

# SURREY HISTORY



## Surrey and the Motor

Nine Newly Identified Bounds of Three Contiguous Manors in  
Tenth-Century Surrey Charters

The Town Association of the Borough of Guildford: Part 2

Some Notes on South West Surrey's Seventeenth- and  
Eighteenth-Century Trade Tokens

Lord Rosebury and His Hobby

Surrey History Centre Accessions of Records and Cataloguing  
Projects in 2005

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

*Secretary:* Helen Davies, 6 St Omer Road, Guildford, Surrey. GU1 2DB

*Editor, Surrey History:* Andrew Cornwall, c/o Surrey Archaeological Society

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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.

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

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Editor:  
Andrew Cornwall

Advisory Committee:  
Alan Crocker, Glenys Crocker, John Janaway, Gerard Moss,  
Maggie Vaughan-Lewis

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A selection of trade tokens.

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# SURREY AND THE MOTOR

*Gordon Knowles*

The county has been involved with the motor right from the beginning, from the very first introduction of French and German cars into this country more than 100 years ago.

The invention of the cycle was only a little in advance of the motor car. It liberated middle-class Britain, enabling many to venture out on their own from their town or village for the first time. They could travel without the need to keep, feed and stable a horse, or to own a carriage as the aristocracy did. Cycling clubs provided the friendship of like minds and, as they ventured further away from home into the countryside, road surfaces slowly improved.

Development of the roads has been in response to the internal combustion engine and also to Government legislation which sometimes the county has led the way in introducing and in others has followed. The county was among the first to introduce significant road improvements and provided a pioneering motoring inventor who at one time was thought to have been the first to put a British-built car on a public road in this country. He was John Henry Knight of Farnham who has his place in motoring history through his actions, leading to the repeal of the notorious Red Flag Act. Both the RAC and the AA had their origins in the county.

Brooklands race track forms a major part of any history of Surrey and the motor. It nurtured and stimulated many significant designers, builders and drivers of record-breaking cars.

There have been well over 100 manufacturers of cars and commercial vehicles in the county, none of whom can be said to have been volume producers. Many built, and most of those still in business still do build, sporting or racing cars. Two manufacturers, both fortunately still with us today, have celebrated their centenary. Alongside them in the 21st century are builders of sporting and racing cars and specialised off-road vehicles.

## **Legislation and Roads**

Surrey has, like all counties, obviously been influenced by road legislation and at times has influenced Government. The first toll road in the county was opened from Crawley to Reigate in 1696, though it was not fit for carriages until 1755. The line of today's A3 was turnpiked between 1711 and 1749, always being the major land route from London to the navy at

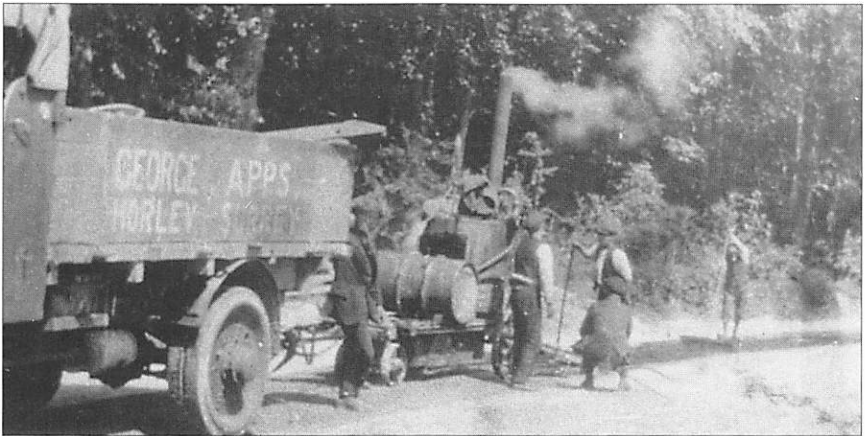


Fig 1 Dorking Tar machine, 1910 (SIHG).

Portsmouth. The last turnpike in the county was between Godalming and near Dunsfold in 1836.

The County Council was first elected in 1889, following the demise of those parts of the county absorbed into the newly created London County Council, when responsibility for main roads was handed over to it. Surrey was the first county council to have its own asphalt plant when one was established at Dorking in 1908. Adoption of new surfacing techniques followed reports of major damage to roads, bridges and buildings by heavy steam-hauled wagon trains, both civil and military. A key factor in road improvement was political. David Lloyd George was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the early years of the 20th century. His 1908 Budget for the first time raised income from vehicle licensing to be used for road improvements. We are all well aware how this soon changed once the Treasury got their hands on the revenue.

By 1912, motor traffic was equalling or exceeding horse-drawn on all the busiest roads. There were 700 cars and motor-cycles a day, even in winter, on the Portsmouth Road at Thames Ditton. On the Brighton Road at Reigate over 200 a day were recorded.

At the outbreak of war in 1914, the surface of many Surrey roads had been transformed, but they still mainly followed their old alignments from village to village with sharp bends. Proposals for new roads from Kingston on the Portsmouth Road and at Sutton on the Brighton Road were shelved, but the County Council undertook to consider these 'loop roads' on their merits.

Traffic volumes increased rapidly throughout the 20th century, heavier vehicles increasing the wear on the road surfaces and adding to congestion. Early attempts to improve conditions included modifying bends and gradients,

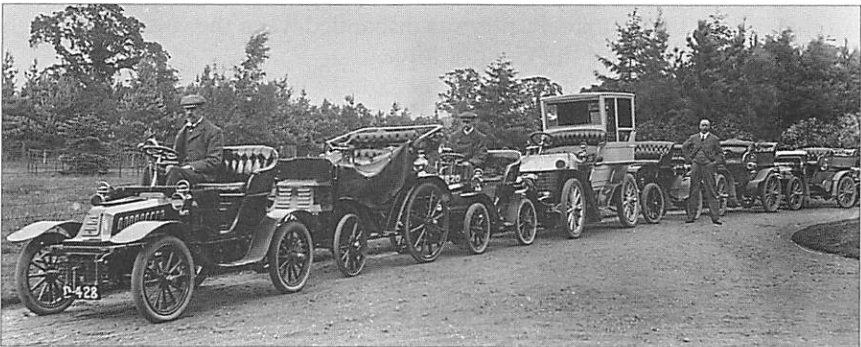
but it was not until the first by-passes were introduced in the nineteen twenties, and subsequently dual carriageways constructed, that traffic flows significantly improved.

