce a surplus that could be converted into the service produce or cash rent that was essential for the system to function. Critically, the extraction of this surplus by direct and individual methods distinguishes feudalism from other agrarian based models of production.[26]

Consequently, as we can see, the feudal framework was tied to the land, to space. The historical geographer, Dr Robert Dodgshon,[27] encapsulated the argument when he wrote that under feudalism, spatial order became socially regulated. Far from being an unintended side effect, this structuring of relations in space [is] part of the very essence of feudalism.

Once the feudal or pre-feudal lord obtained judicial rights to collect the food rents (renders in kind) that may previously have been rendered to the king,[28] his economic power over the peasants within his 'manor' became important. The lord was able and motivated to invest his resources into rearranging the relationship between himself and his peasantry in his favour.[29] He was able to improve productivity and increase rent by encouraging regulated open-field agriculture based on nucleated villages and, according to the currently favoured model, many lords chose to do so. Dodgshon again, seemingly with a backward glance at a long lost 'era of the folk':[30]

> For the peasantry, feudal space *became* [my emphasis] bounded space. It was no longer a world of boundless or unlimited opportunities to be colonized when the need arose. For each and all, it was a world delimited by the land assessment imposed on the settlement. In effect, the landscape became divided into a chequerboard on which occupation was legitimized in some spaces but not others.

Nevertheless, most historians would agree that the manorial lords were able to exercise only an intermittent and imperfect control over their tenants.

As Saunders has also explained, the feudal ruling class was fragmented by the system: individual lords were separated from each other by their

very ownership of often awkwardly intermingled private estates. On the other hand, this fragmentation exerted a structural pressure for the integration of lordship at a political level, helping to give the feudal ruling class social coherence. This structural tendency expressed itself in a whole variety of historically specific forms, but particularly through the legal entities of the manor and state. Turning briefly to the state, it can be noted that 'the main inhibition on feudal power lay in the inefficiency of medieval government at all levels'.[31] An inefficiency which subsequent centuries and different forms of government have signally, and perhaps fortunately, failed to eliminate.

In summary, while on the one hand the fragmentation of land and the creation of regulated space were linked to the build up of the state, on the other hand it was frequently in the interest of the local lord to maximise rent by increasing the efficiency of production. The manorial lord's rising power over the peasantry allowed him to encourage the creation or re ordering of a village and the regulation of its field system in order to do this.[32] The advantages to the peasantry itself, and not just to the lord, may have become generally apparent and may have led some communities where there was only loose feudal control to undertake reorganisation on their own behalf. This is, however, extremely difficult to establish.[33]

Notes

1. Saunders, 1990.
2. Turner, 2001; in press; Shere, Gomshall and Peaslake Local History, Soc 2001; Williams 2002; Abdy in prep.
3. Harvey, 1984, 12.
4. Jolliffe, 1935, 15, 18. Views on the antiquity of the nucleated village have changed since Jolliffe's day. Sawyer (1976), for example, challenged the view of the static medieval village: the permanence of rural habitation has become a less than viable view following the archaeological evidence that villages would change not only their names, but also their locations (cf. Turner, 2001 with bibliography).
5. Aston, 1958.
6. Sawyer, 1974; 1976.
7. Aston, 1958, 76-7: today *berewick* might be translated a little more broadly.
8. Aston, 1983, 42.
9. cf. Jones, 1976.
10. In summarising the historiography of the multiple estate, I have borrowed heavily from the first chapter of Klingelhöfer's monograph (1992).
11. Blair, 1991, 24ff.
12. English and Turner, in press.
13. cf. Cooper and Majerus, 1990, and many similar texts.
14. Lennard, 1959, ch.7.
15. Stubbs, 1948, 473-4.
16. Harvey, 1984, 2.
17. Klingelhöfer, 1992, 1.

18. Gelling 1979, no. 327.
19. cf. Blair 1991, *passim*.
20. Ganshof 1964, xv.
21. Dyer 1985, 27.
22. Saunders 1990, 184.
23. Ganshof 1964, xv.
24. Saunders 1990, 184-7.
25. e.g. Pospisil 1995, 1.
26. Hindess and Hirst 1975, 183-93; Saunders 1990, 184.
27. Dodgshon 1987, 186, quoted by Saunders.
28. Jolliffe 1954, ch. 1; etc.
29. cf. Sawyer 1979.
30. Dodgshon 1981, 192; Jolliffe 1954.
31. Dyer 1985, 27.
32. Turner in press.
33. This essay is inevitably only a brief and highly selective approach to a complex subject. Readers in search of greater understanding are recommended to read as a starting point Klingelhöfer's monograph, *Manor, Vill and Hundred* (1992). Anyone who diligently pursues Klingelhöfer's clearly stated sources would become especially well read in the subject: but, perhaps fortunately, scholarship never stands still and the last decade or so has seen a great expansion of the literature on topographical aspects (see, e.g., the post-1990 items in the bibliographies of Turner 2001 and in press).

