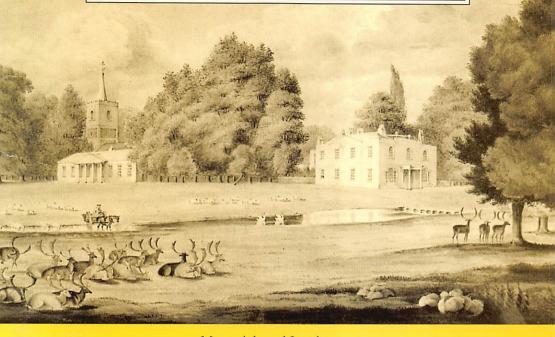
# SURREY HISTORY



Memorials and Landscape

The Town Association of Guildford, Part 1

John Franklin-Adams, Astronomer, 1843-1912

Deer Parks in Surrey in 1892

Surrey in the Great Exhibition

A Note on 'The Manor and the Feudal Construction of Space'

Surrey History Centre Accessions of Records and Cataloguing Projects in 2004

# SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Chairman: Alan Crocker, 6 Burwood Close, Merrow, Guildford, Surrey GU1 2SB

Secretary: Helen Davies, 6 St Omer Road, Guildford, Surrey GU1 2DB Surrey History Editorial Team: Andrew Cornwall, Alan Crocker, Glenys Crocker

The Surrey Local History Committee, which is a committee of the Surrey Archaeological Society, exists to foster an interest in the history of Surrey. It does this 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, architecture, landscape and archaeology.

The meetings organised by the Committee include a one-day autumn Symposium on a local history theme, a half-day spring meeting on a more specialised topic and a summer visit to a particular village or town in Surrey. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time and these are available from bookshops.

Membership of the Surrey Archaeological Society, our parent body, by local history societies will help the Committee to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. Individuals and groups belonging to 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.

Members of the Surrey Archaeological Society receive Surrey History free as part of their membership. Alternatively, copies may be purchased from Surrey History Centre in Woking. Membership enquiries for Surrey Archaeological Society should be made to the Hon. Secretary, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX.

Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intending authors are invited to consult the Hon. Editors for advice before proceeding. They should be sent to Andrew Cornwall, Hon. Editor *Surrey History*, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX.

#### SURREY HISTORY VOLUME VII NUMBER 2

#### Editors:

Andrew Cornwall, Alan Crocker, Glenys Crocker

#### Advisory Committee:

John Janaway, Gerard Moss, Maggie Vaughan-Lewis

Obituary: Ron Davis
Memorials and Landscape  Ann Noyes
The Town Association of Guildford, Part 1  Roger Ottewill
John Franklin-Adams, Astronomer, 1843-1912  Audrey Monk
Deer Parks in Surrey in 1892  Alan Crocker
Surrey in the Great Exhibition by John Howard  Glenys Crocker44
A Note on 'The Manor and the Feudal Construction of Space'  Nigel Saul
Surrey History Centre Accessions of Records and Cataloguing Projects in 2004  Michael Page, Robert Simonson, Margaret Griffiths and Di Stiff 55
Cover illustration:  Painting of Carshalton Park in about 1830 showing the mansion house with deer in the foreground (Courtesy of London Borough of Sutton Local Studies Centre).

Copyright: Surrey Archaeological Society, 2005 ISSN 0309-9342

Published by
PHILLIMORE & CO. LTD
for
SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE

Enquiries for Surrey Archaeological Society should be made to the Hon. Sec., Castle Arch, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3SX

### Ron Davis 1928-2004

It is with great sorrow that we report the death of Ron Davis on 16 December 2004. Ron joined the committee of the Surrey Local History Council (now Committee) in 1977 and for the past 11 years co-ordinated the annual Surrey Local History Symposium at Chertsey Hall. Indeed, on 23 October not only had he managed the symposium but, with his wife Dorothy, had given a stimulating and entertaining talk on 'Local History in the *Windsor and Eton Express*'.

Ron was born in Cotmandene, Dorking, and lived in Surrey for all his life. He was an industrial chemist by profession and spent his whole career working for Shell, at first in their laboratories but later as a chemicals safety officer at the Shell Centre on the South Bank in London. In particular, he was responsible for compiling a safety and handling manual covering all Shell's chemical products world-wide.

He was a great supporter of the Egham-by-Runnymede Historical Society and Egham Museum. He wrote several local history books and articles for *Surrey History* (for example, his paper with Dorothy on 'The Civil War and its

Aftermath: Egham and Thorpe 1642-1675', in volume 6, part 5 (2003), pages 274-92). He was also active in the Youth Hostels Association and in Christ Church, Virginia Water, where a service of thanksgiving for his life was held on 30 December. His passing has been a great loss to all the organisations for which he worked so hard.



The photograph shows Ron and Dorothy with the Egham society's display on land use at the Rural Life Centre, Tilford. This was taken in August 2004 at one of the functions to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Surrey Archaeological Society.

A.G.C.

# MEMORIALS AND LANDSCAPE

#### Ann Noyes

Memorials to those who died in their country's wars are familiar to us in city streets, in town squares, in village churchyards and in abbeys, cathedrals, churches and chapels. Lists of names may be seen at railway stations, hospitals and colleges in honour of fallen colleagues. Apart from the grave of the one 'Unknown Soldier' in Westminster Abbey, each memorial commemorates many men (and occasionally women), from the thousands named on the Menin Gate and the Thiépval Memorial to the few in the smallest village. Tablets commemorating individuals may be found in the churches where their families worshipped, but these are not features in the landscape.

One man aimed to provide a different form of memorial to his two younger brothers who died in the First World War. He left money in his will to the National Trust, to be matched by the Trust and used to buy land or buildings of interest within reach of London. At each site a memorial was to be erected, specified as to size and form, stating its location, followed by details of the two men, their rank, regiment and when and where they died. Eight areas of countryside, four of them in Surrey, and one house in Hackney, East London, are known to have been bought through this bequest. People who are familiar with one memorial, or come across one in the course of a country walk, presume that the family lived locally and owned the property. They do not realise it is one of many such memorials bought from one bequest.

#### The Robertson Family

Four sons were born to William and Mary Elizabeth Robertson, née Grant, between 1872 and 1880. The family home was at Cranley Gardens, South Kensington, and all the boys attended Westminster School. The eldest, William Alexander Robertson, studied at Christ Church College, Oxford, and was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1901; subsequently he served on the North Eastern Circuit. The second son was named Reginald. The two younger sons, Norman and Laurance, were also professional men who, already in their thirties, volunteered for active service in the enthusiasm of the early months of the First World War.

Norman Cairns Robertson was born on 9 January 1876. He joined the Inns of Court Officers Training Corps in 1914 and was commissioned Captain in the 2nd Battalion Hampshire Regiment on 20 February 1915. He was taken prisoner after action near Monchy on 23 April 1917 and he died in a military hospital in Hanover, Germany, in June of that year. He is buried in Hamburg cemetery.<sup>2</sup>

Laurance Grant Robertson was born on 5 May 1877. He qualified as a chartered accountant and worked for the Local Government Board on the District Audit staff. He was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Army Ordnance Department in February 1915 and transferred, at his request, to the King's Own Scottish Borderers in July that year, seeking front line action. He was killed during the course of the Battle of the Somme on 30 July 1916 and his name is among those classed as 'missing' on the Thiépval Memorial.<sup>3</sup>

W.A. Robertson died on 5 May 1937 at the age of 65, the last survivor. His will sets out in great detail what he planned for charitable bequests in memory of his parents and brothers. There is no indication that the brothers had descendents. There is no mention of marriage for any of the four brothers in the Westminster School list<sup>4</sup> and no bequests to any widows or children.

For his parents he endowed a bed at the Royal Masonic Hospital in London; for his brother Reginald, who died in 1936, he left money to be invested, the income to be devoted to providing annual prizes for the Ministry of Health Golfing Society and the Richmond Golf Club. The Robertson Memorial Trophy is still one of the major events of the Richmond Golf Club and is played for on an annual basis.<sup>5</sup> For himself, there was to be a plaque in the London church where he worshipped, but the residue of his considerable estate was to be applied to an altogether more imaginative and expansive memorial to his two soldier brothers. The money (over £50,000) was to go to the National Trust, with careful instructions that the Trust 'shall supply a sum at least equal to the net amount received by them ... [for] purchasing, acquiring and thereafter holding such land, building or places so far as possible within easy reach of London ... as a memorial to my brothers'.

There were exact instructions about care and maintenance of the proposed memorials. The Bank, as Trustee of the Robertson estate, was to make a yearly inspection of each 'column, pillar or tablet and in the event of the same being in want of repair, re-lettering, cleaning, renewal or otherwise needing attention, to forthwith require the National Trust to perform the same at its own expense'. This duty was performed by the Bank until the 1980s, by which time the money in the trust had run out. The National Trust

has accepted the ongoing responsibility for inspection and maintenance. No records remain of whether the Trust supplied an equal sum to that donated but, in general, bequests only provide a part of purchase funds when new acquisitions are made. If the National Trust had decided against accepting the bequest and its conditions, the money was to have been invested as the Bank thought fit and the income devoted to Westminster School, not for scholarships for new entrants but to 'boys intending and desiring to enter the Army, Navy and Air Force or any recognised profession or for the assistance of boys intending or desiring to proceed to and permanently settle and work in a British Colony or Dominion'.

#### The Memorials and the Inscription

The will further prescribes that 'before any such land, building or place is or are opened to the public, the said National Trust shall erect in a prominent place thereon ... a column or pillar at least 8 feet in height or, in the case of the building, a large and prominent tablet with an inscription thereon'. The eight memorials in the landscape all conform to these instructions. The 'column or pillar' is of the required height, made of concrete with a rough finish. Each is in a 'prominent place' (except for the one at Hydon's Ball, Surrey) with extensive views. The inscriptions on the pillars and the one building are similar: a bronze plaque with the name of the property, followed by the details of the two men, as illustrated in figure 1. Details of the nine memorials, of which four are in Surrey, are given below.

#### Properties purchased by the W.A. Robertson Bequest

#### East London

Sutton House, Hackney NGR TQ 352 851

This was the first property to be purchased from the bequest and the only built property as opposed to landscape.

Sutton House was built of brick (and known as 'bryk place') in the 1530s for Ralph Sadleir, one of Henry VIII's courtiers, at a time when open fields separated Hackney from Bishopsgate in the City of London. It was noted for its 'healthful air'.

The house passed through several owners and different types of occupation, ranging from a mansion for courtiers and silk merchants to boarding schools. It was sometimes occupied as one house and sometimes divided into two, reflecting the changes in Hackney's population and character. From 1890 it was St John's Church Institute, a recreational club for 'men of all classes'. In 1926, by the initiative of the curate of St John's, Revd Francis Dent Vaisey, a chapel was created in the east cellar of Sutton House,

designed by Edward (later Sir Edward) Maufe, the architect of Guildford Cathedral.

By 1936 the church had decided to move the Institute to new premises nearer to the centre of Hackney. The house was first offered to Hackney Borough Council, which declined to purchase after a survey. An appeal was then launched to 'save the house for the nation'. Among the sponsors was George Lansbury, vice president of the National Trust and Labour MP for Poplar. The principal fund raiser, Percy Lovell, achieved much, but the appeal fell short of its target and there was a risk that the house might be sold to developers. The W.A. Robertson Bequest, then recently established, was drawn on to facilitate the purchase, which was completed in 1938. A tablet was attached to the front of the house in the 'prominent position' requested.

The house survived the Second World War and was let to a succession of corporate

NETLEY PARK THE LAND WAS PURCHASED FOR THE MATICINAL TRUST FROM FUNDS BEQUEATIVED BY W. A. ROBERTSON IN MEMORY OF HIS BROTHERS MORMAN CAIRINS ROBERTSON CAPTE 250 CATT HAMPSHIRE BEST. WHO DIED 2015 JUNE 1917 AT HANOVER CERMANT AND OF LAURANCE GRANT ROBERTSON 2ND LIEUT 249 BATTALION KING'S OWN SCOTTISH CONDENERS WHO WAS KILLED IN ACTION IN FRANCE DURING THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME IN OR NEAR DETAILLE WOOD SOME JULY 1016

Fig. 1 The bronze plaque on the memorial at Netley Park, Gomshall.

tenants until 1982 when no further tenants could be found and it was occupied by squatters. After strong local pressure for use as a community resource, with the foundation of the Sutton House Society, this Society and the National Trust worked together to seek the financial support required. During restoration, research into archives, a structural survey by English Heritage and archaeological investigation by the Museum of London meant that valuable information about the house was uncovered. It now draws visitors from Britain and abroad, is an educational resource for local schools and provides accommodation for meetings, conferences, recitals, training sessions and weddings.<sup>8</sup>

#### Surrey

The locations of the four memorials in Surrey are shown on the map in figure 2.

Netley Park, Gomshall

TQ 074 484

The land was acquired by the National Trust by conveyance, 5 November 1940, from F.E. Bray of Shere, with funding from the W.A. Robertson

Bequest. It lies east of Shere, on both sides of the A25, extending almost to the ridge of the North Downs, and contains 85.4 hectares (211 acres). The National Trust also owns separate but adjoining areas of woodland on the scarp slope of the Downs, all given by different donors: Abinger Roughs (1950), Hackhurst Down (1928) and Little Kings Wood (1972).

Gomshall Netley is one of the four manors in the parish of Shere (which includes Gomshall and Peaslake); one was granted to Sir Reginald Bray in 1497 and the others followed by grant or purchase. The lordship of all four is still in Bray hands after 500 years. The name Netley derives from its being in the hands of the Abbey of Netley on Southampton Water from 1249 until the Dissolution. It includes a house, rebuilt about 1850 (not of outstanding interest), a farm, cottages and woodlands. The house is leased and is not open to the public. There is access by footpath to the land only.

The memorial is shown in figures 1 and 3. It stands two-thirds of the way up the scarp of the Downs behind Netley House and a swathe of about 100 yards in width is kept clear of tree growth between the house and the memorial to allow wide views to the south (figure 4). The memorial stands beside a public path, but is not very easy to find. It is not signposted or marked

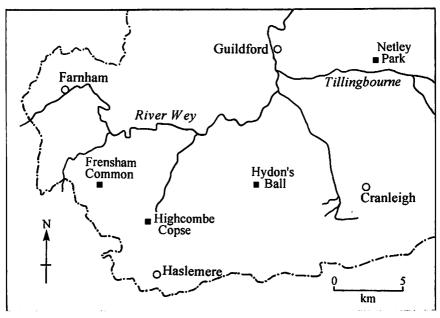


Fig. 2 Map of south-west Surrey showing the locations of the four W.A. Roberstson memorials in the country

on the Ordnance Survey (OS) Landranger map (sheet 187) and, although there is an information board at a junction of paths about a couple of hundred yards away, this does not show the position of the memorial, though there is a record of the contribution of the W.A. Robertson Bequest in purchasing the land. There is no designated parking. As at the other locations in Surrey, land was bought to increase the area of National Trust holdings already established.

#### Frensham Common SU 862 397

The land held by the National Trust is on both sides of the Farnham to Hindhead road (A287), with a total of 373.3 hectares (922 acres), mostly heathland, and includes Frensham Great Pond and some cottages. On the crest of the common is a line of large bowl barrows. Stony Jumps, the largest of



Fig. 3 Netley Park Memorial

Fig. 4 View southwards towards the greensand ridge from the Netley Park memorial



the Devil's Jumps with a path to the summit, containing 14 hectares (34.6 acres), was bought in 1925 by subscription and support from Mr F. Mason. In 1940, 266.3 hectares (658 acres) were bought at King's Ridge, funded by the W.A. Robertson Bequest. Further land has been bought since. The memorial stands on rising ground about 200 yards from the road, not on high ground, but certainly in a 'prominent place' with sweeping views over Frensham Great Pond. It is marked on the OS map, Landranger series sheet 186.