John Henry Knight of Farnham was one of a small band who were responsible for the abolition of the notorious 'Red Flag Act' in 1895 and had instigated the setting up of the Self Propelled Traffic Association, specifically for that purpose. It later developed into what ultimately became the RAC.

The activities of the notorious Capt. Sant, the Chief Constable of the county police, ruthlessly entrapping the speeding motorist during the early years of the 20th century were noted, and ridiculed, by cartoonists in the national press. The Portsmouth Road was a favourite spot. His activities were largely responsible for the setting up of the AA, the inspiration for which was Charles Jarrott who formed the Automobilists Mutual Association. It employed men on cycles on the Brighton Road carrying a red handkerchief to warn motorists of a speed trap, although this was never formally acknowledged as it would have contravened the law. Their stated mission was to 'assist members in trouble'.

In October 1905, *The Times* carried an announcement from the newly appointed secretary of the AA, Stenson Cooke. 'I have the pleasure to inform motorists that the heavily trapped part of the Portsmouth Road from Esher to the nineteenth milestone will henceforth be patrolled by our cyclist scouts on every day of the week. This is our first step towards that daily protection which is the aim of our committee to establish and the funds permitting, continue on every important road, until the time shall arrive when police traps cease from troubling and the stopwatch is at rest'.

When by-passes were first introduced they, perhaps surprisingly, were not always totally welcomed by the local populace. For instance, in 1929 over one thousand inhabitants of Ewell petitioned against the proposed by-pass and in the '30s Shere Parish Council protested against the one proposed



**Fig 2** Meeting of the Automobile Club at Knight's house at Barfield 1898 (Chris Shephard).

for their village; in fact, it was not built until after the Second World War. In 1934, a by-pass south of Farnham was planned against the wishes of the District Council, which preferred a more northerly line cutting through Farnham Park.

The County Council found itself in opposition to the Ministry of Transport from time to time. For example, when the Ministry proposed its A23 Merstham, Redhill and Horley by-pass, the Council argued that the cross-country A25 was more important: 'Roads with real commercial or military significance should take preference over a route used mainly for pleasure motoring'.

It may surprise some to learn that as long ago as 1928 a London to Brighton Toll Road was proposed. It would have been taken off the Kingston by-pass at Surbiton, across Epsom Common, under the Epsom to Chessington and the Epsom to Leatherhead Roads. Then by tunnel under Pebble Hill by Betchworth lime works across the Dorking to Reigate Road east of Buckland to Leigh and Newdigate to the county boundary near Rusper.

There was considerable opposition and a conference was convened by Surrey County Council on 18 January 1929 attended by 50 representatives of the objecting bodies. Concerns were expressed over the possibility of private parties gaining approval to collect tolls. So the recent M6 deviation around Birmingham was not the first such proposal after all. There was also concern over 'the building of a speedway' and real fears that the County Council would need to step in if private speculators failed financially. Although a Parliamentary Bill was proposed it was not proceeded with.

In the '30s there was no unified county police force. The Reigate Superintendent, Col. Bleacher, was more forward looking than most in the setting up of a high-speed car section under the direction of Sir Malcolm Campbell who was given the rank of Inspector in the Special Constabulary. He introduced Alfa-Romeo cars, among the fastest on the market at the time. In 1935, Bleacher introduced an Air Patrol with de Havilland biplanes – another first. Unfortunately, this was disbanded when the various Borough forces were unified into the County force.

By 1939, all the main roads in the county had been transformed and even minor roads were tarmacaded. Traffic had increased enormously during the '20s and '30s. In 1919, 11,590 motor vehicles had been registered; by 1938 the figure was 127,193. By then the A3, A23 and A30 roads were each taking 25,000 tons of traffic a day, ten times the level of 1914. In 1937, the Ministry of Transport took over the responsibility for maintenance of main roads, but the County Council was employed to undertake most of the work.

The Surrey County Council Act of 1931 served as the precedent for other local Acts concerned with controlling shanty development and other activities which were spoiling areas 'which hitherto had been places of

beauty and were now hideous and to be avoided'. The success of the county led to the Government to introduce the Town & Country Planning Act in 1932 and the Restrictions of Ribbon Development Act in 1935. Surrey had led the way.

The Abercrombie report gave high priority to the building of the North and South Orbital Roads around London. In 1947, the line of the South Orbital through Surrey was approved. Prior to this in 1946 the county had been asked to plan a new road to supersede the A30 between Egham and Frimley. In 1952, a new road to replace the A23 was surveyed. Thus the M25, M3 and M23 were all now on the map but due to financial restraints no action was taken for almost twenty years. The M3 to Lightwater was opened in 1971 and a year later work started on the M25.

## The Pioneers

I have been intrigued by the debate as to whether John Henry Knight of Farnham was the first Briton to run a British-built car on a public road in this country. His interesting family story has been well told by others but little said on this subject. Suffice to say that Knight built a steam car for his own pleasure, and not as a potential commercial venture, selling it on in 1877. He then turned his attention to an internal combustion-engined vehicle and in 1895 designed a lightweight motor tricycle powered by a single-cylinder gas engine, a smaller version of the Trusty engine adapted to run on Benzolene. This was only ten years after Benz and Daimler in the Neckar Valley in Southern Germany had come up independently with workable versions of the first internal combustion-engined vehicles.

Knight's three-wheeled car and engine was built for him at the Reliance engineering works in Farnham under George Parfitt. Knight ran his car around Farnham deliberately flouting the law and its restriction of four mph on the public road. There were probably at this time no more than a dozen cars on English roads, all of French or German manufacture. Knight and his friends Sir David Salomons and Charles Simms published the *Autocar* magazine to highlight the anomaly in Britain and sought to change the law. Knight was prosecuted and fined 2s. 6d. with 12s. 6d. costs, for driving up and down Castle Street in Farnham in excess of four mph. Knight had obtained publicity for the cause, his real intention. Legislation soon followed to change the law.