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General James Edward Oglethorpe

MP for Haslemere and founder of the Colony of Georgia in America – humanitarian, legislator, administrator and soldier

By Richard Muir
Haslemere Educational Museum

Dr Samuel Johnson to General James Oglethorpe at dinner in London on Monday 10 April 1775:

> I know no man whose life would be more interesting [than yours]. If I were furnished with materials, I should be very glad to write it.

James Boswell on General Oglethorpe:

> This extraordinary man was as remarkable for his learning and taste as for his other eminent qualities, and no man was more prompt, active and generous in encouraging merit.

James Edward Oglethorpe was born in London on 22 December 1696 and was baptised the following day in the church of St Martin in the Fields by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was the tenth and youngest child of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, a soldier and staunch supporter of the Stuart dynasty, and his wife Eleanor Wall, an official at the Royal Court.

James spent his childhood at his parents' country home, Westbrook (now the Meath Home) near Godalming in Surrey, and was educated at Eton, Corpus Christi College Oxford and at a military academy in Paris. His education as a soldier was completed by an attachment to Prince Eugene of Savoy in a campaign against the Turks. He was present at the battle for Belgrade in 1717 where he was commended for his bravery.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe bought Westbrook House and manor in 1688. The ownership confirmed some parliamentary election influence in the nearby Borough of Haslemere and in due course he was elected to Parliament as one of that town's members. He died in 1702 and was followed in the family seat by his eldest surviving son, Lewis, who died in 1704 as a result of wounds received in Marlborough's campaigns, and then by Theophilus Junior who had to leave the country as a result of his political affiliations.

By 1722 James was in possession of Westbrook and was elected to Parliament for the 'family' parliamentary seat of Haslemere. He became involved in a number of humanitarian issues culminating in appointment to the chair of a Parliamentary Committee looking into conditions in the gaols. He became interested in the welfare of prisoners when a friend of his, Robert Castell, was imprisoned for debt and, being unable to bribe his gaolers, was put into a common cell with prisoners suffering from smallpox, which he caught and died. The Committee made recommendations for improvements to conditions in the gaols, which were later enacted.

Fig.1 James Edward Oglethorpe in about 1742 when he was Commander in Chief of the King's forces in South Carolina and Georgia.

As a result of his experiences with the Gaol Committee Oglethorpe became interested in the welfare of the poor and, when a group of gentlemen obtained a charter for the founding of a new colony in America, he joined them as a Trustee. This would provide an opportunity for the worthy poor to remake their lives. A site to the south of the Carolinas was chosen. As well as the humanitarian objective the new colony would establish a buffer between the established colonies to the north and the Spanish and French settlements to the south and west. Indeed this latter aim became the principal reason for establishing the new settlement. The official charter to establish the colony, to be called Georgia in honour of the King, was signed by George II on 21 April 1732.

The first group of settlers, comprising a cross section of society but no released convicted debtors, set sail for America on the ship *Anne* in November 1732. James Oglethorpe sailed with them and as the only Trustee to do so was the *de facto* leader of the group and of the new colony. After first calling at Charleston in South Carolina, Oglethorpe arrived at the Savannah River on 17 February 1733, climbed Yamacraw Bluff and selected the site for Savannah. The plan for the town was laid out on a spacious grid pattern, similar to a Roman town, with squares

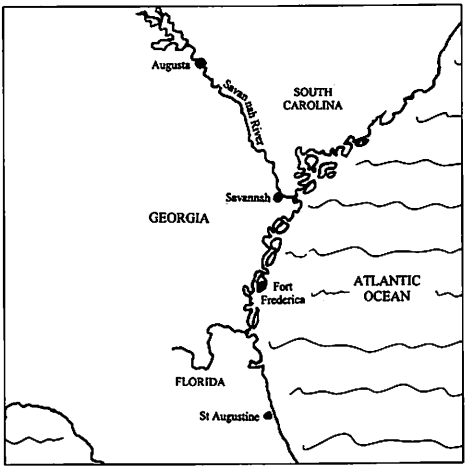

Fig.2 A sketch map of Georgia showing the places mentioned in the text.

at some of the intersections, the first in the Americas to be so designed.

From the first Georgia was governed on a philanthropic and humanitarian basis. Freedom of religion was allowed. For example, a Jewish contingent was permitted to settle in July 1733 and Lutheran Salzburgers arrived in March 1734. Oglethorpe made a particular point of befriending the native Americans and of understanding their customs. He negotiated an agreement with the local Yamacraw Indian Mico, or Chief, Tomochichi and he maintained stable relations with all of the Indian tribes in the area, including the regulation of trade with them. His fair treatment of the Indians saved Georgia from warfare with them, something not achieved by colonies to the north. Regulations introduced for the settlers, partly for military reasons, partly humanitarian, included the banning of black people, either slaves or free, the prohibition of strong liquors and the granting of land to male heirs only.