## Highcombe Copse, Hindhead SU 888 369

Hindhead, Inval and Weydown Commons lie some 12 miles south-west of Guildford on both sides of the A3. There are 435.5 hectares (1076 acres) of connected common, heath and wood. East of Hindhead village is the Devil's Punchbowl and the viewpoint of Gibbet Hill; to the south-east are Inval and Weydown Commons. The greater part of this area was given to the National Trust in 1906 by the Hindhead Preservation Committee.

At Highcombe Copse, 85 hectares (210 acres) of heath, farmland and coppice and two cottages on the west side of the Punchbowl were bought in 1938 through the W.A. Robertson Bequest. The site is marked 'Meml' on the OS map (Landranger sheet 186). The memorial stands on the western edge of the great declivity of the Devil's Punchbowl, with views over to Gibbet Hill and also long views to the north and the line of the Hog's Back. On a visit in October 2004 it was noticed that there was a collection of little 'Poppy Day' crosses stuck in the sand at the base of the memorial, a sign of local respect and interest. Other areas of adjoining land were acquired in 1939, 1953 and 1955.

## Hydon's Ball and Hydon Heath SU 976 395

Hydon's Ball lies 3 miles south of Godalming, 1½ miles west of B2130. This is an area of 51 hectares (126 acres) of heath and woodland, mostly bought in 1915-1926 as a memorial to Octavia Hill, 19th-century social reformer and co-founder of the National Trust. The remainder was bought in 1959 through the W.A. Robertson Bequest. The memorial to Octavia Hill takes the form of a very large stone seat with a high back standing on the cleared summit of this fine viewpoint. The Robertson memorial is below the summit, on no particular path and now young trees have grown up all around it. The plaque is facing back up the hill and not towards the view as at other sites. There is the legend 'Meml' on the OS map (Landranger sheet 186), but it is unclear to which memorial it refers.

#### Kent

Toy's Hill (Weardale)

TO 465 517

Toy's Hill is situated 5 miles south-west of Sevenoaks, 21/2 miles south of Brasted and one mile west of Ide Hill. The National Trust property consists of the areas known as Parson's Marsh, Scord's Wood, Toy's Hill Beacon, Weardale and the Chart. It was acquired in eight lots between 1898 and 1986. The total area is 111.7 hectares (275.8 acres). It was the Weardale property that was bought, on 12 February 1940 (with the co-operation of Sir Archibald Hurd), with monies from the W.A. Robertson Bequest. Weardale was a large but short-lived property, built in 1906 on the edge of the scarp of the greensand ridge by Stanhope, Lord Weardale, for his wife, the Countess Alexandra Tolstoy. Their main residence was in London, and Weardale, in spite of its 145 rooms, was used only in the summer months. After Lord Weardale's death in 1923, Lady Weardale (known locally as 'the Russian Princess') rarely visited the property and, at her death in 1934 it was left to her husband's nephew, the then Lord Stanhope, but without dedicated funding for its maintenance. Tenants were hard to find and the house deteriorated to such an extent that it was demolished in early 1939. The site received a direct hit from a bomb the following year, in the early stages of the Second World War.<sup>10</sup> The memorial is not marked on the OS map (Landranger sheet 188).

#### East Sussex

Micheldene

TV 548 965

The memorial here is on 256 hectares (632 acres) of arable and downland known as Micheldene and Went Hill, part of Crowlink Farm, which were bought by subscription between 1928 and 1931 with additional land purchased through the W.A. Robertson Bequest in 1940. It is above the line of white chalk cliffs known as 'The Seven Sisters', with access from the car park at Birling Gap. The area is part of a popular cliff top and downland walk and the memorial faces out over the sea (towards France). The soil around the base of the memorial is badly eroded. It is marked on the OS map (Landranger sheet 199) and on the map on the information board in the car park as 'memorial stone', but there is no explanation in the text.

#### Bedfordshire

Sharpenhoe Clappers

TL 067 301

This spur of high ground, the north-eastern end of the Chiltern range, stands 160 metres above sea level and has sweeping views to the north

over Bedfordshire. An area of 55 hectares (136 acres) was bought in 1939 with funds from the W.A. Robertson Bequest. It is capped by Clappers Wood and the Robertson Memorial is among the trees. The summit has a vestigial bank that might have been built to block the only way on to the promontory. It is about one mile from a car park and it is signposted and marked on the OS map (Landranger series 166). The hill has a spectacular profile, viewed from Sharpenhoe village.

Robertson Corner, Dunstable Downs TL 009 196

Dunstable or Whipsnade Downs was bought by or donated to the National Trust in several 'pockets', amounting to 115 hectares (285 acres) between 1935 and 1948. One such pocket was funded from the W.A. Robertson Bequest in 1940. The memorial is on a triangle of land at a road junction and thus the only one visible to motorists as they drive by. Its impact cannot be great, however, as two separate 'locals' who were asked for directions, were not aware of it. It is not marked on the OS map (Landranger series 166).

The Downs here cover the edge of the ridge and are used as a jumping off point for hang gliders, for picnics and for observing the gliders being launched from the land at the foot of the slope. It is a very scenic and popular place for outdoor enthusiasts. There is an entry on the Roll of Honour, Bedfordshire, on the Internet, with a picture of this memorial and a transcript of the inscription.

#### **Discussion**

In considering the one built property and the eight landscape sites, it is interesting to assess how far the wishes of W.A. Robertson have been carried out. All the purchases were effected between 1938 and 1940, except for Hydon's Ball, which was added in 1959.

The future ownership of Sutton House was uncertain at the time that the funds first became available and the addition to the total already collected made all the difference between purchase by the National Trust and sale to a developer. An important house in an area without many such treasures has been saved for public enjoyment; the memorial plaque is prominently displayed.

At the landscape sites, the memorials themselves are faithful to the instructions given in the will, being 8 feet high, of uniform design and carrying the inscriptions as specified regarding the two men commemorated. On seven of the sites, including Sutton House, the inscription begins with 'Weardale [for example] was bequeathed to the National Trust by W.A. Robertson in memory of his two brothers'. On two it reads, 'This land was purchased for the National Trust from funds bequeathed by W.A.

Robertson in memory of his two brothers'. It would seem that the latter is more accurate.

The choice of site also conforms to the instruction that the memorials should be in a prominent place. All are on high ground, except the one at Frensham, but that has the wide and spectacular views shared by the others. Trees have grown up around the ones at Hydon's Ball and Sharpenhoe, but it is likely that the hilltops were clear at the time the memorials were erected. Anomalies occur: five are marked on the Ordnance Survey maps, three are not. What qualifies a memorial to be so marked, and who initiates its inclusion? The memorial at Dunstable Downs is at a road junction and the one at Frensham can be seen from the road in winter, but to reach it and all the others it is necessary to take to footpaths. The memorials at Micheldene, Highcombe Copse, Sharpenhoe Clappers and Toy's Hill are all on popular walking routes, Netley needs persistence to find. Highcombe Copse showed evidence of local interest with poppy crosses and a visit to Hydon's Ball was recorded in the journal of the Western Front Association in December 2000.

Other people, acknowledged below, have researched the military records of the two soldiers and visited the places where one died and one was captured. This essay concentrates on W.A. Robertson's bequest and the use that has been made of it. The National Trust was about 40 years old at the time the will was made. It had a much lower profile than today and membership stood at around 7,000, whereas in the spring of 2005 it is over 3.4 million. The idea of gifting landscape as a memorial to the dead was discussed during the First World War and it is said of Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, one of the founders of the National Trust, that 'one of [his] last but most inspired contributions to the Trust was to propose that the dead should be commemorated in gifts of land'. Also, in 1920, 'the summit of Scafell Pike was given by Lord Leconfield as a memorial to the men of the Lake District who had fallen in the Great War'.<sup>12</sup>

Many thousands of people have given or bequeathed money to the National Trust for the purchase of land or property so it seems invidious to expect special recognition for one among others. The Robertson memorials are unique, however, in being both a reminder of such a donation and a commemoration of two lives. It has taken time and effort to discover the details presented here, some based on previous research by others, and to visit and photograph the memorials in situ.

There is no mention of W.A. Robertson or the memorials in the National Trust *Handbook* or in the book *The National Trust: the First Hundred Years*. It would seem that the National Trust is missing a chance of generating interest in particular properties.

Perhaps others might be interested in visiting the memorials on their magnificent sites if only they knew about them; it might be a form of pilgrimage, or an enjoyable project of ticking one more off a list.

#### Acknowledgements

My brother, David Goodland, first drew my attention to the correspondence in *Stand To!*, the bulletin of the Western Front Association, alerting me to the memorial at Netley, Gomshall. Dan Finnigan has allowed me to quote from his letter to *Stand To!* and an article he wrote for the *Farnham Herald*. Mary Webb of the NT Legal Department and Marcia Dover of the Legacies Department were able to research areas that I could not reach and provide useful facts, as have the local NT Countryside Managers. Mr Richard Moss of the Sutton House Society welcomed me to the house and provided helpful information and introduced me to Mike Gray and his excellent booklet *Sutton House*. My daughters Alice Noyes and Cathy Sharman and son-in-law Richard have entered into my enthusiasm and have provided transport to remote sites and photographs of the memorials and the views.

#### **Notes and References**

- Copy of W.A. Robertson's will supplied by the Legal Department, the National Trust, Swindon.
- Details of military service and death of Norman Cairns Robertson and Laurance Grant Robertson from letters to the *Bulletin* of the Western Front Association, June and October 2001, from James Brazier, Hal Giblin and Dan Finnigan. Correspondence with the latter.
- 3. See ref. 2.
- The Record of Old Westminsters, compiled by J.B. Whitmore, G.R.Y. Radcliffe & D.C. Simpson, Vol.3 (Barnet, The Stellar Press, 1963).
- 5. Information supplied by David Cromie, general manager, Richmond Golf Club.
- Information supplied by the Legacies Department, the National Trust, Queen Anne's Gate, London.
- Details of acreages and dates of purchase have been supplied by National Trust countryside
  managers at their offices at North Downs, Witley Centre, South Downs, North Kent and
  Bedfordshire.
- 8. Gray, M., Sutton House (National Trust, 1992).
- Shere, Gomshall & Peaslake: a Short History, revised reprint (SG&P Local History Society, 2003).
- 10. National Trust information board at Weardale.
- Bigmore, P., The Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire Landscape (Hodder & Stoughton, 1979).
- 12. Waterson, M., The National Trust: the First Hundred Years (National Trust/BBC Books, 1994).

# THE TOWN ASSOCIATION OF THE BOROUGH OF GUILDFORD: PART 1

#### Roger Ottewill

#### Introduction

During the 1920s and 1930s, many municipal boroughs witnessed the emergence onto the local political scene of a distinctive type of organisation. Known by a wide variety of titles, such as Progressive Party, Municipal Society, Ratepayers Association and Citizens Party, and varying in the extent and nature of their involvement in municipal politics, what many of these organisations had in common was an espoused commitment to the ideal of keeping local politics local. What this often meant in practice was opposing the Labour Party, a national political party that was seen as an alien force and a threat to the integrity of the local community. Accordingly, 'anti-Socialism' tended to be a more powerful influence on their political stance than what might be termed 'pro-localism'. That said, 'localism', defined by Young as 'the emotive symbolism of the values of the small place',' did contribute to the underlying philosophy of organisations of this kind.

In this two-part article the rise and decline of one such organisation, the Town Association of the Borough of Guildford (hereafter simply referred to as the Town Association), is presented as a case study of an important and relatively neglected feature of local political history.<sup>2</sup> Formed in 1924, the Town Association survived until about 1958. Thus, its presence was felt in Guildford's political life for over three decades. Although it would have eschewed the label, the Town Association was in some respects a local political party. It recruited and supported candidates for election to the borough council, by helping to finance their campaigns and providing them with assistance of other kinds. In addition, as indicated, it was guided by a set of principles and beliefs that informed and governed its actions. In other words, it subscribed to an ideology.

While the article is essentially a case study, it is used to illustrate some broader themes concerning the realignment of political interests and forces within local communities and their relationship to the wider world. Thus recourse has been made to a mix of secondary and primary sources. With respect to the latter, particular use is made of local newspapers<sup>3</sup> and the minutes of the Town Association and associated correspondence, which have survived for the years 1945 to 1958.<sup>4</sup>

The two parts of the article are structured around five periods. The first centred on the opening two decades of the 20th century and the national and local circumstances that led to the founding of the Town Association. The second covers the years from 1924 until the mid 1930s, when the initial impact of the Town Association on the local political scene attracted a certain amount of opposition from various quarters. This was followed by a period when, from the available evidence, it would seem that the Town Association went into hibernation. Lasting from the mid- to late 1930s until the closing months of the Second World War, it is interesting to speculate on the reasons for its temporary absence from municipal affairs. The fourth period begins in 1945 and lasted for just two years. In many respects this can be regarded as the 'golden age' of the Town Association. Nonetheless, even at this time its long-term fate was being sealed, with the decision of the Conservative Party to re-enter the arena of municipal politics in an overt manner. The fifth and final period covers the years between 1947 and 1958 when the Town Association experienced what can best be described as a 'terminal decline'. Why it survived for longer than might reasonably be expected is itself of considerable interest and requires explanation.

In this first part of the article, consideration is given to the period which preceded the founding of the Town Association and to that covering the years leading up to its hibernation. The second part begins with the period when the Town Association was dormant, with most attention being given to its subsequent renaissance in 1945 and the period leading to its ultimate demise in the late 1950s.

#### Origins and Antecedents: pre-1924

The establishment of the Town Association was not a random event. Its genesis can be linked to a variety of developments at both national and local level in the years before and after the First World War. Nationally, one of the most significant of these was the realignment of the party system. This was marked by the rise of the Labour Party, the decline of the Liberal Party and the ongoing strength of the Conservative Party. At the municipal level, as Davies and Morley observe, after 1918 the political struggle 'resolved itself quite rapidly ... into more or less a straight fight between Labour and anti-Labour forces'. Thus, although traditional protagonists, there was a trend towards closer co-operation between the Liberal and Conservative parties in the face of the real or perceived threat from Labour.

As far as Guildford was concerned, from the end of the 19th century there had been a marked decline in overt partisanship on the part of not only Liberals and Conservatives but also the few working-class candidates that stood for election. This was epitomised by the fact that, for most elections in the first two decades of the 20th century, all candidates used the designation 'Independent'. While this might disguise true loyalties and the close relationship between some candidates and councillors with organisations external to the council, such as the Chamber of Trade and Trades and Labour Council, symbolically at least there was a sense in which key players on the political scene saw themselves as working in harmony with each other.<sup>6</sup> The rightward leaning local press, such as the *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, fostered such co-operation and was quick to criticise any potential breaking of the ranks, especially where this might emanate from left-wing or even Liberal sources.