Knight improved his car, increasing the power output to 3hp and fitted two front wheels giving the car greater stability. Simms, Salomons and Knight had set up The Self Propelled Traffic Association, its sole task being to persuade Government to change the law. In November 1896, the Locomotives on the Highway Act was passed, raising the speed limit to 12mph and dispensing with the need for a man to walk in front carrying a red flag. An Emancipation Run was held from London to Brighton. There is no record of Knight actually taking part and of course it is commemorated



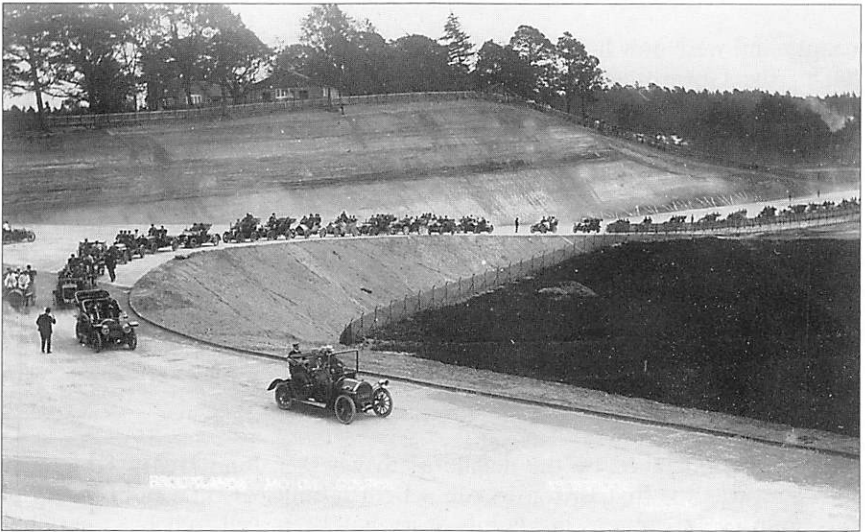


Fig 3 Opening Day at Brooklands, 17 June 1907 (Brooklands Museum).

annually in November to this day. Knight's car is preserved in the National Motor Museum at Beaulieu, unfortunately no longer in running order.

For some years it was debated whether Knight or Henry Lanchester in Coventry ran the first British car on a public road in this country. It seems fairly conclusive that Knight's three-wheeler was first, in July 1895, followed by Lanchester in February 1896 and then Knight with his four-wheeler in April 1896. However, in 1912 the case was made for Frederick Bremer in Walthamstow, the claim that his car first ran in December 1894 being subsequently upheld by the Veteran Car Club. More recently a case has been made for the Santler Brothers in Malvern, Worcestershire. They had built a steam car in 1887 and seemingly converted it to run first on coal gas and then on petrol in 1894, though whether before Bremer still seems to be in some doubt.

Whichever of these claimants really was the first, Knight was certainly among them and by his actions undoubtedly helped to bring about the change in the law.

### **Brooklands**

The Hon. Hugh Fortescue Locke King and his wife Ethel were keen early motorists and, when visiting Brescia in Italy to view the racing held there on closed public roads, they were surprised not to see any English cars taking part. They were told 'that it is because you do not allow racing on public roads and have no dedicated track to test and race your cars'. Locke King returned home determined to remedy the situation. In less than a year he built and paid for a track on his own estate near Weybridge, naming it

Brooklands after his family home. On the opening day, 17 June 1907, Mrs Locke King led the grand procession around the course. The early races were not received by the press and local residents at all enthusiastically. The *Surrey Herald* was not impressed. After the first race on 6 July 1907, 'On Saturday last residents of Weybridge were favoured with a foretaste of what may be expected for the next few years, or at any rate till the public curiosity as regards the new sport dies the natural death which probably awaits it. What, after all, can there be in watching the endless circling of highly-developed machines round and round a circumscribed area?'

But up to 1914, many races were held including record-breaking attempts, both over distances and for speed. The World Land Speed record was set at Brooklands several times up to 1914.

The 1920s saw such famous characters as A.B.(Ebby) Ebblewhite, starter and handicapper, Col. Lindsay Lloyd, Clerk of the Course, Count Zborowski of Chitty Chitty Bang Bang fame – yes, there really were several cars so named – Guinness, Campbell and my favourite Brooklands character of the period, Parry Thomas. His most famous cars were the Leyland Special and 'Babs', the latter built on a Mercedes chassis bought from Zborowski's estate after his untimely death in the Italian Grand Prix and fitted with a 27-litre First World War Liberty aero engine. 'Babs' is today based at the Brooklands museum during the winter, returning to her own dedicated museum at Pendine during the summer months. She also makes periodic outings at Goodwood and elsewhere.

Thomas and Malcolm Campbell wrested the World Land Speed record from each other up until Thomas' untimely death when he crashed on Pendine Sands on 3 March 1927.

The first two British Grand Prix were held at Brooklands in 1926 and 1927. Both were dominated by French cars and drivers and were the only ones held in this country until after the Second World War.

The '30s tyros included John Cobb and his record-breaking Napier Railton which holds the ultimate lap record of 143.44 mph set in October 1935. The car still exists in running order and is based in the Brooklands museum, taking the air regularly at Brooklands, Goodwood and elsewhere, making demonstration runs.

Vickers took over the Brooklands site on the outbreak of war in 1939 and by 1945 the track had deteriorated so much that the resumption of racing was impossible. The museum of Aviation and Motoring was established in the 1970s and has gone from strength to strength. Currently the development by Mercedes (UK) Ltd. of a new technical centre, test track, museum and an hotel is well under way across the river on the old airfield site.

## **Two Centenarian Manufacturers**

There are two vehicle manufacturers who have been in continuous business in the county for over 100 years. They are Dennis of Guildford and AC of Thames Ditton and elsewhere. Both companies have had their highs and

lows, financial traumas seem to have been commonplace and more than once survival of both the businesses has seemed improbable.