Oglethorpe and Tomochichi became firm personal friends and when he returned to England in 1734 to consult with his fellow Trustees he took the chief, his wife, his nephew and heir, and six other Yamacraw Indians with him. The arrival of the party caused great excitement in London where the Indians were received by the King and Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury, among many others, and visited all the sights in and around the city. Unfortunately one of them fell ill with smallpox and died. To get them away from London Oglethorpe took them to Godalming where they stayed at the *White Hart Inn.* After their return to the capital they resumed their social round before returning to Georgia.

After his return to the colony Oglethorpe continued to consolidate the settlement. He travelled widely in the interior and in 1736 ordered the founding of Fort Frederica on St Simon's Island in the south and of Augusta on the Savannah River to the north. Fort Frederica was a principal part of the Colony's defences against the Spanish. Augusta had

been a meeting place for Indian traders for many years and became Georgia's most important stronghold in the interior. The two places were named after the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Oglethorpe had brought back to Georgia with him from England the brothers John and Charles Wesley, at that time Church of England ministers, who hoped to convert the Indians to Christianity. However, John became a chaplain at Savannah and Charles was employed as Oglethorpe's secretary at Frederica. Neither had a very successful stay in the colony. Charles left after a short time and John a little later.

Fig.3 James Edward Oglethorpe, at the sale of his friend Samuel Johnson's books, a few weeks before his death in 1785. In April of that year Horace Walpole wrote of Oglethorpe "...he has the activity of youth when compared to me. His eyes, ears, articulation, limbs and memory would suit a boy, if a boy could recollect half a century backwards. His teeth are gone; he is a shadow, and a wrinkled one; but his spirits and his spirit are in full bloom ..." . The general was aged just under 89 at the time.

In late 1736 Oglethorpe again left Georgia for London. Relations between Spain and Britain were deteriorating and he feared a Spanish attack. When he returned to the colony it was as commander in chief of all the British forces in South Carolina and Georgia and he brought with him a regiment of soldiers. From now on most of his time was occupied with military affairs and he was in Frederica more often than Savannah.

In 1739 the long expected war with Spain, the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear, broke out. The following year Oglethorpe led an unsuccessful campaign to capture the Spanish town of St Augustine in Florida. In 1742 the Spanish attacked Georgia but were soundly defeated by Oglethorpe's forces at the Battle of Bloody Marsh on St Simon's Island near Fort Frederica. Although not a major battle in military terms – there were few casualties on either side – it was a victory of major political importance – the Spanish never again attacked the British Colonies. Oglethorpe was hailed as the saviour of the King's possessions in America.

Oglethorpe, by now a general, left Georgia for England in 1743. As it happened he never returned to America again. He was received in London as a hero but a dissident officer had made accusations against him and he had to face a Court Martial. In May 1744 he was vindicated of all the charges. Administering a colony had been expensive and Oglethorpe had used much of his own money, some of it raised by borrowing, using Westbrook as collateral. In the same week as he was acquitted Parliament voted to reimburse him for most of his out of pocket expenses. Later that year he married in Westminster Abbey Elizabeth Wright, an heiress from Cranham in Essex. They spent their honeymoon at Westbrook but thereafter they never lived in the house, spending their time between their London house and Cranham Hall, Elizabeth's family home.

In 1745 Oglethorpe was still intending to return to Georgia and with this in mind he raised a regiment of Rangers to strengthen the garrison there. However in July of that year Prince Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', the Young Pretender, landed in Scotland and the '45' Rebellion started. Oglethorpe was ordered north with his regiment and other troops to join the army of the younger son of the King, the Duke of Cumberland ('Butcher' Cumberland), the royal commander in chief. During Prince Charles' retreat Oglethorpe was ordered to cut off the rebel army at Shap. This he failed to do, his troops were tired and his horses needed forage, and he was accused of disobedience. In September 1746 he faced another, much more serious, Court Martial. Again he was acquitted but, although he was promoted to major general, he was never again employed by the Crown or given an official appointment. Cumberland never forgave him, suspecting him of disloyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty – his father had been a strong supporter of the Stuarts and his sisters still were – a charge that was in fact quite untrue.

Until 1765, when the Duke of Cumberland died, he remained out of the public eye. For a while he travelled incognito in Europe and served as a volunteer in the Prussian Army during the Seven Years War on the staff of Field Marshal James Keith, a friend from his days at the Paris Military Academy. He was at Keith's side in 1758 when the Field Marshal was killed at the Battle of Hochkirch.

All the time James Oglethorpe was founding and governing Georgia, fighting the Spanish and running into trouble during the '45' he remained a Member of Parliament for Haslemere. Indeed after his initial election in 1722 he was successful in the elections of 1727, 1734, 1741 and 1747.

He lost his seat in an election of doubtful honesty in 1754 and, although he stood again both in Haslemere and for another constituency, he never again served in Parliament. During these years he was involved in trying to improve the lot of British seamen and, as an executor and trustee of the will of Hans Sloane, in the founding of the British Museum as a national institution.