One, perhaps unintended, consequence of declining partisanship was the negative impact that this had on the recruitment of candidates. Perhaps the clearest indication was the significant decline in the number of contested elections between 1904 and 1914.7 With the Conservative and Liberal Parties no longer playing a leading role in local politics it was left to other organisations or individual initiative to determine who stood for election. Indeed, if municipal politics was to be truly 'independent' or 'non-partisan' and free from external influences, then complete reliance on individuals with a strong sense of civic responsibility coming forward should have been the order of day. However, there was concern that this was insufficient to guarantee candidates of suitable calibre. Moreover, with the appearance of the Labour Party as an active participant in municipal elections from 1919, it was felt that steps had to be taken by anti-Labour interests to ensure that Labour candidates did not succeed by default or by splits in the anti-Labour vote. Thus, the formation of the Town Association was, in part, a response to this perceived danger, even though candidates sponsored by the Labour Party did not initially enjoy much success in local elections, with there being only one Labour councillor between 1919 and 1929.8

Despite its relative weakness at the polls, the Labour Party was seen as posing a threat to the established order not only in electoral terms but also ideological ones. Even in the early 1920s it was associated with a policy of what would later come to be called 'tax and spend'. In their campaign literature, Labour candidates were often keen to stress the need for action by the local authority on a number of fronts, but particularly with respect to housing. While some Independents were progressive in the sense that they supported measures designed to advance the interests of Guildford, their stance on public expenditure, which was to be echoed by the Town Association, was summed up in the slogan 'efficiency with economy'. Moreover, Independent candidates were not averse to drawing attention to what they saw as the profligacy of councils where Labour was in control and the impact of this on the rate burden.9

Antipathy towards the Labour Party was also directed at the fact that, as a national party, it was in some respects an outsider as far as Guildford municipal politics was concerned. By contrast, the Town Association was an organisation dedicated solely to Guildford and its preoccupations and even though it mirrored similar organisations in other communities, it was, to a degree, what could be described as 'little Guildfordian' in its outlook.<sup>10</sup> In other words, putting the local community first and promoting the interests of Guildford were important strands within the Town Association's philosophy. This was interwoven with a commitment to non-partisanship in municipal affairs. Thus, like a national political party, it encapsulated a number of different values and beliefs, which it advanced through the candidates it recruited and supported.

#### Formation and Initial Impact: 1924 to the mid-1930s

The initiative that led to the setting up of the Town Association was essentially 'top down'. That is to say, it originated with some of the key figures within Guildford's economic, social and political elite. Thus, it can be contrasted with those local political organisations, including some ratepayers and residents associations, which were essentially the product of 'grass roots' activity.<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 1 Alderman Leonard Ellis, the first chairman of the Town Association.

Amongst those closely involved with the moves to set up the Town Association were the President and other senior members of the Chamber of Trade and of the Rotary Club. In party political terms it brought together those who supported both the Liberal and Conservative parties nationally. For example, Leonard Ellis, the first chairman of the Town Association, had been for many vears President of the Guildford Liberal and Radical Association (Fig. 1). In the 1900s he was also President of the Guildford Civic Association, which aimed 'to promote efficiency in the local governing bodies', and can be regarded, in some senses, as a precursor of the Town Association.12

At the same time, some of the candidates and councillors which it was to support, such as William Pullinger<sup>13</sup> and Walter Froome,<sup>14</sup> were active Conservatives. Thus, there is considerable evidence of its cross-party credentials.

In the autumn of 1924, the promoters of the Town Association took steps to tackle what the Surrey Advertiser and County Times described as 'the apathy that exists in municipal affairs' and to strengthen the council 'by the addition of men of ability and experience'. An organising committee was formed and a meeting convened to which a large number of leading citizens were invited. The paper closely associated itself with the initiative on the grounds that it was something that had 'often been urged in (its) columns ... (and would) be heartly welcomed by all burgesses who have the interests of the town at heart, and that it ... (would) receive widespread support'. It was also emphasised that notwithstanding its origins the Town Committee, as it was initially called, would 'be quite an independent body and ... have perfect freedom of action ... Needless to say it will be a non-party organisation.' 17

The inaugural meeting was duly held in early October 1924. In its report, the *Surrey Advertiser and County Times* set out very clearly both the organisation's role and how it intended to proceed:

The Guildford Town Committee, formed for the purpose of dealing with all matters of public interest arising in connection with the government of the town, and particularly with regard to municipal elections, was formally inaugurated at a meeting at the Picture Playhouse on Tuesday evening [7 Oct 1924]. There was a fairly large attendance, which would have been larger but for the very inclement weather, which kept many away. Mr Leonard Ellis, who has consented to be chairman of the committee, was unable to be present, and in his absence Mr Edward Cox occupied the chair ... The chief object proposed was to bring out suitable candidates for the Town Council, the Board of Guardians [abolished in 1929], and other public authorities in Guildford. The terms of the letter of invitation to the meeting ... cut out any possible discussion regarding present members of the Town Council, retiring members, or what the authority had or had not done. The new committee would embrace all shades of opinion, and would belong to no particular party, either commercial, social or political. It would be free from wire pulling, and honestly endeavour to bring out what they called the right type of men [women as well?] for the government of the town (applause). The policy of the committee at the present time was to go slowly, and gradually gain strength, rather than endeavour to find several candidates, or oppose any of the retiring Town councillors for the sake of a fight and getting publicity. It was easy to suggest having a candidate in every ward, but they might find they were displacing men with knowledge and experience of the work of the council. 18

For the 1924 municipal elections, held on 1 November, <sup>19</sup> the Town Committee proceeded cautiously in line with its espoused commitment to respecting existing arrangements. From the press reports it appears to have recruited and supported only one candidate. This was William Philpot, who stood for a vacancy in Christchurch Ward<sup>20</sup> arising from the retirement of Percy Fairbrother. In every other ward sitting Independent councillors were seeking re-election and the Town Committee appears to have simply provided 'moral encouragement' from the sidelines.

At the end of November the Town Committee agreed to change its name to Town Association, 'as being more representative of the interests which it embraces'. It was also reported that it had recruited between 50 and 60 members. However, it aimed for 500 to 600 members, an aspiration that it never met even at the height of its powers in the mid-1940s. It also planned to establish a ward structure.

The Town Association's involvement in the 1925 elections was far greater than it had been a year earlier. There were three vacancies to be filled in Christchurch, Holy Trinity and Stoke wards due to the retirement of sitting Independent councillors. In each case the Town Association nominated a replacement: Major William Tennison, who was unopposed in Christchurch; George Potter, who successfully fought off a challenge from another Independent candidate and Labour Party nominee in Holy Trinity; and Henry Chalcraft, who defeated a Labour candidate in Stoke. The contest in Holy Trinity showed that, when it felt appropriate to do so, the Town Association was not averse to splitting the Independent vote. In addition to these three wards, the Town Association also nominated and supported a candidate, John Meares, to challenge, albeit unsuccessfully, the incumbent Labour councillor, William (Bill) Sheppard, in Stoughton Ward. However, the contest was closely fought and Meares came within 76 votes of victory.<sup>22</sup>

The activities of the Town Association in the Stoughton contest prompted criticism from the Labour candidate, particularly with respect to the contents of a leaflet issued in support of its nominee, John Meares. Ironically, a few years later, after he had parted company with the Labour Party, William Sheppard was himself to be a nominee of the Town Association. In 1925 it was the local newspaper that sprang to the Town Association's defence. In its editorial it commented that:

Some share of the credit for the greater interest in municipal elections<sup>23</sup> is undoubtedly due to the Town Association and as there appears

to be a little misapprehension as to what that organisation is, and what its objects are, it is desirable to clear up any confusion that exists (emphasis added).

To this end, it published the following letter from the secretary of the Town Association, Arthur Evershed:

Sir I have been requested by the chairman, Mr Leonard Ellis, and the Executive Committee of the Town Association, to communicate to you the objects of the association, which are as follows.

- 1. To secure independent, non-party, and efficient candidates, to stand for membership of the Town Council, the Board of Guardians, and other local bodies, and to support them in every way possible.
- 2. To instil and foster a sense of citizenship in the electors, and get them to recognise their individual responsibility for the good government of the town.

Membership of the association is open to all classes of the community, and anyone desirous of joining is asked to communicate with me. The annual subscription is 1s. minimum and 2s. 6d. maximum.<sup>24</sup>

This confirmed the purposes that were outlined at the inaugural meeting a year earlier. However, while it sought to present itself as non-partisan and inclusive, it was undoubtedly perceived by some of its opponents from the right as well as the left of the political spectrum, as partial and divisive.

In their eyes this was confirmed by the decision of the Town Association in 1926 to oppose, for the first time, a sitting Independent councillor, Wesley Capp, who was seeking re-election in Stoke Ward and made clear in his election literature that he was not a member of the Town Association. In the event, the Town Association nominee, William Harvey, secured a relatively easy victory.<sup>25</sup> The defeat of a sitting non-Labour councillor marked a departure from the position adopted at the inaugural meeting of not opposing sitting councillors 'for the sake of a fight and getting publicity'. It is not clear from contemporary accounts why it was felt necessary to oppose Wesley Capp. Clearly, for some reason he was out of favour with the Town Association. By contrast, it can be assumed that the sitting Independent councillors in the other five wards, who all retained their seats with or without a contest with a Labour candidate, either had the blessing or acquiescence of the Town Association.<sup>26</sup>

That said, there was an underlying sense of unease even amongst some of the Town Association's erstwhile supporters. For example, it was reported

that John Meares, who had contested Stoughton the previous year with what he now claimed was minimal Town Association assistance, had changed his mind about standing in Christchurch on this occasion due to equivocation on the part on the Association. For similar reasons, E. Sydenham Clark and J. Weller had withdrawn from contesting Holy Trinity and Stoughton wards respectively.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, by 1927 the Town Association was no stranger to controversy and once again it was prepared to upset the existing order by putting up candidates in circumstances that were guaranteed to raise eyebrows. In Stoke Ward, as had occurred a year earlier, a Town Association nominee, Walter Brown, successful wrested the seat from a sitting Independent councillor, Henry Newell, who was seeking re-election. On this occasion, there were two other candidates, another Independent and a representative of the Labour Party, who finished bottom of the poll.<sup>28</sup>

In St Nicolas Ward, where there was a vacancy due to the retirement of the previous councillor John Christopher, the Town Association put forward its own nominee, Harold King, even though there were two other Independent candidates, Frank Davies and G.A. Davies, in the fray. In so doing, it ran the risk of splitting the anti-Labour vote in a seat which the Labour Party had a realistic chance of winning. In the event, the Labour candidate came second to Frank Davies, one of the unaligned Independents, who, like Wesley Capp in 1926, had made it clear in his election address that he was 'not connected with any Town clique or association'. As if to reinforce the point the word 'association' was put in capitals, so that none of the electors could have been in any doubt that he was distancing himself from the Town Association.<sup>29</sup> On this occasion, the Town Association nominee only came third, thereby indicating that it was by no means invincible.<sup>30</sup>

Clearly, in the first few years of its existence the Town Association felt the need to lay down some markers, even if this meant upsetting, on occasions, the established order and attracting a certain amount of opprobrium in the process. However, after the interventions of 1927 there followed a period of relative quiescence on the municipal election front at least as far as the anti-Labour forces were concerned. The only contests which did take place in the years leading up to the municipal general election of March 1933 were between Independent candidates, who invariably had the Town Association's approval (including Frank Davies when he sought re-election in 1930) and Labour candidates. Undoubtedly among the events which caused the anti-Labour camp to take stock during this period were the elections of 1929 in which for the first time Labour gained two seats in St Nicolas and Stoughton respectively and in the process defeated two sitting Independent councillors.<sup>31</sup> Although this proved to be an isolated occurrence, it is likely



Fig. 2 Extract from the press report of the municipal general election of 1933, with potted biographies of some of the candidates. (Copyright of *The Surrey Advertiser*)

to have reinforced the need for the Town Association to be a little more circumspect in its behaviour and pragmatic in its approach.

In the early 1930s the high point for the Town Association was the municipal general election of 1933. This was triggered by the Surrey Review Order, which substantially enlarged the area of Guildford borough from 3,189 to 7,184 acres and necessitated substantial changes to the ward structure. The number of wards was increased from six to eight<sup>32</sup> and the membership of the council was completely renewed. This meant that if the Town Association was to contest every vacancy 24 candidates would be required. Moreover, assuming eight of these were subsequently elected to the aldermanic bench, another eight candidates would be required to contest the resulting vacancies. In the event, it nominated 22 candidates for the first round, and eight for the

next, which was a considerable achievement. Unusually, the Town Association candidates were fully acknowledged and clearly identified in press reports of the election, which included a series of potted biographies (Fig. 2), so it is possible to obtain a reasonably comprehensive picture of the situation.

Eighteen of the Town Association-supported candidates in the first round were sitting borough councillors and aldermen who wished to remain council members. All but one of these had received support from the Town Association at previous elections. The exception was none other than William Sheppard, who had secured election to the aldermanic bench in 1929, despite being a Labour councillor. A couple of years after his elevation, he fell out with the Labour Party and in terms of national political developments he aligned himself with the National Government led by the ex-Labour Prime Minster, Ramsey Macdonald. In many respects his defection to the Independent cause can be seen as a coup for the Town Association, since it strengthened its claim to be 'open to all classes of the community'.



Of the four remaining Town Association nominees for the first round one, Sir Claude De La Fosse, had previous experience of local authority membership as Merrow's representative on Guildford Rural District Council. The other three were newcomers. A full listing of the Town Association nominees is shown in Table 1, with the campaign literature of some of them, including William Sheppard, illustrated in Fig 3.

Turning to the contests and their outcomes, in Onslow and Westborough wards, the six Town Association nominees were opposed by five Labour candidates and one Communist. In every case, the Town Association nominees were victorious. That said their margin of victory in Westborough was extremely narrow.<sup>33</sup>

In Stoughton Ward the Town Association only nominated one candidate against three Labour candidates. By not contesting two of the three seats it handed the Labour Party its only two seats 'on a plate'. Had the Town Association put up candidates it is probable that they would have been successful. It is not clear why it did not do so, but it may have reckoned that a clean sweep of Town Association candidates was not necessarily in the best interests of local democracy.

#### Town Association Candidates in the Municipal General Election of 1933

Name	Previous Service	Ward	Contest	Outcome
R.H. Tribe	Cllr for Friary since Dec 1930	Friary	Yes	Elected
R. Dickie	Cllr for Friary since July 1928	Friary	Yes	Elected
B.E. Hardy	Cllr for Friary since Nov 1929	Friary	Yes	Elected
H. Gammon	Cllr for Holy Trinity since Nov 1927	Holy Trinity	Yes	Elected
J.B. Rapkins	Ald since May 1927	Holy Trinity	Yes	Elected
G.W. Potter	Cllr for Holy Trinity since Nov 1925	Holy Trinity	Yes	Elected
Sir C. De La Fosse	(Guildford rural district councillor for Merrow)	Merrow & Christchurch	Yes	Elected
J.A. Salter	Cllr for Christchurch since Nov 1923	Merrow & Christchurch	Yes	Elected
W.R. Philpot	Cllr for Christchurch since Nov 1924	Merrow & Christchurch	Yes	Elected
W.G. Sheppard	Ald since Nov 1929	Onslow	Yes	Elected
A. Gostelow	Cllr for St Nicholas from Nov 1918 to Mar 1923 and since July 1931	Onslow	Yes	Elected
F.E. Hodges	none	Onslow	Yes	Elected
H.E. Smith	Ald since Nov 1923	St Nicolas	Yes	Elected
C.T. Bateman	Ald since July 1932	St Nicolas	Yes	Elected
F. Davies	Cllr for St Nicholas since 1927	St Nicolas	Yes	Not Elected
W.A. Harvey	Cllr for Stoke since Nov 1926	Stoke	No	Elected
W.J. Brown	Cllr for Stoke since Nov 1927	Stoke	No	Elected
W. Massey	Cllr for Stoke since Nov 1931	Stoke	No	Elected
C. Jones	Cllr for Stoughton from Nov 1904	Stoughton	Yes	Elected
W.R. Pullinger	Cllr for Stoughton since Nov 1921	Westborough	Yes	Elected
J. Parke	none	Westborough	Yes	Elected
C.T. Corps	none	Westborough	Yes	Elected

In four other wards, Friary, Holy Trinity, Merrow and Christchurch and St Nicolas, the three Town Association candidates were opposed by a single non-aligned Independent candidate. One of these was Henry Newell, who contested Friary Ward. It is likely that he was seeking revenge for his defeat in 1927. However, he was unsuccessful, unlike one of the other non-aligned Independents, William Coombs, who topped the poll in St Nicolas Ward. This resulted in the only defeat of a Town Association nominee. It is somewhat ironic that this was Frank Davies who, as indicated earlier, had himself defeated a Town Association nominee in 1927.