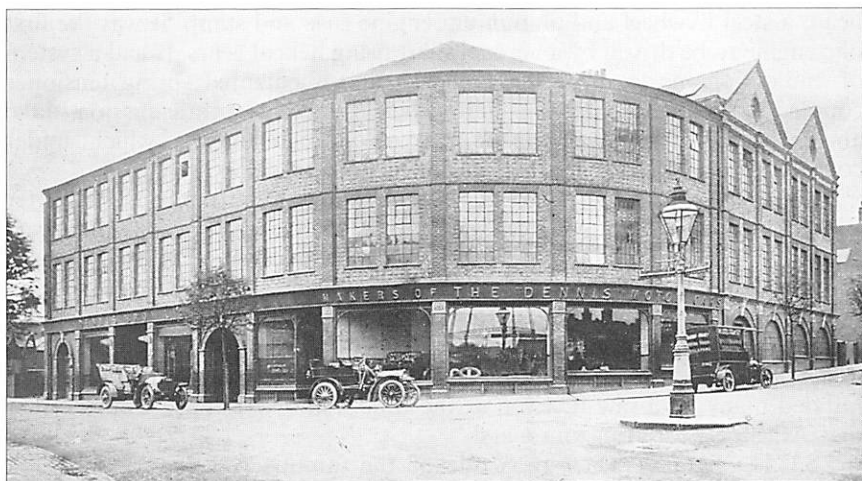
The origins of Dennis Brothers was in the cycle trade in Guildford High Street. They moved in 1901, after a period in the old barracks buildings in Friary Street, to Onslow Street by the river, to what is now known as the Rodboro building after the firm who took over the site from Dennis in 1919. Here they built their early cars, commercial vehicles, charabancs and, of course, fire engines. Dennis cars were comparable with Rolls Royce, Daimler and Napier. The first commercial vehicle was a 25-cwt van built for Harrods in 1904 and the first fire engine was in 1908 for the City of Bradford Fire Dept. Car production was subsequently dropped, the brothers not wishing to compete head on with the new larger volume manufacturers. They preferred to tackle what today we would call niche markets. The Rodboro building was extended twice, in 1903 and 1905, the latter the same year that a 31-acre site on Woodbridge Hill was bought. The first building on the new site was a redundant mission hall, moved from Brixton. It survived until 1985.

The Rodboro building is important internationally and is generally considered to be the oldest extant purpose-built multi-storey car factory in the world. An older building in Coventry was converted from a textile mill and the Renault plant in Paris, which had vied with the Rodboro, was demolished in the 1990s. After a very chequered career the Rodboro was saved during the 1990s when it was listed and ultimately converted into a themed Wetherspoon pub. The architects and new owners received the 2000 Surrey Industrial History Group conservation award.

The '20s and '30s on the Woodbridge Hill site saw a concentration on bus and fire engine chassis. Bus bodies were built in house but in general both buses and fire engines were bodied by others. Dennis commercial vehicles were popular with removals firms and breweries but never competed in volume with the likes of Leyland or Bedford. John and Raymond Dennis both died 'in harness' within months of each other in 1939, severing the family connection.

During the war, Dennis built a range of vehicles for the war effort: some 3,000 'Max' 6-8 ton trucks for the army, fire pumps, bombs and Churchill tanks. The labour force was put on to shifts and reached 4,000 at its peak, twice the pre-war number.

The immediate years after the end of the Second World War were some of the best for the company but productivity and financial pressures gradually bore heavily on it. There were several changes of ownership resulting in the closing of the Woodbridge Hill site and a move in 1990 to a new assembly plant on the Slyfield estate. There was a potentially disastrous financial collapse in March 2004. Fortunately the business has survived under yet new ownership, still producing bus and fire engine chassis for home and overseas customers. The far east remains a strong market for the business.



**Fig 4** The Rodboro Building 1905 (attributed to Transbus Dennis).

The story of AC (Autocarrier) inevitably centres on the personalities of John Weller, S.F. Edge and the Hurlock brothers, their designs, triumphs and eccentricities. Weller's famously long-lived single ohc 6-cylinder engine, progressively developed over 33 years from 1919 to 1952, played a prominent role in the fortunes of the company as did the post-war activities leading to the ventures with Carroll Shelby and the well-known Cobra. The marque's rally triumphs were numerous. After moving from Thames Ditton more recent developments have been on the Brooklands estate, Camberley and elsewhere.

John Weller designed a 20 hp car which he put into production under his own name in Norwood in 1903. He then designed a 5.6 hp air-cooled single cylinder engine driving by chain to the single rear wheel of his Autocarrier, a light commercial vehicle. He set up a new company, 'Autocars and Accessories Ltd.' to manufacture a passenger version. He produced the AC Tricar, the first time the abbreviated name was used, in 1907. It sold for £85.

Production soon outstripped the Norwood factory so Weller moved to the Ferry Works at Thames Ditton, vacated by the steam engine builders Willans & Robinson after their move to a new factory in Rugby. The first four-wheeled car came in 1913, a 10-hp model with a three-speed gearbox integral with the rear axle and powered by a French Fivet engine. The car was tested on the track at Brooklands, the first of many such ventures. It reached 45mph on the straight, a not insignificant speed for a light car of the period.

In 1919, Weller designed his famous single ohc 'light six' engine. It was rated at 1991cc and weighed under 350 pounds. It had a cast iron cylinder

head, a steel flywheel and aluminium engine case and sump. It was the first ohc engine to be driven by a vertical shaft using helical gears. It had a system of endless chains to drive the camshaft and a patented spring tensioner coupled to an inverted driving chain. The car had a disc transmission brake and integral rear-axle gearbox. A truly revolutionary design which, under continuous development, stayed in production until 1963.