Oglethorpe's retirement years were spent in London; latterly his home was in Grosvenor Street, and at Cranham. His wide circle of friends included many in the arts and literary world, including Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund Burke, David Garrick, Joshua Reynolds and, especially, Dr Samuel Johnson and his biographer James Boswell. The latter frequently mentions Oglethorpe in his writings. In 1785 John Adams was appointed the first minister from the newly independent United States of America to the Court of St James. As the only surviving founder of one of the original 13 colonies, Oglethorpe called on Adams. Soon after the minister returned the call.

Later in 1785 James Edward Oglethorpe fell ill and on 30 June, six months short of his 89th birthday and, by then the senior general in the British army, he died at his Essex home. He is buried in a vault, together with his wife who died two years later, beneath the chancel of All Saints parish church in Cranham. There is a large memorial plaque to him on the south wall of the chancel.

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The only major work on Oglethorpe published in Britain is *James Edward Oglethorpe, imperial idealist* by Amos Aschbach Ettinger (OUP, 1936). Although slightly out of date, this is still the most comprehensive story of his life and times published on either side of the Atlantic. It is particularly strong on references to original sources.

The following is a very brief selection of works recently published in the USA:

1. Mills Lane (Ed.), *General Oglethorpe's Georgia – Colonial letters 1733-1743* (Beehive Press, Savannah, 1975, reprinted 1990)
2. Edward J. Cashin (Ed.), *Setting out to begin a new world. Colonial Georgia, a documentary history* (Beehive Press, Savannah, 1995)
3. Phinizy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson (Eds.), *Oglethorpe in perspective – Georgia's founder after two hundred years* (University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 1985)
4. Phinizy Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1984)
5. John C. Inscoe (Ed.), *James Edward Oglethorpe – New perspectives on his life and legacy, a Tercentenary Commemoration* (Georgia Historical Society, 1997)

From time to time there are articles on Oglethorpe and his times in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, the journal of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. Godalming Museum's library contains a very comprehensive collection of books on Oglethorpe and on Georgia.

Surrey History Centre

Accessions of Records and Cataloguing Projects in 2002

Michael Page and Isabel Sullivan

During the course of 2002, Surrey History Centre received 221 accessions of records from a huge variety of organisations and individuals. We are very grateful to all those who have assisted in the preservation of so many facets of the county's history. Some of the highlights are described below and we have also taken the opportunity to inform readers of our ongoing work to improve access to some of our major collections.

The More-Molyneux Family of Loseley

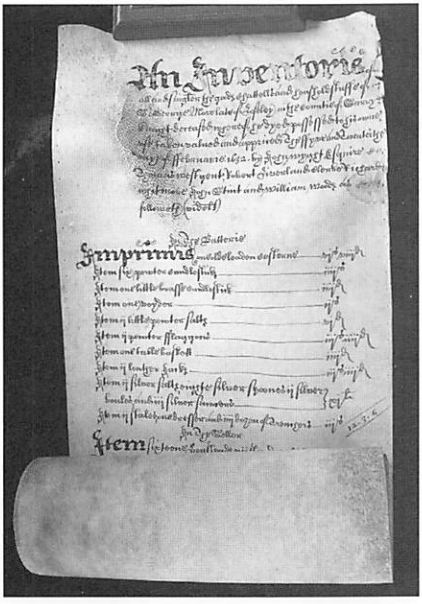
We were delighted to receive a further deposit of records from the More-Molyneux family of Loseley. This new deposit reflects the family's more recent business ventures and contains material relating to Loseley Park Farms, Loseley Dairy Products and Guildway Ltd (manufacturers of timber-framed buildings). It also includes the first instalment of Major James More-Molyneux's reminiscences of his service in the Far East in the Second World War.

We have also been devoting much time and energy to a radical overhaul of our existing catalogues of the family's extraordinary archive which dates back to the 12th century and is an unrivalled source, in particular for the government of Surrey in the reign of Elizabeth I. It is hard to overstate the richness and significance of this wonderful set of records but would-be users hitherto have been hampered by the confused arrangement of the main catalogue and by the fact that so many of the choicest items were bound in a somewhat arbitrary fashion into a series of volumes by William Bray, the antiquary, and were not included in the main catalogue at all. We have completely rearranged, and in many instances redescribed, the papers included in this catalogue (ref LM) which is now accessible and searchable online via the National Archives'

'Access to Archives' website (http://www.a2a.pro.gov.uk). We are also in the process of putting descriptions of all the bound and loose letters (refs 6729 and LM/COR) for the period up to 1688 (around 2,500 items) onto an Access database which will allow the letters to be searched by author, recipient, subject and date and will enable researchers once again to view together descriptions of letters relating to the same event which have, through the vicissitudes the archive has undergone, been long separated physically. This endeavour has only been feasible because for many years a team of volunteers, now represented by Joyce Kent and Anne Bowey, has been meticulously transcribing and calendaring all the correspondence, a labour all the more remarkable considering the execrable handwriting of many of the correspondents.