The fact that the Town Association restricted itself to supporting only three of the Independent candidates in each of these wards came in for a certain amount of criticism. In *Guildford City Outlook*, for example, 'Weysider' commented: 'Its invidious selection of three candidates for the wards of Holy Trinity and Friary in each of which there were four candidates whom the Association could support meant that the Association's countenance was withheld from [worthy candidates]'.<sup>34</sup> This suggests that there was still lingering antipathy towards the Town Association despite the fact that its candidates had performed exceptionally well in the municipal general election and did so in the eight by-elections which followed a month later when all of its nominees were successful. On this occasion seven of the eight had not previously served on the borough council.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in keeping with its aims, it was making an important contribution to the recruitment of new council members.

However, the level of success achieved by the Town Association in 1933 was not sustained. In the 1934 elections two of its candidates were defeated. Henry Newell reversed his failure of a year earlier by beating the incumbent councillor in Friary Ward, Bertrand Hardy, who was a leading figure in the Town Association. In Westborough Ward the Labour candidate secured a victory, albeit a very narrow one, over a new Town Association nominee, R.B. Westwick, recruited to replace Cecil Corps who had retired after only eighteen months as a councillor.<sup>36</sup>

This was followed a couple of months later by another hostile piece from 'Weysider' in *Guildford City Outlook*. It is reproduced below because information about the state of the Town Association at this time is relatively scarce:

The Town Association is not happy. It received a rebuff in the Friary Ward election on November 1st. Mr John Brown is relinquishing the Hon Secretaryship and Mr Leonard Ellis, the head of the Association, hints I hear that he may retire. If Mr Ellis goes I should not be surprised to hear of the association's demise. The Association was

created [in 1924], and it has existed to induce "good and true" men [sic] to place their services at the disposal of their fellow citizens by accepting nomination for election to the Town Council, and by sponsoring their candidature. A commendable objective to be sure. Mistakes have tended to defeat achievement of this object.

Throughout its existence the association has been 'wrapt in mystery'. It has led a Rip Van Winkle existence for eleven months of the year, and has raised itself from its slumber only as November 1st approached ... Again and again have I been questioned about the Association 'Who are they?' 'Who elected them?' 'What do they do?' are questions which have been addressed to me. The secrecy which has characterized the constitution of the association and has veiled its doings, has robbed it of the influence which an organisation founded with the objects of local administration should possess and has caused it to be belittled and derided.<sup>37</sup>

Of course, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which others shared these views. It does appear, however, that in the period leading up to the Second World War the Town Association was no longer the force it had been earlier in the decade. In 1935 another of its sitting councillors seeking re-election was defeated. This time it was Albert Gostelow who lost his seat in Onslow Ward to another Independent. On this occasion, however, the Town Association did have the consolation of retaining Westborough. A year later Labour gained not only Westborough but also Stoke, where Guildford's first female councillor, Mrs Gertrude Croke, defeated the Town Association nominee.

#### Conclusion

During the initial phase of its existence, the Town Association can be said to have made a valuable contribution to the political life of Guildford, notwithstanding the criticism which it attracted on occasions. Since controversy is almost a sine qua non of engagement in political activity, it would have been surprising if it had not been criticised from time to time. From the surviving evidence, it would appear that the two areas in which the Town Association contributed most were political recruitment and what might loosely be termed political education. As the negative remarks of 'Weysider', reported earlier, imply it was most in evidence at election time mobilising candidates and stimulating interest amongst the wider electorate. There is little to suggest that it campaigned openly on other occasions, relying instead on those it had supported to promote the values it espoused, or that it saw itself as having a social as well as a political role. Nonetheless, its impact had been such that it inspired many of Guildford's leading political figures

to take steps to resurrect the Town Association in 1945. How their efforts initially met with success but subsequently foundered is explored in the second part of this article.

#### **Notes**

- Young, K., 1975, Values in Urban Politics: the case of 'Localism', mimeographed paper (Urban and Regional Studies Unit, Centre for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Kent at Canterbury), 31.
- To date the fullest account of this type of organisation is in Young, K., 1975, Local Politics
  and the Rise of Party: The London Municipal Society and the Conservative Intervention in
  Local Elections 1894-1963 (Leicester, Leicester University Press).
- These include the Surrey Advertiser and County Times, which is available on microfilm at the Surrey History Centre.
- 4. These are lodged at the Surrey History Centre, reference 1740/1 and 1740/2.
- Davies, S. and Morley, B., 1999, County Borough Elections in England and Wales, 1919-1938: A
  Comparative Analysis Volume 1 Barnsley-Bournemouth and 2000, Volume 2 Bradford-Carlisle
  (Aldershot, Ashgate). There will eventually be 8 volumes.
- See Ottewill, R., 2004, 'The changing character of municipal elections 1835-1974', The Local Historian, 34 (3), 159-178.
- 7. Of the 78 vacancies filled at annual elections between 1904 and 1914, 50 (64%) were uncontested. The equivalent figure for the period 1893 to 1903 was 9 out of 44 (20%).
- 8. Between 1919 and 1929, William Sheppard won and held a seat in Stoughton Ward for the Labour Party on four occasions.
- 9. For example, this appeared in the 1927 election address of William Pullinger, who was seeking re-election in Stoughton Ward: 'As an opponent of the Red Section of the Labour Party I would ask everyone to read the "Daily Mail" for the 17th & 18th October and see the results and rates in the City of Sheffield and in Poplar and Bermondsey.'
- This is what Marie Dickie, in her account of inter-war developments in Northampton, describes as 'town patriotism'. See Dickie, M., 1992, 'Town Patriotism in Northampton: An invented tradition', Midland History, Vol. XVII, 109-17.
- 11. For an example of a grass roots initiative, in another part of Surrey, see Jackson, A., Semi-Detached London (London, George Allen and Unwin), in which he describes the foundation and pre-Second World War political and community-based activities of the Stoneleigh Residents' Association and Social Club, 283-8.
- 12. Leonard Ellis had also been a borough councillor from 1902 to 1904 and a borough alderman from 1904 to 1920. He had been elected to Surrey County Council in 1918 and became a county alderman in May 1924 a few months before the Town Association was formed. He served as a county alderman until his death in 1939.
- 13. William Pullinger was councillor for Stoughton Ward from 1921 to 1933. He was elected for one of the Westborough seats in the municipal general election of 1933 and immediately secured a place on the aldermanic bench which he held until his death in January 1938.
- 14. Walter Froome was councillor for Friary Ward from 1911 to 1929, when he was elected to the aldermanic bench on which he served until March 1933.
- 15. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 29 Sept 1924.
- 16. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 4 Oct 1924.
- 17. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 4 Oct 1924.
- 18. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 11 Oct 1924.
- 19. Until 1947, municipal elections were held annually on the 1 November, unless this fell on a

- Sunday when they were held on the day after.
- Since 1904, Guildford had been divided into six wards for municipal election purposes, Christchurch, Friary, Holy Trinity, St Nicolas, Stoke and Stoughton. This pattern lasted until 1933.
- 21. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 18 Nov 1924.
- The full result was W.G. Sheppard, Labour, 926 votes (52.1%) and J.W Meares, Independent, 851 votes (47.9%). The turnout was 61.2%.
- 23. At 59.2% turnout was at its highest level since 1920. For full details see Ottewill, R., 2005, Twentieth Century Local Election Results, Volume 5 Guildford Borough Council. A Compendium of Municipal Election Results 1835 to 1874 (Plymouth, Local Government Chronicle Elections Centre, University of Plymouth).
- 24. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 7 Nov 1925.
- 25. The full result was W.A. Harvey 666 votes (70.3%) and Wesley Capp, 282 votes (29.7%). Thus W.A Harvey had a substantial majority of 384 votes (40.5%).
- 26. These were J.A Salter (Christchurch), J.B. Rapkins (Friary) and A.W. Harvey (Holy Trinity), who were unopposed, and H.G. Herbert (St Nicolas) and C. Jones (Stoughton), who were opposed by Labour candidates and, in the case of H.G. Herbert, another Independent.
- 27. Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 16 Oct 1926.
- 28. The full result was W.J. Brown, 452 votes (36.8%); M. Marks, 262 votes (21.4%); H.A. Newell, 260 votes (21.2%); and E. Chamberlain, 253 votes (20.6%).
- 29. See Surrey Advertiser and County Times, 29 Oct 1927.
- The full result was F. Davies, Independent, 876 votes (40.1%); W.J. Godfrey, Labour, 689 votes (31.6%); H. King, the Town Association nominee, 505 votes (23.1%); and G.A. Davies, Independent, 113 votes (5.2%).
- These were H.G. Herbert who was defeated by 297 votes in St Nicolas Ward and C. Jones defeated by 208 votes in Stoughton.
- 32. The eight wards were, in alphabetical order, Friary, Holy Trinity, Merrow and Christchurch, Onslow, St Nicolas, Stoke, Stoughton and Westborough.
- 33. By 88 votes (7.5%), 32 votes and 32 votes (2.7%) respectively.
- 34. Guildford City Outlook, April 1933.
- 35. The nominee with previous council experience was H.G. Herbert (Merrow and Christchurch). The others were A. Williams (Friary), M. Young (for a second vacancy in Merrow and Christchurch), F.J. Bailey (Onslow), L. Powell and W Cawdron (St Nicolas), A. O'D Grimshaw (Stoke), and P.A. Smith (Westborough).
- 36. The full result was W.H. Ayling, Labour, 585 votes (50.7%) and R.B. Westwick, Town Association nominee, 568 votes (49.3%).
- 37. Guildford City Outlook, January 1935.

#### Acknowledgements

I wish to place on record the much appreciated help I have received from David Rose, Archives Editor of the *Surrey Advertiser*, and the staff of the Surrey History Service in preparing this article.

### John Franklin-Adams, Astronomer (1843-1912). An Observatory at Hambledon

Audrey Monk

For almost ten years at the beginning of the 20th century, a man of great intellect and enthusiasm indulged his passion for stars in the Surrey village of Hambledon, 5km south of Godalming. His name was John Franklin-Adams. He was born in Peckham on 5 August 1843, the son of John Adams, a member of Lloyd's, and was educated at the Blackheath Proprietary School and afterwards in Berlin and Havre. This education, with subsequent travels in Spain, Italy, Russia and Scandinavia, gave him a considerable command of modern languages and led to an early interest in astronomy. A portrait photograph of Franklin-Adams at the age of 66 is shown in figure 1.

In 1863 Franklin-Adams began his own business at Lloyd's and finally became one of its senior members. He married in 1879 and lived for some five years at Chislehurst, where his five children were born. In 1890 the family moved to Wimbledon and lived at Grange Cottage, later to be known as No.1

The Grange. This house was built on land purchased at an auction in 1888, following the demolition of an earlier 18th-century house known as The Grange. The property had been divided into lots, several of which were purchased by Sir Henry Peek MP,¹ who then sold plot 1 to John Franklin-Adams. He engaged Aston Webb (later Sir Aston Webb) to design a suitable residence for his family.

It was in 1890 on the edge of Wimbledon Common that Franklin-Adams rekindled his early interest and indulged his passion for the stars. The drawing room at Grange Cottage became the setting for several gatherings of the Wimbledon Literary and Scientific



Fig. 1 Photograph of John Franklin-Adams at the age of 66. (Courtesy of the Royal Astronomical Society.)

Society, where he entertained members by talking and showing slides about matters of astronomical interest.<sup>2</sup> He soon began his series of astronomical observations and his obituary<sup>3</sup> records that he 'had no instrument beyond a book, his instruments, and his own wits'. His first instrument was a 4-inch telescope, on a tripod stand. He transferred this to Machrihanish, 8km west of Campbeltown on the Mull of Kintyre, where he bought a house in 1897. He later added an observatory, where the telescope was mounted on a stone pier, and a 6-inch equatorial, a transit instrument with piers and bearings for use both in the meridian and prime vertical, and various clocks. His other fascination was photography and it was at Machrihanish that he conceived the idea of making a complete photographic survey of the Milky Way.

Later, Franklin-Adams extended this scheme to the photographic charting of the whole heavens from north to south. In order to achieve this, he worked with Messrs T. Cooke & Sons of York, where he collaborated with Dennis Taylor in the design of a special mounting, Adams having made a schematic model for Cookes to develop. This telescope and mounting are shown in figure 2. He also commissioned two triple photographic lenses, one of 6 inches aperture and 27 inches focal length and the other 10 inches aperture and 45 inches focal length, also to be made by Cooke & Sons. Then, in 1902, he went to the Cape of Good Hope, partly to convalesce from a serious illness, and partly to further his ideas by photographing the southern heavens.

On returning to England in 1904, he moved to Mervil Hill, Hambledon (NGR SU 961 384) to pursue this ambition, choosing the spot in preference to Crowborough or Hindhead 'as the hill mists were less prevalent' and because of the splendid horizon with an uninterrupted prospect of over 1,000 square miles. He built an observatory there which was described as an astrographic laboratory at an altitude of 128 metres. This observatory is shown in figure 3. It had several telescopes and the work undertaken included a complete photographic chart of the sky and occasional photographs of sun spots, the moon and the planets.

The whole project was an immense task. The objective was to measure and count the stars on photographic plates. Photographs were taken of the northern hemisphere similar to those taken at the Cape, but the transition from the brilliance of the South African skies was described as 'sad indeed'. The exposure time necessary was 2 hours 20 minutes (20 minutes longer than at the Cape). Progress, Franklin-Adams lamented, was slow, and eventually he found a 'suitable' assistant to help him. Inventive, as was his nature, he made an apparatus for ruling meridians on these plates preparatory to counting the stars and undertook some experimental work. He also installed

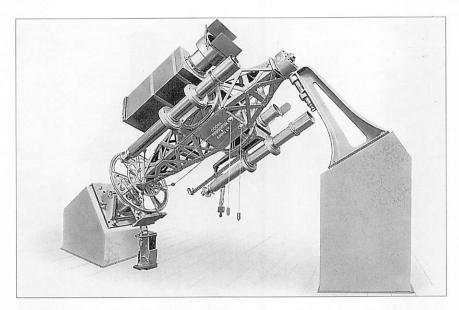


Fig. 2 The John Franklin-Adams telescope and mounting, manufactured by Cooke & Sons of York, that was installed in the observatory at Mervil Hill, Hambledon. (Courtesy of the Borthwick Institute, University of York.)

wireless telegraphy to determine the difference of longitude from that at Greenwich. This installation has often led to the incorrect suggestion that Mervil Hill was the site of a semaphore signalling station.

In 1908 a second assistant was engaged, and extra help had occasionally to be employed. A new workshop was built for the production of 15-inch positives. By 1909 the race was on to complete all 412 charts necessary for publication – but alas the weather had, as always, to be contended with. 'The British climate', he reported 'is very trying for a series of long exposures on the meridian. Every hour of every night has been watched, but spells of 2 hours 20 minutes have been few and far between.' Difficulties were encountered also as a result of dew formation on the surfaces of the object glass of the telescope: 'upon one night in November, which was truly magnificent, five plates – a record – were all spoilt by dew'. After much research, and many enquiries from friends, he eventually overcame the problem, and work proceeded apace.

The nature of the work and its immensity can be gleaned from some figures he gives in one of his reports to the Society. 'A square degree in the centre of Chart 147 yields the following: the negative gives 1,276 stars; the contact print gives 1,210 stars and the camera print gives 1,158 stars. The

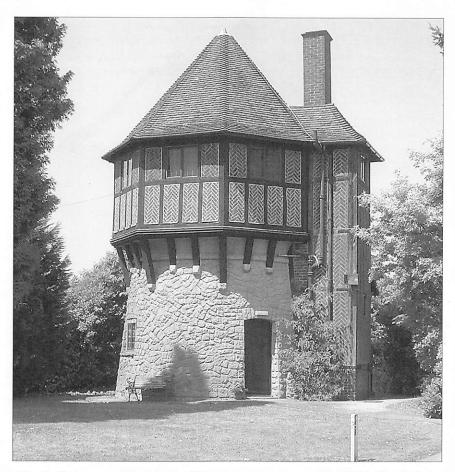


Fig. 3 Photograph of the John Franklin-Adams observatory at Mervil Hill, Hambledon. (Photograph by David H.T. Williams by kind permission of St Dominic's School.)

plate covers 225 square degrees.' Another problem was to combine sufficient density with the non-obliteration of stars between various magnitudes.