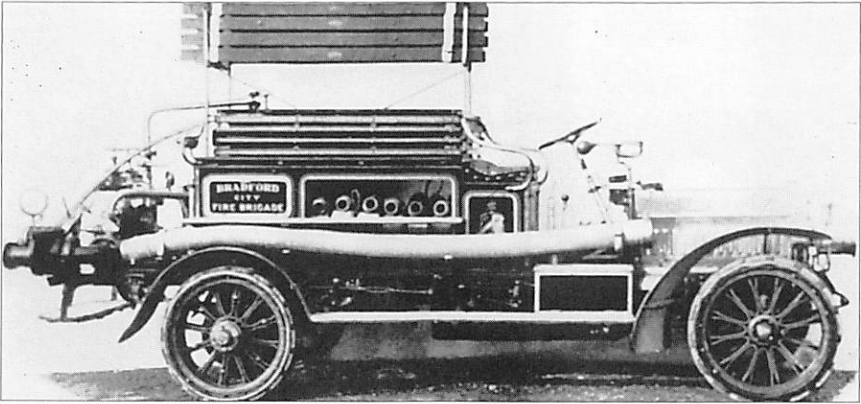
S.F. Edge joined the board in 1921, becoming Chairman in 1922, after Weller resigned in circumstances which have never been revealed. He stayed on as design consultant but clashed many times with Edge who was a flamboyant and difficult man. He was determined to put 'his' company on the map and did so by turning to racing and particularly long-distance record breaking. It was at this time that the slogan 'Amazing Cars' appeared on the end gable wall of the factory. It outlived the company on the site and puzzled many who saw it. Even at the time there were those who thought that AC stood for Amazing Cars!

S.C.H. 'Sammy' Davis was one of the famous AC drivers. He took many records at Brooklands and elsewhere. Between 1922 and 1924, 121 records were either established or broken by Davis and others. By 1929, the company was caught up in the great depression and, in severe financial difficulties, went into voluntary liquidation. It was bought up by the Hurlock brothers in 1930, new models were introduced which became popular during the '30s.

During the Second World War, AC produced aircraft components and undercarriages for 'Hamilcar' gliders. It opened a new factory on Taggs Island, by Hampton Court, to manufacture gun-sights and six-pounder guns. Flame throwers and rockets were among the more unusual products from Taggs Island during the war. After the war the Weller 6-cylinder engine was further developed, now with bronze bearing shells with white-metal liners, and was fitted to a new range of open and closed sports cars.

A remarkable shift in design came about when the Ministry of Works approached AC to design and build an 'All Weather Invalid Carriage'. This simple and rather crude vehicle was built at Taggs Island from parts made at Thames Ditton. Over 3,000 were built, fitted with a BSA 250cc two-stroke engine. In 1953, a commercial two-seat version was introduced, the 'Petite'. Some 1,500 were built, finding a ready market following the Suez crisis. They did not have a long-term future and were dropped in 1958.

The Weller engine was not capable of further development and, although new designs were put in hand, almost by chance a major development took place when a stark, simple sports car, designed by John Tojeiro, was taken up, developed and put into production fitted with either an AC or a bought-in Bristol or Ford engine. Thus, the famous AC 'Ace' was born using the same model name from the '30s. The car was successfully raced and rallied and was imported into the USA by Carroll Shelby. In conjunction with Ford of America, he produced the prototype 'Cobra' with a 3.6 litre engine. It



**Fig 5** The first Dennis Fire Engine for City of Bradford Fire Department 1908 (attributed to Transbus Dennis).

was further developed with a 4.2 and then a 4.7 litre Ford engine. Cars for markets outside the US were built at Thames Ditton but the racing models and those for the American market were built by Shelby from chassis and bodysHELLS supplied by Thames Ditton.

A new model, the '3000ME', was put in hand in 1973. There were many delays getting it into production and it finally did so in 1977, but the price had risen significantly just as a recession hit the market. The car did not have the legendary AC road-holding and was unsuccessful. The financial position was once again shaky and a move to smaller premises in the High Street did little to help. Derek Hurlock sold the business to a Scottish entrepreneur who took the jigs, tools and moulds for the 3000ME to Glasgow. In spite of funds from the Scottish Development Agency, the money ran out after a mere 30 cars had been built. A brief move to Hertfordshire merely worsened the financial position and AC was declared bankrupt. Meanwhile, 1,640 Cobras had been built and there was a significant market for spares. In 1976, Brian Angliss had set up a small factory at Brooklands to supply these and also to build replica Cobras. By 1981, the company had become CP Autocraft and had acquired the AC name. The Ford Motor Co. took up an interest which resulted in new premises being built at Brooklands and a new Ace went into production with a 5-litre Ford engine.

In 1996, the firm once more went into liquidation and yet another new company was formed, AC Cars Group Ltd., backed by Alan Lubinsky of the US Pride Automotive Group Inc. In 2001, the firm moved to Camberley, but in 2002 the business went into voluntary liquidation. AC survives with production of the carbon fibre bodied Cobra transferred to Malta while limited manufacture of the aluminium-alloy bodied Ace continues at Camberley. All cars are built to order.



Fig 6 1939 AC 16/80 (attributed to Gordon Knowles)

The final words in the official company history, written in 1952, sum it all up: 'AC Cars are now one of the very few specialist manufacturers in the [United Kingdom], and we shall continue to produce our product as a quality car. Quoting Ruskin, "There is hardly anything in the world that some man cannot make a little cheaper, and the people whom consider price only are this man's lawful prey"'.

### Sports and Racing Cars

These sum up for me what Surrey motoring is all about. There were a number of sports and racing car manufacturers in the '20s and '30s, others

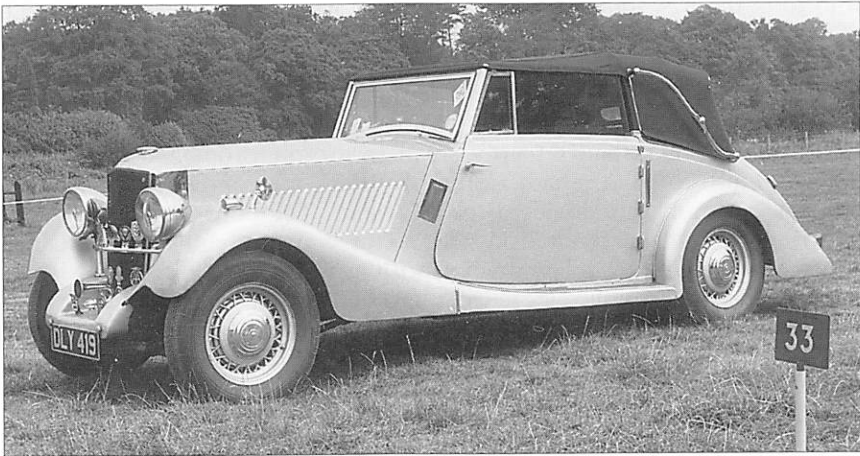


Fig 7 1936 Raitlon 8 Fairmile Drophead Coupe (The National Motor Museum)

originating post-Second World War. Many have disappeared, though some are fortunately still very much with us. From AC, Alta, Atalanta, Brabham, Caterham, Connaught, Elva, Emeryson, Felday, Frazer Nash, through HRG, HWM, Invicta, Lagonda, Lister, Lola, Marlborough Thomas, to McLaren, Panther, Railton, Safir, Silver Hawk, Stylus, Tiger and Tyrrell.