In the 16th century, the More family held almost every local office available to them at one time or another, serving as sheriffs, justices of the peace, ulnagers (responsible for checking the quality of cloth), forest officials, vice-admirals, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for taxes, commissioners to investigate recusants and Jesuits ... (the list goes on and on), and, almost uniquely, appear to have retained the papers they accumulated relating to each of these offices. Four letters testify to the brief, tragic reign of Lady Jane Grey, from her entry into the Tower as 'rightful queen of this realm' on 11 July 1553 to the desertion of droves of her noble supporters on 19 July, who now condemn her as this 'Queen of a new and pretty invention'. One can observe Sir William More hearing complaints against the curate of West Horsley for wearing 'a pair of Venetian hose with five guards of velvet upon every flop and four silk laces upon every guard and cut between', for frequenting 'houses where dwell suspected women as for example Dorys in Guildford', for planning to elope to the West Country with a married woman from Merrow, and for being a 'filthy talker'. The frantic preparations to resist the anticipated landing of the crack Spanish infantry in 1588 are graphically illustrated as are the heavy-handed efforts used to persuade people to subscribe to the lottery of 1567 (the lack of enthusiasm is threateningly ascribed to 'some sinister dissuasions of some not well disposed persons'). In 1572 the Bishop of Winchester asks William More if he knows of a good dentist, 'skilled in the trimming and stopping of teeth'; in 1576 the Countess of Lincoln prescribes a potion containing scrapings of unicorn horn in a futile attempt to cure More's son-in-law, Richard Polsted.

It is hoped that the database of correspondence will be freely available to visitors to the Centre by the middle of 2004 but even in its unfinished



Probate inventory of the goods of Sir George More of Loseley, 1633, a transcript of which exists in the newly-deposited set of transcripts prepared by the Domestic Buildings Research Group. Beginning with the buttery, kitchen, cellar, larders, stillhouse and mash house, and moving on to bed chambers, study, galleries and the schoolroom, material goods of all kinds are listed and valued, from 'damask towels' in the hall chamber to 'dung around the gate'. The inventory (1.65 metres long) gives a total valuation of £202 4d. SHC ref LM/1105.

state it provides a powerful research tool and anyone wishing to use it is welcome to ask a member of staff.

'Goods and Chattels': Probate Inventories

We were also delighted to receive from the Domestic Buildings Research Group a wonderful set of transcripts and some photocopies of Surrey probate inventories of the 16th-19th centuries (ref Z/378). Such inventories, which provide costed lists of furnishings and other possessions, were drawn up as part of the process whereby a deceased person's will was proved, and they have survived among the records of the various probate courts and in private accumulations of family papers. The transcripts were made from original documents by Miss Marion Herridge and volunteers from the Group, who visited seven record offices and libraries holding probate inventories. Nearly 6,000 inventories were located and listed and, of these, 1,655 were transcribed. The material was then collected and arranged by Miss Joan Holman, who compiled the place and name index to the probate inventories which was published by the Domestic Buildings Research Group (Surrey) in 1986. The inventories provide an invaluable source for the domestic surroundings and standard of living of a cross-section of Surrey society, from saddlers and shoemakers to merchants, knights and earls. They provide the opportunity to peer into a whole range of buildings, from an artisan's humble house and workshop in Southwark to the many chambers of Sir George More's (d.1632) mansion at Loseley. The transcripts have been grouped by parish, but it is hoped to prepare an electronic index to allow more flexible searching.

Caring for the People of Surrey

Ongoing NHS restructuring and the closure of the large mental hospitals have together meant that records of hospitals and health bodies have been arriving in formidable quantities for several years now. 2002 has been no different in this respect, but several of the accessions have been noteworthy for different reasons.

The deposit of a sample of patient case files from Brookwood Hospital, Woking (ref 7173), founded as the second Surrey County Asylum in 1867, means that our holdings of records of this huge institution (it housed 1,753 patients in 1938), are as complete as they are ever likely to be. We were fortunate in the same year to obtain a grant from the Wellcome Trust and The British Library, under the Reseach Resources in Medical History funding programme, for the amalgamation and cataloguing of the four earlier deposits of records of the hospital. This project has just reached completion and the resulting integrated catalogue (over 200 pages in length) provides a comprehensive overview of the hospital's history from its foundation by Surrey Quarter Sessions, through the half century when it was run by Surrey County Council and its years as part of the National Health Service, to its slow demise and closure in 1994. Every aspect of the hospital's life is documented, allowing researchers to analyse the effect of shifting ideas about treatment of the mentally ill and the impact of such a large institution on the local economy and society.