In 1909 the many thousands of plates photographed over the previous 15 years were examined and those taken at Mervil Hill were found to be superior to those from the Cape. It was decided to return to the Cape to retake the southern hemisphere. Owing to a recurrence of his illness, Franklin-Adams was prevented from repeating the trip and he dispatched his assistant, a Mr Mitchell, with his 10-inch equatorial telescope. This telescope, incidentally, was used to photograph Halley's Comet in 1910 with, apparently, excellent results.

Sadly, Franklin-Adams' health deteriorated further and he had to give up astronomy. He gave much of his equipment to various observatories and the work of counting the stars on his plates was continued at Greenwich. He died at Enfield on 13 August 1912, aged 69. He had been made a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1897.

#### **Notes and References**

- Sir Henry Peek (1826-98) rose to fame as MP for Dorking and mid-Surrey. The family business of Peek Freen, the biscuit company, enabled him to establish himself and his family at Wimbledon House, Wimbledon, and he was instrumental in frustrating attempts to enclose Wimbledon Common.
- Norman Smith, Douglas & Beatrice, The Grange, Wimbledon A Centenary Portrait, K.A.S.F. Brewin Books (1984).
- 3. Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. 73 (1913), pp.210-13.
- Taylor, E.W. & Wilson, J., At the Sign of the Orrery the Origins of the firm Cooke, Troughton & Simms Ltd (c. 1960), p.47. Papers held at the Borthwick Institute of Archives, V1/CTS/8/3/3.
- 5. Dennis Taylor, described as a brilliant and inventive man, filed his first patent for a photographic exposure meter in 1883, soon after his arrival at Cooke & Sons: McConnell, Anita, *Instrument Makers to the World a History of Cooke, Troughton & Simms*, Sessions of York (1992), pp.66-8.
- 6. Les Observatories Astronomiques et les Astronomes (Brussels, 1907), p.146.
- 7. Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. 69 (1909), pp.282-3.

# DEER PARKS IN SURREY IN 1892

#### Alan Crocker

#### Introduction

In 1892 a book was published providing information about all the existing deer parks in England. It was researched and written by Joseph Whitaker and was an up-dated version of a book by Evelyn Philip Shirley published in 1867. Whitaker's book consists of a general introduction of 18 pages followed by a 'descriptive list' for the 40 English counties extant in 1892. This occupies 186 pages and contains entries for 408 deer parks. Under each county the parks are listed in order of decreasing size. For each park the name of the owner is given followed by the acreage, the character of the boundary, the nature of the water supply, the number and average weight (when known) of the different types of deer present and notes on the topography, vegetation and wildlife. All counties are represented, the number of parks ranging from 33 in Yorkshire to one in Huntingdonshire.

Surrey had ten parks,<sup>3</sup> a number close to the national average but high for a relatively small county. Their locations are shown in figure 1. The total area was about 4,200 acres (1,700 hectares), by far the largest being Richmond Park with 2,300 acres. The park boundaries or 'fences' in 1892 consisted of walls, oak paling, continuous iron bars or a mixture of these. Typically they were 6 or 7 feet high with posts sunk 18 inches into the ground. The water supply was described as natural in seven cases, springs three times, artificial twice, ponds, River Wey and River Wandle, once each, or a combination of some of these. The presence of hills, trees, fern, hares, rabbits, pheasants, kingfishers, herons, waterfowl and trout were noted. In the ten parks there were in all about 2,450 fallow deer, 115 red deer (including 50 'Surrey stags') and 40 Japanese deer. Richmond Park had a total of 1,200 deer. One park was 'open at all times to visitors without restriction'.

Fallow deer (*Dama dama*) are said to have been introduced into Britain by the Phoenicians or Romans but it is more likely that they were brought by the Normans. They were well-established by the time of Domesday Book. The summer coat of the adults is reddish brown with white or yellowish spots. In winter the coats become a uniform greyish brown or black. Antlers, present only in the male, are different from those of other British deer, having a broad palmate area when fully developed. The buck stands about

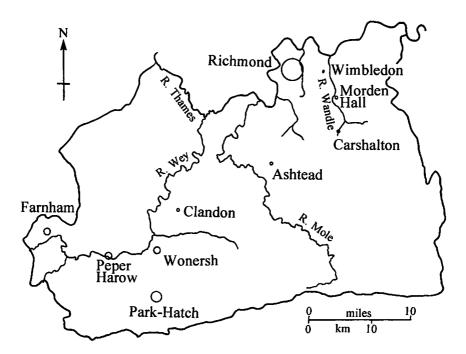


Fig. 1 Sketch map of Surrey showing the locations of the ten deer parks in 1892. They are represented by circles that are roughly proportional to the sizes of the parks.

35 inches (90cm) at the shoulder and the doe 33 inches. The buck weighs about 168 lbs (75kg) but the doe is much smaller, weighing about 76lbs. On average the Surrey bucks weighed only 119 lbs and the does 69 lbs, so presumably many of them were immature. The menil colour variant of the fallow deer is creamy tan with white spots and was introduced from Manilla in about 1730. The Mesopotamian or Persian variant is heavier but has smaller antlers without palmation. Red deer (Cervus elaphus) are indigenous and are the largest of the British deer. The stag stands about 47 inches at the shoulder and the female about 41 inches. The stag can weigh up to 425 lbs and its antlers, which weigh 16 lbs, are about 40 inches long, with a span of 30 inches. Japanese or Sika deer (Cervus nippon or Cervus sika) were introduced in 1860. They are closely related to the red deer but similar in size to fallow deer.

In this paper the information given by Whitaker is presented, in a slightly abbreviated form, for each of the Surrey parks and brief explanatory notes are provided, starting with an approximate national grid reference to the centre of the park. The material is then discussed in more general terms.

#### The Parks

#### Richmond

Her Majesty the Queen. 2300 acres. Wall and paling. Water supply, natural. 1100 to 1200 fallow deer. Bucks 120 lbs. 50 red deer. Fine timber. Undulating, and even hilly in many places. A great deal of fern, which here grows very strong and high. Two considerable pieces of water near the middle of the park, and some enclosed game-coverts.

NGR TQ 200 730

In 1892 the rangership of the park was held by George, Duke of Cambridge, and after his death in 1904 preservation of game and private shooting in the park were abolished.<sup>5</sup> There were 1600 fallow deer in the park in 1867.<sup>6</sup>





Fig. 2 Examples of oak paling at (a) Hardwick Park in Derbyshire, and (b) Hainsworth in Nottinghamshire. See reference 1, pages 42 and 117, retouched.

Two illustrations of oak paling are shown in figure 2. Many illustrations of deer in the park have been published including, for example, in the *Illustrated London News* on 17 April 1858, *Supplement*, page 397, and 14 July 1888, page 33.

#### Clandon

The Earl of Onslow, GCMG. Total, 526 acres; deer park only, 112½ acres. Continuous bar fencing, 7 feet high. Water supply, natural, chalk springs. About 100 fallow deer, when herd is in full number. The park is undulating, and heavily timbered with old oaks and elms. The lake and stream supplied by strong springs from the chalk, and well stocked with trout.

SU 040 515

William Hillier Onslow, the 4th Earl, was owner from 1870 to 1911. It appears that he had re-established the deer park as in 1867 it was reported that 'until a few years since, it continued to be well-stocked with deer and was celebrated for its venison'. As the deer park only occupied 112½ acres, Clandon Park should have been eighth and not second in the list.

To surround 112½ acres the fence must have been about 3,000 yards long. At least 400 yards of this survives, some of which may have been relocated. An illustration of this type of fencing is shown in figure 3.

#### Park-Hatch

Joseph Godman, Esquire. 500 acres. Wall, old oak pales and continuous iron bar. Water supply, ponds and springs. About 200 fallow deer. 15 red

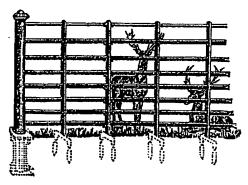


Fig. 3 Continuous iron-bar deer-park fencing of the type that survives at Clandon Park. This illustration is taken from an advertisement for fencing manufactured by Hill & Smith of Brierley Hill, near Dudley. It appears in reference 1, following page 204, and has been retouched. In 1892 this type of fencing cost 3s. 5d a yard.

deer. Amongst other animals in the park are some forty Japanese deer, which have been here for several years and thrive well; some emus, and a flock of black sheep from the Landes of France. A Mesopotamian fallow buck was introduced a few years ago, and crossed with the fallow does. The produce is two and three years old, large and handsome, and will doubtless improve the size of the original stock. The timber is chiefly oak, beech and fir. Hascombe Hill is mostly comprised within the fence, and is open at all times to visitors without restriction. There is an old Roman camp on the highest ground.

TQ 012 383

The VCH (1911) states that 'Park Hatch, the seat of Mr Joseph Godman, is on the southern slope of Hascombe hill, in a deer park of about 200 acres' (not 500 acres). It also states (1912) that 'no herd [of red deer] is now preserved there'. These were the only red deer in Surrey, apart from those in Richmond Park and the Surrey stags in Carshalton Park.

It is not known when emus were introduced into Britain. There is an Iron-Age hill-fort and not a Roman camp at the top of Hascombe Hill.

# Peper Harow

Viscount Middleton. 300 acres. Oak palings outside, and flat bar irons against coverts inside. Water supply, the River Wey runs through the park. About 220 fallow deer. Bucks 110 to 125 lbs. Does about 61 lbs. The park is well timbered, and rendered picturesque with a good deal of fern. The

pasturage carries a large head of stock and sheep as well as deer.

SU 935 437

The owner was the 4th Viscount Midleton, William Brodick, who succeeded his father in 1870 and died in 1907.<sup>10</sup> It was disparked in 1851-2 but was being restored in 1866.<sup>11</sup> A print of the park with deer in the foreground appears in Brayley's *History of Surrey*, published in 1842.

#### Farnham

The Bishop of Winchester. 300 acres. Oak park paling. Water supply natural. About 300 fallow deer. A few cows and horses graze in the park. There are many fine oaks and other trees, and an elm avenue three-quarters of a mile in length.

SU 842 481

From 1891 to 1895 Anthony Wilson Thorold was Bishop of Winchester. Shirley states that at Farnham Park 'the deer occasionally have the rot [foot-rot], rickback and goitrous necks, after snow'. He suggests that this resulted from in-breeding.<sup>12</sup>

In A Small Boy in the Sixties, George Sturt describes how he remembered playing in Farnham Park in the 1860s and mentions the bishop's fallow deer, the pale, the oak trees and the long avenue of old tall elms, the ponds and a tiny stream, a dead deer in a swallow-hole, cattle and horses. He also discusses at length why the deer always stayed north of the avenue except when it rained.<sup>13</sup>

Frith postcard 36129, dated 1895, shows the elm avenue with deer in the foreground. (Surrey History Centre PC/64/ALB1/80).

#### Wonersh

John Jackson Sudbury, Esquire. Under 300 acres. Iron railing and oak pales. Water supply natural. Under 200 fallow deer. The park swarms with rabbits and pheasants. The ground, covered with fern, is beautifully timbered and undulating. The River Wey runs through it.

SU 015 448

Sudbury bought the park from Lord Grantley in 1884.<sup>14</sup> In 1867 it had 80 deer.<sup>15</sup> It is in fact a tributary of the Wey that runs through the park. This is sometimes called the Bramley Wey but at other times Bramley or Cranleigh Waters. An 1843 print of the park with deer in the foreground is shown as figure 4.

#### Carshalton

John F.W.B. Taylor, Esquire. 140 acres. Stone wall, with high oak fence inside. Water supply natural; the springs often wander. 42 fallow deer. 50



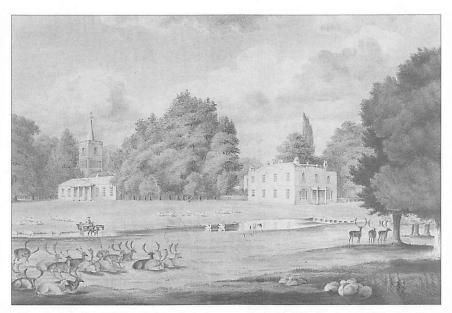
**Fig. 4** Print, provisionally dated to 1843, of Wonersh Park by T. Allom and E. Radclyffe. (Reproduced by permission of the Surrey History Service, ref. PX/162/1. Copyright of Surrey History Service.)

Surrey stags. The Surrey Farmers' Staghounds are kept here. Other animals or birds observable are hares, kingfishers, moorhens and occasionally herons. The trees are chiefly walnuts, Spanish chestnuts and horse-chestnuts; one chestnut tree takes nine men's span to go round it. The timber generally is very fine, and the trees very old. The River Wandle gives a picturesque appearance.

TQ 283 643

John William Frederick Blake Taylor (the initials F. and W. are reversed in reference 1) inherited Carshalton Park in 1867, when he was just one year old, and in 1888 came to live there. However, in 1892, the year of the present survey, a substantial part of the Park was put up for sale. <sup>16</sup> The park was founded in about 1746. <sup>17</sup>

The Surrey stags were presumably the red deer hunted by the Surrey Farmers' Staghounds, which were kept in the park. In 1905 Surrey had 'three packs of staghounds all hunting the carted stag'. This particular pack had by then been re-named the West Surrey and had kennels and paddocks at Chessington. Hunting the carted stag' involved taking a deer from the park to another location where the hunt would take place. A copy of a painting of the park by an unknown artist, dated to about 1830, is shown as figure 5.



**Fig. 5** Painting of Carshalton Park by an unknown artist in about 1830, showing deer in the foreground, the manor house at the right and the orangery in front of the parish church at the left. (Courtesy of London Borough of Sutton Local Studies Centre.)

#### Ashtead

Pantia Ralli, Esquire. 137 acres. Brick wall. Water supply, both natural and artificial. 120 fallow deer. Bucks 14 to 16 stone of 8 lbs. Does 9 to 11 stone. There are swans and ducks on the water. The park is beautifully wooded, with many kinds of trees.

TQ 192 582

Ralli purchased Ashtead Manor in 1889.<sup>19</sup> In 1864 it had 300 deer.<sup>20</sup>

In 1352 Edward III specified that 'every stone shall weigh 14 lbs'. However, the 8 lb stone survived and as late as 1934 the Board of Trade wrote to inspectors about 'the old London or butchers' stone', advising them that scales graduated in 8 lb units would not be accepted for verification and stamping after 31 January 1935. In practice the 'butchers' stone' of 8 lbs was in use until the end of 1939.<sup>21</sup> It was used by butchers because about 8 lbs of meat could be obtained from each 14 lbs of living animal. However, this does not explain its use for the weight of living deer, which could not have weighed up to 16 stone of 14 lbs.<sup>22</sup>

A postcard, dated 1913, showing the West Lodge of the park with deer in the foreground, is held by at Surrey History Centre (PC/9/30).

#### Morden Hall

Gilliat Hatfield, Esquire. 102 acres. Oak paling. Water supply, the River Wandle. About 100 fallow deer. Bucks, 13 stone of 8 lbs. Does do not do so well as the bucks. Trees, chestnuts and willows. Very flat ground, and much water.

TQ 263 688

Gilliat Hatfeild [sic] purchased Morden Manor in about 1872 and by 1912 had been succeeded by his son of the same name.<sup>23</sup> It was disparked in 1867.<sup>24</sup> The bucks weighing 104 lbs are lighter than those in the other parks, perhaps because of the wet conditions resulting in foot-rot and other problems.