### **Coach and Body Builders**

There were numerous coach and body builders in the county. The two most significant were Abbott in Farnham, who built on chassis from Rolls Royce to Ford, and Weymann in Addlestone, who concentrated on buses for London Transport.

### **100 Plus Manufacturers**

In tracing well over one hundred vehicle manufacturers and component suppliers in the county, I ignored the present county boundaries. If the builder of cars or maker of parts was in Surrey at the time I have included them in my list. Some of these produced no more than a single prototype vehicle, others had limited production runs. I fully expect other names to appear, as during my researches I discovered some from the early days that I was previously unaware of.

And my favourite make of Surrey car must be the Railton. The Fairmile coupé designed by Reid Railton, and built in Cobham in 1936 at the old Invicta works, in my view, epitomises all that is Surrey motoring at its best. It was the first design incorporating a classic English body and chassis with a powerful American engine, the Hudson 4 litre Terraplane 8. The car could be driven almost anywhere in top gear and was capable of reaching 90 mph. I think that it is one of the best looking cars built in Surrey – or anywhere else.

For a county without any traditional heavy industry or any volume motor manufacturer, Surrey has produced many significant designs and, at Brooklands, the most famous pre-Second World War race track in the country.



# NINE NEWLY IDENTIFIED BOUNDS OF THREE CONTIGUOUS MANORS IN TENTH-CENTURY SURREY CHARTERS

*Tim Northfield*

## Introduction

This article should be regarded as an exercise in landscape archaeology and in Anglo-Saxon place names. The main aim is to outline the charter bounds for Chaldon (Cealvadune) Manor in Surrey (AD 967). These, as far as the author is aware, have not been previously identified in the modern landscape.<sup>a</sup> Also, an attempt will be made to give an improved identification for selected bounds in tenth century charters of two contiguous manors: Merstham and Coulsdon.

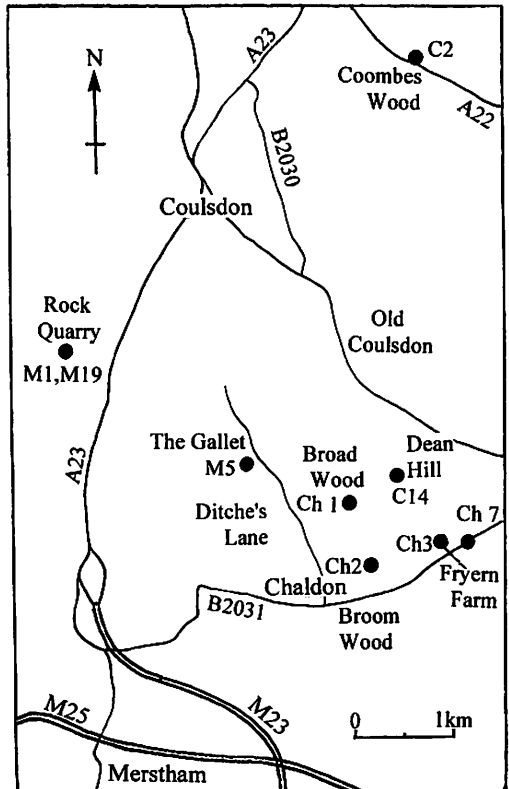


Fig 1 Charter bounds on modern road maps: bounds numbered (Ch - Chaldon, M - Merstham, C - Coulsdon)

**Fig 2**  
Eadric's Stane  
(Merstham  
bounds 1 and  
19) from the  
East.



There is the problem of whether the correct Chaldon is being considered. Napier and Stephenson<sup>1</sup> identified it as Kelvedon Hatch, Essex & Ekwall<sup>2</sup> as Chaldon, Surrey; but in Hart<sup>3</sup> the estate is unidentified. In the author's opinion the strongest evidence in favour of Chaldon, Surrey is the fact that reasonably strong identifications are provided for four of the seven relevant bounds. Secondly, one of the bounds, Fryern Farm i.e. the manor of the brothers, belonged to the Hospital of St Thomas, Southwark and is recorded in a Feet of Fines of 1575, which indicates that it lies in Surrey.<sup>b</sup> Thirdly, the Surrey identification is backed by Margaret Gelling (pers. comm.), the leading authority on place names. Fourthly, the documents for Chaldon are not held in Westminster Abbey as part of the Westminster Cartulary, whereas Essex documents are held there, one being dated to 964 and not 967. Specifically, the Domesday general cartulary (book eleven) makes no mention of Chaldon, nor do Muniment books 1 and 2. Nor is there any mention of Chaldon in *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* by Barbara Harvey.<sup>4</sup>

## **Methods, Results and Discussion**

Identification of the Anglo-Saxon charter bounds will be based upon phonology, etymology and local knowledge, and a combination of documentary and landscape sources. Table 1 gives a full list of the nine bounds of Chaldon in the original Anglo-Saxon, together with a modern translation.<sup>a</sup> Four of these bounds have been identified.

For Chaldon, the first bound was identified by a combination of etymology and phonology, since 'braden lege' (Table 1) has the same meaning, as well as a similar sound, as 'Broad Wood'. The fifth bound was identified by phonology (Farnham and Fryern). These examples illustrate the way in which identification of individual bounds has been based on a combination of local knowledge, phonology and etymology. Bound seven specifies 'the land to the boundary' (Table 1). This probably means the land to Ditchie's Land and explains a gap between the Chaldon and Merstham bounds.