Several archivists also spent more days than they care to remember sifting through the records of the defunct Mid Surrey Health Authority (ref 7174). The records were stored in an old air-raid shelter in the depths of a former mental hospital and many had suffered from damp and the attention of insects. We selected around ten per cent of the files as worthy of permanent preservation. The records provide a detailed picture of the provision of health services in the Epsom/Leatherhead/ Cobham/Banstead area in the period 1974-96 and permit an insight into the local impact of central government initiatives and of the authority's response to issues such as AIDS, the closure of the Epsom Cluster of mental hospitals and the introduction of self-governing trusts. At the same time we also received on deposit the records of Mid Surrey's successor authority, East Surrey Health Authority (ref 7219), which has itself now been superceded.

Two accessions in particular reflect the situation before the creation of the National Health Service, when private initiative and funding had

a crucial role to play in the provision of health care: 7288 is a travel diary of Thomas Holloway (1800-83), who used the vast fortune he accumulated through the sale of his patent medicines to found Holloway Sanatorium in Virginia Water, Egham, as an asylum for the middle classes; 7234 is the surviving records of Banstead, Burgh Heath and Woodmansterne District Nursing Association, established in 1904 by private subscription to fund a district nurse and midwife.

Finally, mention should also be made of a splendid deposit of records of hospitals in the north-west of the county (ref 7267), hitherto very poorly covered by our holdings. The most significant groups of records relate to Botleys Park Hospital, founded by Surrey County Council in 1932 as a 'colony for mental defectives'; Holloway Sanatorium (including some admission registers and case books); Ottershaw Isolation Hospital which treated infectious diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles and whooping cough; and Weybridge Hospital, Windlesham and Valley End Cottage Hospital and Woking Victoria Hospital.

Fire Engines and Fullers' Earth: Surrey Industry

The records of Dennis Bros Ltd, now Transbus International Dennis, the Guildford-based manufacturers of fire engines and other specialist vehicles, have for many years formed one of our major business archives, and we were delighted to be able to add to this superb collection. A few years ago a number of the company's vehicle photograph albums were rescued from a bonfire in the Midlands and placed in our custody and last year Guildford Museum passed on to us three more albums and three volumes of press cuttings covering the years 1923 to 1951, which had been recovered from a publisher's abandoned premises (ref 7180). The cuttings fill gaps in the company's series of albums which record the national and worldwide impact of Dennis vehicles from 1907. The photograph albums depict Dennis vehicles made in Guildford between the early 1920s and *c.*1939 and, when they have been conserved, will certainly be of great value to motor historians and vehicle restorers. Vehicles illustrated include vans for Schweppes Table Waters, Heal & Sons Ltd and Coxes Mill Milling Company and fire engines for the brigades of Tokyo, Hong Kong, Christ Church, Brisbane and Bangalore.

For the last three years we have also been very fortunate to be able to draw on the enthusiasm and expertise of three past employees of Dennis in a huge project to weed and list the firm's engineering drawings, over half a million in number. The work was begun by the late Nick

Three Dennis buses at once. Publicity photograph of vehicles made by Dennis Bros Ltd of Guildford for the London General Omnibus Co Ltd, 1928. (SHC ref 7180/2/1)

Grenside, curator of the Dennis Museum, and has been continued by John Smith, former managing director, and Bob Bryson, former head of engineering. Plans of permanent historical value are being entered on a database, which, when completed, will be publicly accessible and for the first time permit access to a crucial part of the archives of this innovative company.

Nutfield Local History Group presented the History Centre with further records of Fullers' Earth Union Ltd which became part of the Laporte group in 1954 (ref 7160). For centuries, Nutfield and Redhill had been principal sources of fullers' earth, a vital ingredient in the cloth making process, and various quarry works were in operation before they amalgamated in 1890 as Fullers' Earth Union Ltd, which employed 780 people at Redhill in 1954.

The material in this collection was accumulated by a former employee and is an important research source as the main series of records of the company suffered serious fire and water damage from a fire which destroyed the records store at Redhill in 1982. Some records were salvaged but most of these are badly fire-damaged and unfit to be consulted. Perhaps the most interesting part of the new collection is the photographs dating from 1932 to 1982, which depict the buildings, quarries, processes and employees at the various quarries around Nutfield and Redhill. They include views of Cockley works and Priory, Paddock, and Beechfield quarries; aerial views of the works; the factory Home Guard unit and

Advertisement for GQ Parachute Company Ltd of Woking, manufacturers of the 'World's finest parachutes'. SHC ref 7143/1/1.

staff photographs over the decades, many of which are individually annotated.

An unusual former Woking company, the prestigious GQ Parachute Company, is now represented in our holdings through the efforts of a former employee, who realised that the company's records had been lost following its relocation to South Wales and accumulated what records he could from ex-colleagues (ref 7143).