#### Wimbledon

Sir Henry Peek. 30 acres. Iron and wall. Water supply, both natural and artificial. 35 fallow deer. Bucks 120 lbs. Does 80 lbs. The deer are all of the menil type; spotted. A very pretty park, with some fine elms, Spanish chestnuts, and large evergreen oaks. Besides the deer, there is a herd of Alderneys, and a flock of 'Coomassie' sheep, the latter all white, with head and neck entirely black, presenting a very curious appearance. On the lake, a variety of waterfowl.

TQ 245 725

Peek was the last owner of Wimbledon House, which was demolished in about 1900 and the estate passed into the hands of a building syndicate.<sup>25</sup> The house was at the west end of the High Street, near Peek Crescent. No other references to 'Coomassie' sheep have been discovered. However, Coomassie blue stains can be used to identify animals, including sheep, by serum electrophoresis.<sup>26</sup> Alderneys were small, fawn, dairy cows, once popular with the landed gentry. They were intermediate in size between the larger Jerseys and smaller Guernseys and were famous for their rich milk and easy temperament. They are now extinct, the last being born in 1927.<sup>27</sup>

#### Discussion

The Domesday survey of 1086 mentions 31 parks, of which only one, Stoke near Guildford, is in Surrey. However, the number grew and on the Norden (1594) and Speed (1611) maps of Surrey 36 parks are shown, enclosed schematically with pales, and there were probably more. During the first half of the 17th century, particularly during the Interregnum, many of these were disparked. Some were re-established at the Restoration but only 22 are shown on Seller's map of 1690, decreasing to 12 on Senex's map of 1729. On the map of Lindley and Crosley (1793) there are 23 parks, increasing to about 28 on the first edition 1 inch Ordnance Survey map

of 1811 and to at least 36 on Greenwood's map of 1823. However, some of these would not have been deer parks. In 1867, Shirley records that only six existed in Surrey out of a total of 324 in the 40 English counties. These were Richmond, Farnham, Ashtead, Carshalton, Wonersh and Peper Harow. He also lists a total of 45 deer parks which had existed at some time in Surrey and these are named in the appendix.<sup>30</sup> As we have seen, the number had increased from six to ten by 1892. Finally, the *VCH* index lists 80 parks,<sup>31</sup> but these would not all have existed at the same time and many would not have been deer parks.

Simple explanations are available for the above trends. Clearly the Normans had a great love of hunting deer and established many parks. Royalty and nobility continued to delight in hunting but during the early 17th century it became financially advantageous to convert parks into farms and during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods many surviving parks were laid to waste. Although some parks were re-established at the Restoration many were still being converted for agricultural use. Then, in the 18th century, a fashion was introduced, at least partly for visual effect, of making small paddocks or parks for deer near mansion houses and the number increased, but some of the parks marked on maps probably had no deer. In the 19th century the pressure on land for building resulted in further deer parks disappearing but a few new ones were established in south-west Surrey, remote from London.

This paper provides a very superficial account of deer parks in Surrey which existed towards the end of the 19th century. Clearly, much more detailed research has been and needs to be carried out on individual parks and it is hoped that the present paper will stimulate interest in the subject.

# Appendix: The Surrey Deer Parks listed by Shirley

Royal parks (13): Guildford, Byfleet, Woking, Witley, Chobham, Bagshot\*, Henley, Potnells, Otelands, Banstead, Nonsuch, Mortlake, Richmond or Shene.

Episcopal parks (4): Croydon, Burstow, Farnham, Esher.

Other parks (28): West Horsley (2)\*, Alfold, Iwood or Ewood, Merton\*, Gatton, Woodcote\*, Vachery, Baynards\*, Beddington, Carshalton, Clandon, Sutton, Loseley, Pyrford (2), Reigate, Betchworth Castle\*, Stoke d'Abernon\*, Albury, Starburrow or Prinkham\*, Blechingly, Ashtead, South Lambeth, Wonersh\*, Peper Harow, Ottershaw\*, Morden.

Note: The parks marked with an asterisk are not listed in reference 31.

#### Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to Pat Heather, Eric Montague, Gerry Moss, Tony Reid, Tony Stevens and John Theobald for useful discussions and to the staff of the Surrey History Centre and the London Borough of Sutton Local Studies Centre for assistance in locating illustrations.

#### References

- Whitaker, J., A Descriptive List of Deer-Parks and Paddocks in England (Ballantyne Hanson, London, 1892), pp.146-9.
- Shirley, E.P., Some Account of English Deer Parks, with Notes on the Management of Deer (John Murray, London, 1867).
- 3. Malden, H.E. (ed.), The Victoria History of the County of Surrey (VCH), vol.1 (1902), p.225, quoting ref.1, lists nine of these ten parks, Morden Hall being omitted.
- Nixon, M. & Whiteley, D., The Oxford Book of Vertebrates (OUP, 1972), pp.142-7. For Cervus sika see ref. 1.
- 5. VCH, vol.3 (1911), p.537.
- 6. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 7. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 8. VCH, vol.3 (1911), p.102.
- 9. See ref.3.
- 10. VCH, vol.3 (1911), p.51.
- 11. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 12. Shirley, p.243.
- 13. Sturt, G., A Small Boy in the Sixties (Caliban, 1982), pp.36-45.
- 14. VCH, vol.2, 1911, p.123.
- 15. Shirley,pp.57-63.
- 16. Wilks, M., The Book of Carshalton at the Source of the Wandle, Halsgrove, 2002, pp.84-6.
- 17. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 18. VCH, vol.2 (1905), p.490.
- 19. VCH, vol.3 (1911), p.32.
- 20. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 21. http://www.sizes.com/units/stone/htm and http://home.clara.net/brianp/weights.html
- Information provided by Frederick Mallion, Past-Master of the Worshipful Company of Butchers.
- 23. VCH, vol.4 (1912), p.235.
- 24. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 25. VCH, vol.4 (1912), p.121.
- 26. http://www.affiland.com/affinity/sheep.htm
- 27. http://www.alderneymuseum.org/aldcow.html
- 28. Shirley, pp.11, 57.
- 29. VCH, vol.4 (1912), p.430.
- 30. Shirley, pp.57-63.
- 31. VCH, index (1914), p.68.

# SURREY IN THE GREAT EXHIBITION

#### John Howard

# Extracts edited by Glenys Crocker

Between 1982 and 1988 the late John Howard contributed a series of articles to the Surrey Industrial History Group *Newsletter* entitled 'Surrey Under Glass: Surrey contributions to the Great Exhibition of 1851'. When working in London he had spent his lunch hours perusing the Great Exhibition Catalogue and had noted all the entries from Surrey. His published extracts were arranged by place and covered the whole of the historic county in fifteen articles. By far the largest number of exhibits came from metropolitan Surrey but several places in the modern administrative county were represented and the present article covers these. They appeared originally under the following headings: 1. The Guildford and Godalming Area (11, March 1982); 2. Reigate (14, December 1982); 3. Farnham (15, March 1983); 9. Frimley. Cobham, Ripley and Weybridge (31, March 1986).

The relevant exhibits were not illustrated in the Catalogue. For the present article, illustrations have therefore been taken from other sources, with comment added in square brackets.

# 1. The Guildford and Godalming Area

# Guildford

The secretary of the Guildford Local Committee is named in the Catalogue as Mr S. Haydon, under whose guidance £67 0s. 0d. was collected by subscription.

Class III: Substances used as Food

These were exhibited in the South Gallery of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park.

No. 159. Edward Chitty: Specimens of flour.

A later Directory (1861) shows an Edward Chitty in Mill Street. The entry was also mentioned in the Jury reports. Following comments that 'there are but few English wheat flours exhibiting' and that 'the United States contribution is really magnificent' it was reported that 'a Prize Medal has been awarded to Edward Chitty of Guildford for flour of English White Wheat'.

#### Shalford

Class VI: Manufacturing Machinery and Tools

No. 151. Mr C. Harris, the inventor and manufacturer of a 'Fly Press for stamping envelopes, notepaper, etc, in colours'.

# Godalming

According to the Catalogue William King was Secretary of the Local Committee. There were four exhibits and a subscriptions list of £25 1s. 6d.

Class IV: Vegetable and Animal Substances used in Manufactures
Mrs Catherine Dodge, provider of Silk Farm Silkworms, fed upon the leaves
of the white mulberry at Godalming, it being a first production. Specimens
of the manufactured silk were shown.

Class XX: Items of Clothing for immediate Personal or Domestic Use These were shown in the South Transept Gallery.

No. 93. Mr James Fry of Godalming, Manufacturer, exhibited Lisle thread hose, embroidered; fleecy breast-plates; Segovia shirts and pantaloons.

No. 194. T. Holland & Co. of Langham Factory exhibited superior and 'peculiarly prepared' (the phrase is contemporary) underclothing. There was also outer clothing described as 'light and remarkably warm'.

(The Langham Factory closed in the 1890s. The building was then occupied by the Godalming Sanitary Steam Laundry until about 1982 and has since been used by various small businesses. Figure 1 shows the original frontage in 1990, before it became hidden by further building.<sup>2</sup>)

Class XXVII: Manufactures in Mineral Substances used for Building etc No. 56. G. Moon designed and exhibited on the north side of the North Gallery 'an octagonal table of several kinds of marble'.

# 2. The Reigate Area

With the new railway era increasing both pride and population, Reigate could confidently meet the 1851 Commissioners' challenge. A doctor from Bell Street, Peter Martin, the son of an even more prominent physician, acted as Secretary to an enterprising Local Committee. A subscription of £36 9s. 0d. was raised. Nine exhibitors were declared whose exhibits were to spring from the very soil in which their producers had lived for generations – the chalk and greensand of downland, hill and heath.



Fig. 1 The Langham Factory, Godalming, in 1990. (Photograph by Glenys Crocker.)

#### Class I: Mining and Mineral Products

Entries were almost all included in this class and came from a wide area of the Sandgate Beds of the Lower Greensand in Reigate, Nutfield and Blechingley where Fullers Earth was to be found.

No. 47. James Cawley of Pendell, Blechingley, producer and manufacturer, showed 'the earth in the new state, in different colours, blue and yellow, when dressed and purified, and as found in the strata. Also stone from the surface of fuller's earth as used for building purposes from the Cockley Pits at Nutfield.

No. 48 was entered by the London firm of Roger, Gawick & Hynam of Princes' Street, Finsbury, who acted as distributors for the product. The earth was shown both in its purified and dried state, and came from Chart Lodge, Reigate (nearer Redhill) and Cormongers Pits in Nutfield. The name is a family name and survives in Cormongers Lane today. A Mr Grece lived at Chart Lodge in 1851. (Was this the C.J. Grece of Chart Lodge, Redhill, son of Henry Grece, a fullers earth merchant, and the last High Constable of Reigate Hundred?)

No. 56 Thomas Dann showed specimens of 'Grey stone lime from the limeworks at Reigate Hill in the estate of the Countess of Warwick'. Dann, a local lime and coal merchant, later became Reigate's first Mayor in 1863.

The sandy bedrock of Reigate Castle and that from the Heath provided further exhibits of interest.

No. 76. Samuel Relf exhibited 'white sand from the Tunnel Caves, called in use "silver sand", dug from the rock'. Samuel Relf was born at the *White Hart Inn*, Bell Street, of a former house dealer.

No. 77. The agent of Earl Somers, George Morrison, at that time residing in Reigate High Street and later to become a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society, showed 'sand from the Common named Reigate Heath valued for its grit, used in the manufacture of glass'.

No. 78. The next exhibit in this class was 'firestone from the quarries of Mr Stedall of Godstone, included in a distributor's list of Messrs Freeman, William & John of Millbank Street. Westminster.

#### Class XVI: Leather etc.

No. 266. John Turner Kelsey of Lingfield put forward crop hide of North Wales runt, 82 lbs in weight, tanned with Sussex oak bark, for boot and shoe soles. The item was prepared at Batnor's Tanyard, Lingfield, and we are informed that this tanning occupied two years. The Catalogue supplies a description of the tanning process.

Class XXX: Sculpture, Models in Architecture etc

Mr W. Carruthers, a Reigate sculptor, showed a model, in Reigate stone, of the village church at Southwater, Sussex.

#### 3. The Farnham Area

In 1837, Farnham was described by Thomas Moule as being 'surrounded by hop plantations for the culture and quality of which it is greatly favoured'. He also notes that its corn market was 'formerly considered as one of the largest in the kingdom'.

In 1851, a combination of the soil, its products and men who knew it well formed the basis for the town's contribution to the Hyde Park Exhibition. A Local Committee was formed under the leadership of Benjamin Nicholls, the sum of £21 0s. 0d. being collected by subscription. There were to be five exhibitors.

# Class I: Mining and Mineral Products

No. 36. John Mainwaring Paine showed 'fossils and marls chiefly dug from his land at Farnham'. Side by side with these, he also exhibited 'a transverse section of a pocket of choicest Golding Hops' grown upon them (see also Class III). The fossils were stated to contain as high a percentage of phosphate of lime as ordinary bones and to have been found useful in fertilising land. They could be easily converted into super phosphate of lime by the agency of phosphoric acid. A characteristic was the almost total absence of carbonic acid, making these materials even more valuable for this purpose.

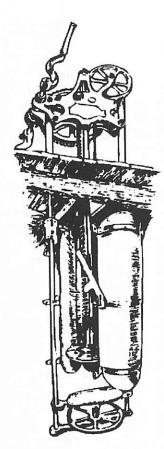


Fig. 2 Drawing of a machine for compressing hops into hop pockets. (Courtesy of the Rural Life Centre, Tilford.)

At No.46, some of the fossils and marls were exhibited as processed. The manufacturer was also a Surrey man, J.C. Nesbitt of Kennington.

#### Class III: Substances used as Food

No. 61. Charles Attfield was the producer of a 'Pocket of Farnham Hops'. The 1861 Directory gives him as Charles Attfield, Corn, Seed and Hop Factor, Maltster and Hop Planter of 104 West Street.

No. 62. John Mainwaring Paine, who included hops in his exhibit in Class I (above), showed a further selection of locally grown Farnham white bine as well as further specimens of Golding.

# Class IX, section II: Agricultural & Horticultural Machines and Implements

No. 144(a) was by George Elliott of Farnham. the inventor and manufacturer of 'a machine of new construction for bagging hops when dried'. This was constructed to bag two tons of hops a day. Mr Elliott was a member of a well-known local family. In 1861 there were at

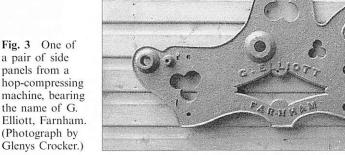


Fig. 3 One of a pair of side panels from a hop-compressing machine, bearing the name of G. Elliott, Farnham. (Photograph by

least two families of this name in Farnham. One is a blacksmith residing at The White House in West Street. The other is George Elliott, Jnr., son, also a blacksmith, residing in Downing Street.

(A machine for compressing hops into hop pockets, of a type invented c.1850, is displayed at the Rural Life Centre, Tilford. A drawing of a similar machine is reproduced in figure 2. A pair of side panels from a machine bearing the inscription 'G Elliott, Farnham' is displayed on the door of the Tilford Building at the museum [figure 3].<sup>3</sup>)

There is a definite pattern to these agricultural exhibits from Farnham, as though a whole town had put forward its prime industry for all the world to see. Certainly the Jury was impressed. John Paine's fertiliser received Honourable Mention in Class I, as did Mr Nesbitt's powdered form. J.M. Paine also received a Prize Medal for his Farnham Golding Hops.

#### Class XXX: Sculptures, Models and Plastic Arts

No. 84. This consisted of carvings in wood designed by R. Puller entitled 'The Village Dancer', 'The Wearied Pedlar' and 'The Gipsy Fiddler'. The large Catalogue distinguishes between 'The Village Dancer,' which was a 'basso-relievo on wood', and the other two figures, which were statues in wood. I wonder if they are now hidden away in some forgotten attic or museum store cupboard?