**Fig 3**  
Cussesstede  
Beorth  
(Merstham  
bound 5) from  
the north.

This land presumably belonged to the Archbishop. As shown in figure 6, a portion of Ditchie's Lane has an appearance that could indicate an ancient boundary ditch. Both *The Landscape of Place-Names* and Rumble<sup>5,6</sup> interpret Ditchie's Shaw alongside as Dycga's Hyrst, meaning wooded hill. But the corruption of Dycga's to Ditchie's could be based on the presence of a ditch, in the same way as the corruption of Whyteditch to Wide Ditch in Coulsdon Manor was based on the fact that the Coulsdon ditch was originally a double ditch (fig.4).

It should be noted (Table 1) that the last two charter bounds for Chaldon, prefaced 'and', refer to Wealden outliers, according to Margaret Gelling (pers. comm.). They are not, therefore, of value for Chaldon itself, which is limited to only seven charter bounds, by contrast with 19 for Merstham and 24 for Coulsdon. At Domesday, Chaldon was only credited with two



**Fig 4** Coumbeswode (Coulsdon bound 2) from the south-west. Wide ditche is the mown grass.

hides, whereas Merstham and Coulsdon both had 24. Dennis Turner (pers. comm.) has pointed out that Chaldon never developed into a proper village, although it had a 14th-century manor house (Chaldon Court) and a church. Thus, Chaldon was a smaller manor than the other two by all the criteria examined and, since the Tythe Apportionment Act (1840), it has only occupied the north-east quarter of the modern parish of Chaldon.

The 19 bounds for Merstham have been studied by Rumble<sup>5</sup> but improved identification for three of these are given here. The first and last have the same location. Rumble<sup>6</sup> has also examined the 24 bounds of Chaldon and further support for two of these is provided. In the original documents, the bounds for all three manors start in the north and proceed in a clockwise direction. In the present paper they have been numbered sequentially and given the prefixes Ch (Chaldon), M (Merstham) and C (Coulsdon). The bound numbers, grid references and names of the nine new or improved identifications are given in Table 2 and their locations are shown on the sketch map (fig. 1) based on a modern road map.

For the first and last bounds of Merstham (M1 and M19) the Old English reads 'on pone porn be norpan Eadrices stane' or 'by the thorn to the north of Eadric's stone'. Rumble<sup>5</sup> argues that translation of "stane" as a place where stone was obtained is plausible here. He refers to a disused quarry, age unknown, in the approximate locality, which proves the existence of quarriable stone there. However, he does not identify a specific quarry. Of the possible quarries in this area, the most plausible one is that now hidden by Starrock Wood (fig.2). The early name was 'Stanroc', which could be translated as 'Rock Quarry', although its appearance suggests chalk. This identification is much assisted by local knowledge as the author at one time lived in Starrock Lane, Starrock Wood and Starrock Green nearby. This identification is also supported by correspondence of this part of the bounds to those of Chaldon. For Merstham bound number 5, the Old English reads 'on essen's ham on cusessted boerh' or 'from Esne's enclosure to Cussesstede Hill'. A beorg in Anglo-Saxon was a barrow or hill of 'continuously rounded profile'.<sup>7</sup> Rumble

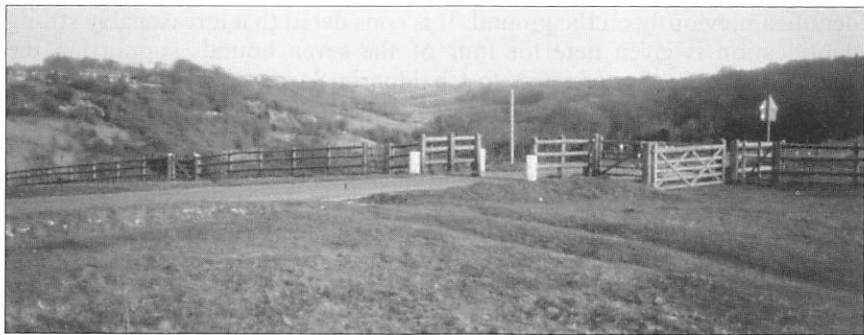


Fig 5 Dannehache (Coulsdon bound 14) from the west.



**Fig 6** Ditch's Lane (Chaldon bound 7) from the east.

identifies this with a spur named 'The Gullet'.<sup>5</sup> On inspection 'The Gullet' is plausible as a beorg. In figure 3 it is a small, smooth and symmetrical hill from the side in which the bound is being approached, although not so symmetrical from the other side.

This etymological identification of place names was also of great value for two of the Coulsdon bounds. The first was bound number 2, which reads 'et sic usqua boseum vocatum Coumbeswode' or 'and thus as far as the wood called Coumbeswode'. Here the bounds leave the Brighton Road (A23) north of Purley to proceed along Riddlesdown Road (originally a Roman Road to Brighton from London) as far as Coombes Wood (fig.4). This is a 'combe' place name, identifying a 'sheltered, steep valley on the scarp slope, without facilities that would encourage growth'.<sup>8</sup> The second was bound number 14, which

reads 'et sic ultra brueram usque locum vocatum Dannehache'. This has been identified as Dean Hill, which is a 'denu' place name. Happy Valley, a modern name for the accompanying valley, is a classical 'denu', being a 'long, narrow valley, with moderately steep sides and a gentle gradient'<sup>8</sup> (fig.5).

## Conclusions

The charter bounds for Chaldon (AD967) do not appear to have been identified previously on the ground. It is considered that a reasonably strong identification is given here for four of the seven bounds supporting the concept that this charter refers to Chaldon in Surrey and not in Essex. In addition, local knowledge has enabled a new, more specific identification to be offered for the first bound of the Merstham charter, which is also the last bound. Furthermore, recent advances in place-name description have enabled etymological identification to be made in the case of one Merstham and two Coulsdon bounds.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr Eric Poole and Professor James Derriman for their help with the translation of documents, to Dr Richard Mortimer, Keeper of the Muniments, for his help at Westminster Abbey and to Dr John

Blair, Margaret Gelling and Dennis Turner for their advice. This paper forms part of the author's dissertation for an MA in Local and Regional History, London University.

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### **Table 1. Bounds described in a grant by Eadgar to Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, of land at Cealva dune, Calves' Down or Chaldon, forfeited for larceny, 967AD.**

[Ch1] 'Ærest on braden lege'; 'First to Broad Leigh'. This has been identified by the author with Broad Wood.