The company was established in 1932 in Guildford by Raymond Quilter and James Gregory, who made parachutes to their own designs. By 1934, the business had expanded enough to move to new premises in Woking to accommodate increasing orders from the Air Ministry. During the Second World War, the company designed, developed and manufactured parachute systems and associated equipment for aircrew, paratroops, ordnance and supply dropping for allied forces. In 1953, it became one of two UK enterprises to receive 'Ministry approval' for the design of parachutes and associated equipment and was involved in the development and manufacture of brake and anti-spin parachutes for aircraft, cargo parachutes, ejection seat parachute systems, parachutes

for sonobuoys and torpedoes, and automatic parachute opening devices. In 1963 the GQ Parachute Company was acquired by the RFD Group, and a new company was formed in 1970, RFD-GQ Ltd. In 1987 the RFD Group was taken over by Wardle Storeys plc and in the following year all manufacturing facilities were relocated to the South Wales factory and the Woking plant was closed.

The deposited records are small in quantity but include good sets of advertisements and promotional brochures and photographs of the Woking factory and staff.

Surrey and the Wider World

Two new deposits illustrate increasing multiculturalism in the county after the Second World War, and the concern of local bodies with international issues.

A small collection of the records of Guildford International Council was received (ref 7169), comprising minutes, correspondence, photographs and publicity material. Guildford All Nations Club was founded in 1940 and comprised 'a dozen young refugees, a handful of young soldiers and a few progressive young English men and women', with the intention of encouraging international fellowship and understanding through cultural activities. The Advisory Council of the club was established in 1952 to promote and widen the club's aims, and minutes survive from this date. Correspondence files dating from 1964 to 1986 give a flavour of the attitudes and reactions of individuals as well as an outline of the Council's history. As well as the Guildford International Welcome, a festival of cultural events for foreign students at Surrey University and other young people, the Council's projects included unsuccessful proposals to establish a hostel in Guildford for Hungarian refugees in 1957, involvement in the International Living Organisation, an exchange scheme with American students, and assistance offered to Ugandan Asian refugees in 1973.

On a far larger scale, the archive of Ockenden International, formerly the Ockenden Venture (ref 7155), constitutes a major acquisition for the Centre, and is an important source in particular for the study of the reception of refugees into the United Kingdom from the 1950s to the 1980s. The initial object of this Woking-based charity was to receive small numbers of Eastern European teenagers from post-Second World War displaced persons camps in Germany, and to support them through their secondary education. The project had begun in 1951, when Joyce Pearce OBE persuaded Woking District Council to help support a holiday

Photographs from Ockenden Venture appeal leaflet, *c.*1958, illustrating the contrast between the accommodation of refugee children in the displaced persons camps in West Germany, and their new home in Woking. 'Far removed from the old conception of an institution,' *The Woking Opinion* commented, 'the atmosphere of this sunny house ... is just like any normal English home equipped to house a large family'. (SHC ref 7155.)

for 17 young people based at her sixth form centre Ockenden House, as part of the Festival of Britain. Although the charity remained small in scale and personal in ethos, within a few years world events and the increasing numbers of refugees world wide would lead it to widen both its remit and its scope, first to help children and students outside Europe during the 1960s, then to play a leading role in the admission and resettlement of the Vietnamese Boat People from 1979. The records include minutes, annual reports, correspondence, papers of the founding members, personal files and a large photographic archive, documenting very fully the development of policy, life of the refugees and staff in the Ockenden houses in Woking, Haslemere and elsewhere, and overseas projects in Asia, the Middle East and northern Africa.

Lost and Found

We are often presented with archive and library material found under the most unexpected conditions and it is common for records to lie forgotten in attics and cupboards for many years before being rediscovered. Last year, we received a beautifully illustrated poster, commemorating the life of Pte William Ferdinand Lunn of Pirbright (ref 7206), who was killed in action in France on 23 April 1917. This had somehow made its way to the strongroom of a Bristol school, where it was found.

'In Memoriam' recording the burial in the British Cemetery, Arras, of William Lunn of Pirbright, private in the 1st Battalion The Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment. Lunn's details are pasted into the holly wreath in the centre of the poster. (SHC ref 7206/1.)

Executors who have to clear the homes of elderly or recently deceased relatives have no easy job, but we are always willing to offer help and advice. Last year we received from her nephew some personal papers of Kitty Scott Moncrieff (1899-*c.*1994) of Oxted (7302). Miss Scott Moncrieff was a member of the Crichton Dramatic Club and also worked as a billeting officer during the Second World War, taking in two evacuees. The records include pictures of the drama group at rehearsal in the 1920s; and instructions for possible special evacuation of children and adults, including list of food supplies for 190 evacuees, in March 1943. Material such as this, relating to local societies or *ad hoc* wartime arrangements can seem at first glance to be of little value. However, it offers a fascinating insight into local life which might otherwise be lost.