# 9: Frimley. Cobham, Ripley and Weybridge

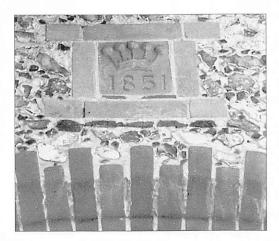
Exhibits from this area fall into two groups: raw materials and manufactures.

# Class I: Mining and Mineral Products

No.37. Edward Jarman Lance of Frimley was the producer of 'minerals in their raw state as used in the arts – from the Wealden formation and the Coal Measures etc. arranged in trays and named'. In addition there were 'specimens of minerals used as manures – phosphate of lime and magnesia, sulphate of lime and alumina, Cornwall sand, shell marl etc'.

A display of 'cultivated soils or earths arranged as they occur from London to Cornwall, being the abrasions of minerals' was set alongside 'corn produce – the effect of the admixture of fertilising minerals and culture on silicaceous sand in illustration of the prededing collection'. There was also a 'geological map of the British Isles'.

No.101. Messrs Standish & Noble, nurserymen of Bagshot, were the importers and producers of 'a *Cupressus funebris*, or weeping cypress from the green tea country, Wheychow in N China', which was exhibited outside the building at its east end. The Catalogue notes its use for ornamental planting and in burial grounds, whence its name, and adds that 'live plants were first



**Fig. 4** Decorative tile bearing the date 1851 on the wall of Pennymead Lodge (Penyemead), East Horsley. (Photograph by Glenys Crocker.)

imported into this country in the spring of 1849'.

John Standish was a Yorkshireman who had migrated south with his father, and having learned his trade had established his own business at Bagshot Park. By 1840 he was offering some successful fuschias and calceolarias of his own rearing. By 1848 he was in partnership with Charles Noble. Even when this was dissolved later, Standish continued to offer a whole range of Japanese plants.

Class IV: Vegetable and Animal Substances

No. 54. A Hampshire farmer, George Mason of Yateley, Hartford Bridge, showed some good examples of flax grown at Cobham, alongside specimens from his own locality. The series was deemed worthy of Honourable Mention by the Jury.

Class XXVII: Manufactures in Mineral Substances used for Building etc No. 87. This entry consisted of 'ornamental bricks and tiles, designed and manufactured at Ockham in Surrey by the Earl of Lovelace of East Horsley Park, Ripley'. For this the Jury made a Medal Award.

(The Earl of Lovelace, of Ockham Park, bought the manor of East Horsley in 1840 and lived there from 1846. He extended the mansion, which he named Horsley Towers, and built many houses on the estate in his highly individual ornate style. An example of his products at the time of the Great Exhibition can be seen in the laundry building at East Horsley which has been converted and extended as a private house known as Pennymead Lodge. A decorative tile at the front bears the name Penyemead and one at the rear the date 1851, as shown in figure 4.)

Class XXIX: Miscellaneous Manufactures and Small Ware

No. 209. This exhibit was by Henry Thompson of Weybridge Common, Chertsey, inventor and manufacturer of 'imitation cameos and gold and silver wafers'.

A Surrey Commercial Directory published within ten years of the Great Exhibition states in an industrial summary that 'soils include all the principal varieties of plastic and alluvial clays, rich vegetable loam, calcareous earth and almost barren heath'. Wheat and beans are classed among principal crops. Furthermore, 'much of the alluvium is occupied by orchards and market gardens. Brickmaking forms other branches of business'. The entries shown above, even from this small area, seem to be typical.

## **Bibliography**

Dulake, L., The Doctor's Tale, 1662-1975, Reigate and Redhill (Reigate, the Author, 1977)
Gibbs-Smith, C.H., The Great Exhibition of 1851 (2nd edn, London, HMSO, 1981)
Great Exhibition, The Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, 4 vols (London, 1851)
Great Exhibition, Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was divided, 2 vols (London, 1852)

Hooper, W., Reigate, its Story through the Ages (Guildford, Surrey Archaeological Society, 1945)

#### **Notes and References**

The editor wishes to thank Chris Shepheard of the Rural Life Centre, Tilford, and Pam Bowley and Peter Hattersley of the Horsley Countryside Preservation Society for help with illustrations. Thanks are also due to Mr and Mrs J. Bradney for permission to photograph the detail of Pennymead Lodge.

- Other articles in the series appeared in the following issues of the SIHG Newsletter: 17
  Croydon; 19 Kingston; 22 Richmond; 24 Wandsworth; 25 Clapham; 26 Crystal Palace
  Foundation; 38 Battersea; 41 Bermondsey; 42, 44, 46 Southwark.
- 2. Crocker, G., 'The Place of Godalming in the Hosiery and Knitwear Industry: History and Products', Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol.81 (1991-2), pp.41-70.
- 3. Filmer, R., Hops and Hop Picking (Aylesbury, Shire, 1982).
- 4. Turner, S., 'William, Earl of Lovelace, 1805-1893', Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol.70 (1974), pp.101-129.

# D. Turner, The Manor and the Feudal Construction of Space: A Rejoinder

# Nigel Saul

In Surrey History, vi, 5 (2003), Dennis Turner wrote a brief, but stimulating, essay suggesting how the phenomenon of manorial formation might be understood in relation to historians' conceptions of feudalism and feudal lordship. He argued, following R. Dodgsohn's work, that 'the feudal framework was tied to the land, and to space'. He further argued that 'the manorial lord's rising power over the peasantry allowed him to encourage the creation or re-ordering of a village' as a way of increasing agricultural productivity.

Feudalism has long been the subject of fierce historical controversy. Every time there has been any sign of a lull in the debate, the controversy has reignited. It therefore takes bravery to attempt, as Dennis Turner has done, to distil the essence of feudalism in a few pages and to relate the phenomenon to the process of manorial formation. My disagreement with Dennis centres not so much on what he says about manorial formation as such – he is an expert on the subject of early villages and manors; rather, it centres on the interpretative framework which he claims to find in feudalism, indeed, on his use of the words 'feudalism' and 'feudal system' in the first place.

In an essay which attempts to review rival interpretations of the subject, Dennis is understandably loose in his terminology. He never says what he himself understands by the term 'feudalism'; his policy is to speak through the words of others. Implicit in his essay, however, is an assumption that manorial formation and the feudal system are inseparable, and that the former phenomenon cannot be understood in isolation from the latter. He encapsulates his position towards the end: 'the manor (is) any estate large enough to have tenants over whose lives (the lord) has control, and ... feudalism was the probable mechanism of that control'.

It is with his reference to feudalism as a 'mechanism of control' that the need for definitional precision becomes important. Historians take widely differing views of the character and meaning of feudalism and the level at which it operated. To Marxist historians, as Dennis says, feudalism is a means of organising agricultural production in such a way as to maximise the surplus handed over by the peasantry to the lord. To historians of institutions, and to empirical historians of the Anglo-American tradition,

however, Friedrich Ganshof's view of feudalism as an essentially political construct is preferable: that is to say, what we call feudalism is seen as having its origins in the late Carolingian period when private lords appropriated public power to themselves and erected a graded and contractual system of rights over land. Increasingly influential today, however, is a third view, a different one again, that feudalism did not exist at all: rather, it was the invention of 12th-century lawyers who sought to impose their own definitions and understandings on a period, a century or two earlier, in which social relationships were a good deal more fluid than they would allow.

Dennis's argument appears to be that manorial formation can best be understood in the context of the first of these interpretations – the Marxist, or semi-Marxist, approach – for the understandable reason that it allows him to see the phenomenon as a response to seignorial initiative in increasing agricultural productivity. The Marxist scheme, however, looks decidedly shaky in the light of the assaults recently launched on it by such scholars as Susan Reynolds and John Gillingham.¹ In the view of these revisionists, feudalism as an interpretative construct is of more hindrance than help. While feudalism in a vague sense may have existed in post-Carolingian Europe, they say, it certainly did not in late Anglo-Saxon England, where public power remained firmly public. Rather than talking about feudalism or feudal society, we should talk simply about lordship, or private lordship.

It can be added that perfectly good reasons can be found for the process of manorial formation without employing the language or explanatory mechanisms of feudalism at all. Very likely, a key factor – perhaps the key factor – in the process was the break-up of the great landed estates which had dominated early Anglo-Saxon England. Under the impact of division by inheritance and the increasing ambition of resident household retainers to acquire their own land, these once vast estates were by stages broken into smaller, more efficiently organised units centring on manors. As time went on, a second factor came into play – the growing sense of status consciousness present in the upper classes. This had the effect of forcing lords to spend more on luxury objects and thus to increase their income, in line, to meet this spending. As a result of both these processes, the traditional ways of organising the countryside were gradually superseded by newer methods which offered the promise of greater efficiency.

One final point needs to be made. Dennis confines his discussion of manorial formation to the early middle ages – that is, to broadly the period from the 10th century to the 12th. It suits him to limit himself in this way, because the early medieval period is the one most usually considered 'feudal'. The process of manorial formation in England, however, was stretched out over a much longer time span. As a glance at the *Victoria County* 

History shows, manors were still being called into being in the 15th and 16th centuries. The dynamics of causation in these years were much the same as they had been much earlier: manors had their origins in lordly self-assertion. If a proprietor – an up-and-coming gentleman – were successful in establishing a local ascendancy over a group of tenants and, above all, in establishing a court, then effectively he had formed a manor. We can observe this process clearly in large, scattered parishes with non-resident lords. Good case-studies are provided by Egham and Lingfield in Surrey and Denchworth in Berkshire.

I am sure that Dennis and I would agree that the whole process of manorial formation, particularly in its later stages, needs further elucidation. In the light of this, it is helpful that, as a result of a partnership between Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Record Offices of Surrey and Middlesex, the Manorial Documents Register for these two counties has recently been made available online. This, much enhanced, MDR may be consulted at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/.

#### References

1. Reynolds, S., Fiefs and Vassals (Oxford, 1994); Gillingham, J., 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh Century England. Who was then the Gentleman?', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th series, Vol. 5 (1995), pp.129-53.

# SURREY HISTORY CENTRE ACCESSIONS OF RECORDS AND CATALOGUING PROJECTS IN 2004

# Michael Page, Robert Simonson, Margaret Griffiths and Di Stiff

During the course of 2004, Surrey History Centre received 268 accessions of records from a great variety of organisations and individuals. We are very grateful to all those who have deposited or donated archives. In this article some of the more significant or intriguing accessions will be described and an account given of some of the ways we are seeking to widen the coverage of our holdings and to improve access. A full list of the year's accessions is on our website, www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistoryservice, under 'Search for Archives or Books'.

We have, in recent years, devoted much effort to making the text of all our catalogues available and fully searchable online. Currently 42,000 pages of catalogue can be searched via our website (see above) or via the Access to Archives website www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a. This represents 93% of the total, so our target is within sight. If you have not investigated our website recently, there is a good chance you will make some surprising discoveries.

#### Manorial Records

September 2004 saw the completion of a two year project to computerise the Manorial Documents Register for Surrey and Middlesex. The records of manors (that is estates administered through a manor court), of great value to economic, social, family and local historians, receive more protection under law than most other classes of records. This is because manorial court rolls, surveys and rentals contain much evidence relating to legal title to the plots of land within the manor and to surviving rights over commons and wastes of the manor. As such, after copyhold tenure was abolished in 1922, measures were taken to ensure that the location of manorial records was centrally recorded and controls placed on the conditions in which they were stored and their movement.

The register of surviving records was the responsibility of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and for most counties only exists as a paper index. However, in a joint project led by Royal Holloway College, and generously funded by the Marc Fitch Fund, the register for Surrey and Middlesex has been updated and fully computerised and can be accessed via the National

Archives website www.mdr.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/. The online register allows a multitude of different types of search permitting the researcher to discover the location of all known surviving manorial records. This is a great boon as the records of manors, through the vagaries of history, are often widely scattered. For example, those of the manor of Chertsey can be found in Surrey History Centre, the Duchy of Cornwall Archives, St George's Chapel Archives, Windsor, the National Archives, Hull University Archives and in private hands.

A further result of the project was the deposit with us of the final court book of the manor of Oxted covering the years 1819-1906 (ref. 7658), completing a series which begins in 1352. The manor formed part of the Barrow Green Estate of the Master family and the court book was accompanied by a volume of 10 beautiful plans by the surveyor William Figg depicting the Barrow Green and Heathenden Estates in Oxted and Tandridge, Surrey, and Sundridge, Brasted, Chiddingstone and Hever, Kent, as they were in 1809, when in the possession of the Rev. Legh Hoskins Master.

Despite the legal protection manorial records enjoy, many have disappeared through destruction; others may still be sitting unrecognised in dark corners in solicitors' strongrooms and private houses. Of the 434 Surrey manors on the Manorial Documents Register, no records of 134 of them are known to have survived. When the computerisation of the register was completed, the manor of Westbrooke (Westbrook) in Godalming was only represented by two undated rentals. However, since then, discovered in a house in the town, has emerged a series of court records, rentals and other papers dating between 1785, when Elizabeth Oglethorpe was lady of the manor, and 1895, when Henry Moon was the lord (ref. 7673).

# John Brownrigg, Architect, and the Yvonne Arnaud Theatre

The architect John Brownrigg (1911-2002), of Scott, Brownrigg and Turner, enjoyed a long and prolific career, chiefly centred on Guildford, and this is reflected in the papers and designs he left behind, some of which have been passed to the History Centre (ref. 7350) over several months. Perhaps his most important public commission was the innovative Yvonne Arnaud Theatre in Guildford, which opened in 1965, but Brownrigg was also instrumental in the research and development of timber-framed pre-fabricated houses designed for Guildway Ltd (formerly Cedar Homes Ltd) which operated from the Loseley Estate in Artington. Both projects, along with many other public and private commissions in south-west Surrey and elsewhere, are represented in the deposited papers. The files relating to the Yvonne Arnaud complement a valuable additional deposit of the Theatre's own records, the

minute books of the Trust, Board of Directors and committees, 1962-1989 (ref. 7432) which provide the essential background to the production and performance records deposited in 2001.

## Walter C. Slocock and Goldsworth Nursery

In the late 19th and for much of the 20th century Woking and north-west Surrey was notable for the many nurseries which studded the area. The easily-worked soil and good railway communication with London attracted numerous nurserymen and we were delighted in 2004 to negotiate the deposit of the records of the firm established by one of the most significant and successful of these: Walter Charles Slocock (ref. 7562).

The records deposited reveal the growth of Slocock's nursery from his acquisition of a 24 acre nursery at Goldsworth, Woking, in 1877, to the emergence of a prosperous business with nursery land covering some 420 acres at his death in 1926. Subsequent records chart the continuation of the business under Walter's sons, and the move to Knap Hill Nursery in 1976 on the sale of Goldsworth Nursery for the development of Goldsworth Park.

Walter Slocock had worked in the nursery business from about 1860, initially employed by Anthony Waterer at the Knap Hill Nursery. In the period 1872-6 he kept detailed notes on horticultural matters in five notebooks. Items covered include various nursery tasks, methods of propagation and cultivation of different plants, and materials used for shading, protecting and packing. Of particular interest are the notebooks he wrote whilst working at and visiting nurseries in Belgium and France in 1875-6. His keen eye for business as well as horticulture is revealed in his 'Notes on which plants and bulbs I considered paid most money at Van Houtte's [in Ghent], on which plants there were the greatest demands for and to which Countries they were principally sent to'.

A complete set of Slocock plant catalogues, 1892-1997 (wholesale only until 1937), is contained in the collection, revealing the expanding demand for an increasing range of plants. Sales records, too, reveal the extent of the business, both in terms of numbers of clients and their geographic spread (plants were exported to the United States, Australia and New Zealand), and the variety of plants supplied.