From even further afield, we received Dr Thomas Spyers' register of admissions to his private schools in London, Weybridge and Aldenham, Herts, 1827-82 (ref 7207). The depositor, who now lives in Australia, is a direct descendant and inherited the book from his mother. Dr Spyers (1805-81) ran a succession of schools for the sons of gentlemen, finally

settling in Weybridge in 1843 where he remained until his death. In 1851, the school had 64 boarding pupils ranging in age from seven to 18 years. Although most of Spyers' pupils came from all parts of England, he also admitted boys from Ireland, Wales, France, St Lucia and Constantinople.

Spyers makes a note in the register of many of his pupils' destinations upon leaving the school. Most go on to enter the army, navy, merchant or Indian service, or an English public school. Some enter the legal profession or are apprenticed as engineers or architects; others leave for Europe or the colonies. Spyers notes that two pupils, who left in 1839 to serve in India, were 'killed in Mutiny'. Another who left for the West Indies in the same year was 'drowned'. Private schools such as that run by Spyers were often ephemeral establishments and records rarely survive.

Many schools are represented in our holdings solely by governors' minutes, log books and admission registers. These formal records provide the bare bones of the history of the school, but provide little sense of its life and activities. Thus we were delighted to receive a complete set of the school magazines of Woking Grammar School for Boys, from the first issue of 1919 to the last which came out before the school closed in 1977. The magazines had been bound by one headmaster, a keen amateur bookbinder, and passed to the depositor by the last headmaster. The magazines chronicled academic and sporting triumphs and disasters and provided an outlet for adolescent creativity and without them, although we would know who attended the school, we would have little feel for what actually went on there.

Sometimes documents are caught at the very threshold of destruction. A worker at a local council's recycling centre rescued the minute book and register of baptisms and marriages of the Salem Baptist Chapel, Park Shot, Richmond (ref 7177). The volume charts the history and membership of this small chapel, which broke away from the Richmond Rehoboth Chapel, from its foundation until 1941, but inserted is a leaflet for the celebration of the chapel's centenary in 1962. Only good fortune and one man's vigilance saved the volume from being entirely lost.

PUBLICATIONS

The Surrey Local History Council 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)

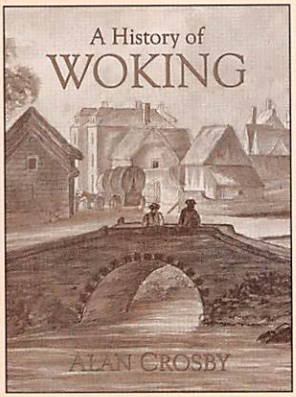
Old Surrey Receipts and Food for Thought
compiled by Daphne Grimm
1991 £3.95

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, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.

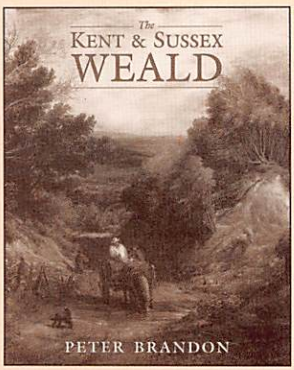


A History of Woking

£20.00

Alan Crosby

Woking, though the largest town in Surrey, is known to many only as a railway junction and might seem to be the archetype of suburban dormitories with no past or any interest. However, this first comprehensive account of its origins and growth shows that Woking, with its associated villages of Byfleet, Horsell and Pyrford, can trace its varied history back over fourteen centuries. Inevitably, the book concentrates on the period since 1800, during which the present town has evolved. The landscape and character of the area at the end of the 18th century are described as a prelude to a fascinating account of the unique new town of the 1870s and its bizarre origin as the speculation of a cemetery company. The author paints a vivid and detailed picture of the conditions that prevailed, often primitive and even squalid, during the vigorous expansion of the late 19th century. A series of institutions, prominent in the development of Woking included Britain's largest cemetery and oldest crematorium, the first mosque in Western Europe and an abortive university. All are given full attention in the author's compelling narrative which carries the history up to the present day.



The Kent & Sussex Weald

£25.00

Peter Brandon

The Wealds of Kent, Surrey and Sussex had detractors over almost all their history but are now regarded as embodying England at its most characteristically delightful. The author explores how places such as Ashdown Forest and wooded west Kent, which were long disliked and even feared, have come to be perceived as jewels of landscape for leisure and recreation. He also traces the unremitting labour of generations of the region's small farmers to clear and settle a great expanse of wild country that has resulted in one of the most notable pieces of man's handiwork in Europe, and which has persisted to an astonishing degree relatively unchanged over a course of some eight centuries or more. This human story began as a saga of man against forest and continued as one of the interaction of man with trees - cared for to provide shipbuilding timber and fuel; to sustain the region's handicrafts; saved from the forester's axe to provide sporting pleasures and planted in pineta, arboreta and 'wild gardens' by Victorian and Edwardian 'nouveaux riches'. This book will enrich the enjoyment of those who reside in the Weald or live in sight of it and is essential reading for those whose interest in it is as landowner, farmer, ecologist, planner, conservationist, councillor or local historian.

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