Walter Slocock's sons, Walter Ashley Slocock and Oliver Charles Ashley Slocock, concentrated especially on the cultivation and introduction of new varieties of rhododendron, the nursery winning many awards for its rhododendron varieties, and the records include notebooks recording the dates of rhododendron and azalea crossings, 1924-89, and rhododendron catalogues from the 1930s onwards.

The collection admirably augments the records of two other significant names in horticulture, those of Waterer and Jackman, who also established nurseries in the Woking area and whose records are already held at the History Centre.

# **Estate Maps**

For archivists working in local authority record offices, one of the great pleasures of their professional lives is taking custody of early estate maps. Such maps can be of great beauty and often provide the earliest cartographical evidence for a location before the national survey under the Tithe Redemption Act of 1836. However, if hung on walls, as they often are, they are vulnerable to fading and structural damage. Thus we were delighted during 2004 to secure the deposit of several splendid maps.

A map of Knights Farm (ref. 7641) shows the estate of Joseph Whitfield who died and was buried in Horsell in July 1751. His lands in Horsell and Woking covered 97 acres and the house, now Whitfield Court, later passed into the possession of Anthony Waterer senior and Robert Godfrey, owners of Knap Hill nursery. The surveyor, Matthew Richardson, described on the map as an accountant and surveyor of Guildford, was responsible for an early printed map of that town known as 'The Ichnography or ground plan of Guildford, the county town of Surrey', 1739, the only other known example of his work. Having acquired a digital scanner and digital camera this year and launched our public digital copying service (details are on our website), we were able to offer the depositor of the parchment map a digital print which could be framed and displayed as the original had been.

We also took in five attractive maps of the Ford Manor Estate in Lingfield (ref. 7666). This was particularly welcome as very few records of the manor administration appear to have survived and the parish is not particularly well served by early maps. Ford Manor was successively owned by the Farringdon family, Sir James Burrow and Colonel Henry Malcolm but Ford Farm, the subject of a map of 1728, belonged to Sir Joseph Jekyll, who was Master of the Rolls between 1717 and 1738. The last map in the series, of 1802, shows Great Ford, Little Ford, the Hole, Lady Cross and Burntpit, in the possession of Henry Malcolm, and includes a lovely scenic cartouche.

Another map, hitherto on display in the village hall, was a large plan of the manor and parish of Pirbright (ref. 7675). The manor was acquired by Sir Henry Halsey from Solomon Dayrolles in 1784 and the map is dated 1807. However, it appears to be some form of printed copy of an original, the location of which is not known. We were particularly pleased to acquire this large map because we already held the accompanying book of reference which gives name of property, owner, occupier, acreage and

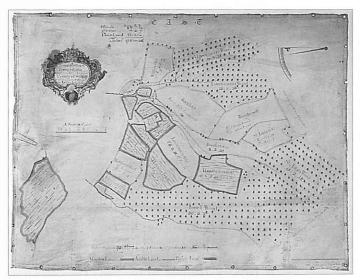


Fig. 1 A map of Ford Farm, Lingfield, the property of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, 1728, surveyed by Richard Taylor of Frant, Sussex (ref. 7666/1)

type of tenure for all the numbered plots shown on the plan. Pasted into the book is William Newland's contract with Henry Halsey of 1805 to produce the survey and map and Newland's bill for the work and receipt for payment by Halsey's executors of 1817.

Finally, we also took in a significant collection of papers relating to the estates of the Leigh Bennett family of Thorpe (ref. 7624). Along with a number of written surveys and a series of rentals of the manor, the earliest of 1701, the records included a plan of Thorpe Manor Estate, apparently dating to the 1830s. A colour key shows lands which belonged to the Rev. John Leigh Bennett, those acquired by the Rev Henry Leigh Bennett, those which were copyhold, and those which are now enfranchised.

# The Early Days of Cycling

In the late 19th century Ripley was known as 'the Mecca of all good cyclists'. The *Anchor Hotel*, Ripley, was especially renowned for the refreshments and accommodation dispensed by the landlady, Mrs Harriet Dibble, and her two daughters to the cyclists thronging the London to Portsmouth road, which passed through the village. A series of cyclists' visitor books was kept at the *Anchor*, recording the details of all those cyclists who passed along the road, stopped at the hotel and signed the books. Details given included date, number in the book (each year starting at 1), name and cycling club. Occasionally other details or comments were added, including length or times of journey, state of the roads or the weather, and many pages show plentiful evidence of the refreshments taken at the hotel. At its peak the number of

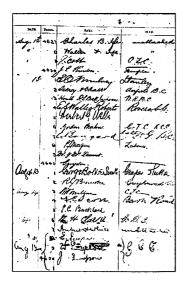


Fig. 2 A page from the Cyclist's Visitors Book kept at The *Anchor Hotel*, Ripley, for 1888. H.G. Wells has signed on 13 August (ref. 7597/9).

entries per year in the books exceeded 6,000, mainly men, but including the names of some women. Signatories include riders from local cycling clubs in Ripley and Guildford (whose members included H.G. Wells), the Surrey Bicycle Club, and many clubs from south London and further afield. The books are an important and early witness to the first years of cycling.

In 2002 the then tenant of the Anchor sold some of the books at auction, where they were purchased by an overseas buyer. The remainder were then purchased by Mr L.G. Bowerman of Ripley, to ensure that they remained locally, and were acquired from him after a fundraising campaign by Surrey History Trust in April 2004. The collection now held at the History Centre (ref. 7597), covering the period 1881 to 1895, comprises both original volumes and photocopies, acquired thanks to Mr Bowerman, of those sold overseas. The volume covering 1887

(7597/8) was bought for the benefit of posterity by the Ripley Road Section of the Veteran-Cycle Club, founded in 1886.

# **Church of England Parishes**

Like manorial records described earlier, the records of Church of England parishes are another class of records which enjoy better protection than many. Under the Parochial Registers and Records Measure of 1978 a regime of inspections was established and diocesan record offices appointed. Surrey History Centre, as diocesan record office for the diocese of Guildford and much of the diocese of Southwark, has over the last year completed a programme of visits to hitherto unsurveyed parishes and has taken on deposit the records of a number of churches which had not deposited before. All the parishes in question were created in the 19th or 20th centuries – the last ancient parish deposited its records in 1991 – but the records are still of great interest, reflecting the growth of towns and the impact of the railways on the population of the county. Parish registers, in particular, remain a source of enormous importance to family historians.

Those parishes which deposited their historic records for the first time in 2004 include: All Saints with St Margaret, Upper Norwood (7583); St

Philip's, Reigate (7586); the Good Shepherd, Tadworth (7573); St Mark's, Reigate (7566); St Philip's, Norbury (7599); Christ Church, Lower Nutfield (7631); St Andrew's, Frimley Green (7644); and All Saints, South Merstham (7653).

The last named church has a particularly interesting history, On 19 April 1941 a German bomb exploded in Battlebridge Lane, wrecking the Victorian church, the vicarage and two adjacent houses. Troops of the Corps of Royal Canadian Engineers were billeted in the district and in 1943, inspired and directed by their chaplain, Capt. the Rev. Hedley Wolfendale, they built a new church out of the bricks and timber of the old one. The church was built in 33 days and was consecrated on Easter Day 1943. The temporary church, which became known as the 'Canadian Church', served the community for some nine years until a new church was built on the site of the original one. The new church was consecrated in 1952, the temporary church becoming the church hall and known as Canada Hall.

#### **Reaching New Audiences**

As part of its collections development programme Surrey History Centre has made significant progress attracting deposits of records relating to the many diverse communities that have not been well represented in its holdings until recently. Woking has one of the longest established ethnic minority communities in the UK, and in February 2004 a unique collection of reports capturing the town's rich cultural diversity and aspects of the lives of several of the communities was deposited with us (ref. 7553). The project, carried out by the Educational Liaison Unit and Department of Educational Studies at the University of Surrey, in partnership with the Surrey Care Trust, aimed to gather together the reports, often unpublished, generated by the many investigations and initiatives undertaken over the past ten years by local and central government, health authorities, charities and other organisations. Their subjects range across health, community relations, culture and education and together they provide a rich insight into some of the recent experiences of the ethnic minority communities.

Travelling communities form the largest of Surrey's ethnic minority groups yet, despite being here for at least 500 years, the history and culture of Britain's travelling peoples has rarely been visible within public museums, libraries and archives in the region. However, an innovative new project, based at Surrey History Centre, called 'Roads to Your Past', is set to change that. Surrey Museums Consultative Committee is working in partnership with travellers, museums, libraries and archives in the south east, and with cultural organisations across Europe, to identify and remove barriers in accessing cultural heritage. Romani journalist Jake Bowers has been employed as

project researcher and his work has involved identifying relevant collections held within the region's museums, libraries and archives and consulting with members from all of the region's travelling communities about how best to preserve and celebrate their unique heritage. His research agenda is available for consultation via the SMCC website www.surreymuseums.org. uk/interesting/travellers.htm

We have also been assessing the user-friendliness of our facilities, and as a direct result of a visual impairment audit of the Centre in June 2004, the charity Surrey Association for Visual Impairment (SAVI), formerly Surrey Voluntary Association for the Blind, presented their historic archive in December (ref. 7711). Chronicling the provision of services for visually impaired people in the county since 1922, this fascinating archive includes a fine series of detailed minutes, annual reports, publicity material and publications, and complements records of the County Council's work in this field. The provision of a new CCTV scanner in the public searchroom means improved facilities for those customers with any visual impairment or simply better magnification for anyone studying archaic handwriting or using our many visual sources.

# Surrey on the Move

Following the success and publicity generated by Surrey History Centre's first film compilation Surrey on Film, 1913-1953: A Community in Peace and War, launched in May 2004, an increasing amount of fascinating new archive film has been passed to us in the last 12 months, most of which has now been sent on for storage and conservation to the South East Film and Video Archive in Brighton and Chichester, which can provide the necessary environment and specialist equipment. Notable examples of newly unearthed film include footage of the Woking Whirl carnival in 1965 and 1970, 16mm film of Clandon Home Guard, 1942, and 8mm film of Guildford in the 1960s, including the demolition of the Friary Brewery, Guildford Cathedral under construction, and the 1968 floods.

# A Miscellany

The following somewhat arbitrary selection of some interesting smaller accessions merely gives a flavour of the range of records which we have taken in.

The BBC's 'People's War' project has generated much interest in Britain's experience of the global conflict in World War II. We were very pleased to receive a Guildford Rural District Council ARP and civil defence personnel identity register (7532) for the years 1942-3. The register comprises a record of identifications issued, and gives national registration identity number,

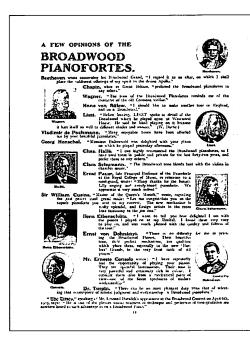


Fig. 3 A page from a catalogue of John Broadwood and Sons, piano makers, c. 1910, proclaiming the firm's international reputation (ref. 7703/1).

name and address of holder, date and place of birth, sex, height, eye and hair colour, visible distinguishing marks, ARP or civil defence job title, date certified and by whom certified. Office copies of the ID card photographs are pasted into the register. The donor's father worked for Guildford RDC as a building surveyor and was the ARP chief warden from 1943. He

presumably kept the register as a memento of his service.

Our collection of material relating to the celebrated piano manufacturers, John Broadwood and Sons, continues to grow. We were delighted to have the opportunity to purchase the firm's brochure for its contribution to the International Exhibition of 1862 (ref. 7555). The exhibition ran from May to November 1862 in South Kensington (where the Natural History and Science Museums now stand). Even larger and more ambitious than the Great Exhibition of 1851, it attracted over 6 million visitors. According to the list of articles exhibited, the company displayed four concert grand pianofortes and parts, a variety of parts from an ordinary drawing room pianoforte and models to illustrate the principles of stringing. The catalogue states that, between 1780 and 1861, the firm had produced 124,048 pianofortes. The musical jury declared that Broadwoods should be placed 'without controversy, at the head of the Pianoforte Makers who exhibit on the present occasion', and awarded the firm a Gold Medal. Later in the year we also purchased a Broadwood catalogue and price list of around 1910 (ref. 7703) extolling the company's deferred payment scheme ('the New System of Broadwood Surrender Value') and including endorsements by famous musicians: Beethoven is recorded as saying of his Broadwood Grand, 'I regard it as an altar, on which I shall place the sublimest offerings of my



Fig. 4 The emblem of the Croydon, Merstham and Godstone Iron Railway Company, from a share certificate issued to Henry Hoare of Mitcham, 1804 (ref. 7702/1).

spirit to the divine Apollo'; Wagner stated, 'The tone of the Broadwood Pianofortes reminds me of the character of the old Cremona violins.' These two items complement the vast archive of the firm, recently recatalogued. The project funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund to repair and rebind some of the most significant of the firm's records, the day books recording the movement of pianos, has recently been successfully completed, and we are in the early stages of planning an exhibition and related events to celebrate the firm in 2006.

Two other small purchases might be mentioned. Medieval deeds are of great importance particularly in the absence of so many other sources for later periods. Thus we were pleased to acquire a quitclaim of 20 May 1336 by Ralph Seryck to Thomas Schyrewyt and his wife Matilda of all his rights in a tenement formerly held by William Stube at La Moneken Hok (Monkton Hook), Alfold. The deed includes a list of witnesses which assists in the construction of a picture of the local community in the 14th century (ref. 7701).

In 1804 Henry Hoare of Mitcham bought a share in the Croydon, Merstham and Godstone Iron Railway and his share certificate has been added to our holdings (ref. 7702). The first public railway, the Surrey Iron Railway, was constructed before the age of steam in 1802 and initially ran between Wandsworth and Croydon with a branch line running from Mitcham to Hackbridge. A petition was put before Parliament for an extension of the railway from Croydon, through Merstham to Godstone on 13 December 1802 and received the Royal Assent on 27 May 1803. The engineer William Jessop's 'estimate of expense' had been £52,347 but only £43,600 had been raised by the time the bill went before Parliament. As a result it was agreed to go ahead with the line only from Croydon to Merstham and subsequent debts and unprofitability meant that the railway was not extended beyond the latter destination.

# **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:

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

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

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

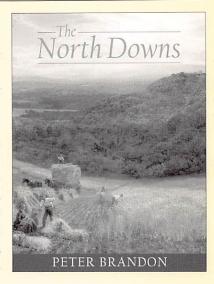
> The Churches of Surrey by Mervyn Blatch 1997 £30.00 (hardback)

These books were published for the Surrey Local History Council by Phillimore & Co. Ltd. They are available from many bookshops in the county or from the publisher: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, Shopwyke Manor Barn, Chichester, West Sussex, PO20 2BG, www.phillimore.co.uk. Members are invited to obtain their copies from the Hon. Secretary, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.

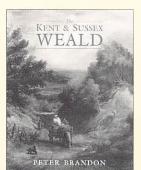
### NEW BOOK FROM PHILLIMORE

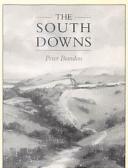
Surrey local historians have long admired Dr Brandon's inspiring lectures and elegant prose. His love of South-East England illuminates all of his work, and his knowledge of the region enriches our appreciation of it.

Following in the footsteps of his acclaimed work on the Kent & Sussex Weald and the South Downs, he completes the trilogy with the North Downs. This long-awaited book from a much-loved local historian, in his inimitable style, examines all aspects of the North Downs and Surrey Hills – history, landscape, residence, playground, sanatorium, health resort, field laboratory and artists' open-air studio.



Publication November 2005 at £25. All three volumes (RRP £75) are available direct from the publisher (quote ref. SH05) at £60 post free.





## PHILLIMORE & CO. LTD

Shopwyke Manor Barn, Chichester, West Sussex, England PO20 2BG Tel. (01243) 787636 Fax. (01243) 787639 e-mail: bookshop@phillimore.co.uk www.phillimore.co.uk