[Ch2] 'thanne on beonningham'; 'then to Benningham'. This has been identified with Broom Wood to the south.

[Ch3] 'thanne on ceolling hrunan'; 'then to Coella's fallen tree'. No identification.

[Ch4] 'thanne on stigham'; 'then to stig ham'. No identification.

[Ch5] 'thanne on fern ham pestperdne'; 'then to Farnham westward' meaning the western part of the Fern enclosure. This has been identified with Fryern Farm. This was referred to as 'maer de Freren<sup>5</sup> in 1575'. According to Margaret Gelling, 'Freren' means 'of the bretheren' and the manor belonged to the hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark.<sup>5</sup>

[Ch6] 'thanon on hlosham sutherdne'; 'then to Losham southward'. No identification. The inflexion '-ne' after 'southward' indicates that this is an adjective and not an adverb. This implies that the bound is south of the manor and not that the perambulation is proceeding in a southerly direction.

[Ch7] 'thaet land to thære mearce'; 'the land to the boundary'. Probably

means the land to Ditchie's Lane, as explained in the text.

[Ch8] '& tpa cilling hop'; 'and two shilling valley'. This refers to a Wealden outlier, as indicated by the use of the word 'and'. This formula is not used for introducing further boundary marks. (Margaret Gelling pers. comm.)

[Ch9] '& saenget hyrst'; 'and saenget hurst'. This also refers to a Wealden outlier.

**Table 2. The nine new or improved identification of bounds.**

Charter	Bound Number	Grid Reference	Place Names
Chaldon (AD967)	Ch1	315 560	Braden Lege (Broad Wood)
	Ch2	316 553	Benningham (Broom Wood)
	Ch3	323 555	Farnham (Fryern Farm)
	Ch7	326 555	The land to the boundary (Ditchie's Lane)
Merstham (AD947)	M1	285 575	Eadric's Stane (Rock Quarry)
	M5	303 563	Cussesstede Beorh (The Gullet)
	M19	285 575	Same as M1
Coulsdon (10th Century)	C2	321 605	Coumbeswode (Coomes Wood)
	C14	318 562	Dannehache (Dean Hill)

# THE TOWN ASSOCIATION OF THE BOROUGH OF GUILDFORD: PART 2

*Roger Ottewill*

## **Introduction**

In first part of this article,<sup>1</sup> the circumstances surrounding the Town Association's emergence onto the local municipal scene in Guildford were outlined. Consideration was given to its foundation in 1924 and subsequent activities in the 1920s and 1930s, which were not always welcome. By the mid-1930s, with references to the Town Association being few and far between, it would appear that it entered a period of what could best be described as hibernation, since it was to enjoy a renaissance ten years later. After providing some observations on the period of quiescence, this second part of the article concentrates on the post-Second World War re-emergence of a rejuvenated Town Association and its subsequent decline culminating in its ultimate demise in 1958.

## **Hibernation: mid-1930s until 1945**

Why the Town Association entered a period of inactivity during the second half of the 1930s is not entirely clear. It may have been a reaction to the adverse publicity and a feeling on the part of key figures in the association that they should 'keep their heads down' until the climate became more favourable. A countervailing pressure was the electoral threat from the Labour Party, which was now more real than it had ever been. Admittedly its total number of successes at the polls remained relatively modest, but by 1938 it had seven council members, out of 32, and at least one councillor in half of the wards. In the circumstances, this might have been expected to galvanise the opposition. Against this, however, must be set the deteriorating international situation giving rise to other priorities and pre-occupations. Moreover, the outbreak of war coincided with the death of Leonard Ellis,<sup>2</sup> who had been one of the key figures in the Town Association during the first phase of its existence.

While organisationally the Town Association may have collapsed in the late 1930s, it is important to note that those who were to play a leading role in its re-emergence as an electoral force were members of the council. One of these was Robert Tribe who, having been a councillor for Friary ward since December 1930, was elected to the aldermanic bench in January 1938 and served as mayor during the municipal years 1938-39 and 1939-40.

Another was Bertrand Hardy, who filled the vacancy created by Robert Tribe's elevation at a by-election in March 1938. What is clear from subsequent



developments is that the motivations that underlay the Town Association remained strongly entrenched in the psyche of many councillors and in the closing stages of the war a number of council members moved speedily to re-energise the Independent cause. A provisional committee was established in early 1945, with Aldermen Robert Tribe and Harold Gammon and Councillors Robert Dickie, Arthur Williams and Bertrand Hardy amongst the members. Many had been Town Association nominees in the municipal general election of 1933, thereby providing an element of continuity.

### **‘Golden Age’: 1945 to 1947**

The revival of the Town Association in 1945 was triggered by three main considerations, all of which were spelt out in a letter inviting those interested to attend an initial special meeting in June 1945 and in an advertisement which subsequently appeared in the *Surrey Times*:

The successful end of the European War emphasises once again the simple truth that an efficient Local Government, like an efficient War Cabinet, should be free from party politics. Unfortunately one political party is making a regrettable effort to gain control of the council, and members of that Party are apt to forget that their obligation to the electorate is to advance the interests and well being of the community as a whole. The Town Association is not pledged to any class, creed or political party. It seeks to introduce candidates of integrity and ability.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, a first consideration was a desire to emulate the spirit of the Wartime Coalition Government at local level. A second was to oppose the efforts of the Labour Party to promote a party political approach to local affairs and in the process ‘gain control’ of the council. The third was the continuing need to recruit suitable candidates who shared the Town Association’s ongoing commitment to non-partisanship.



**Fig. 1** Alderman Robert Tribe, second chairman of the Town Association, walking in procession from the Guildhall after the mayor-making ceremony in 1938 (Copyright of the *Surrey Advertiser*)

A pre-occupation with recruitment, along with opposition to party politics, was also very much in evidence in the threefold aims and objects set out in the new constitution for the revived Town Association:

To take such action as may be necessary to introduce and support candidates of character and ability for vacancies on the Council of the Borough of Guildford, who will protect and advance the interests and well-being of the community as a whole.

To assist approved candidates by giving financial and other assistance as may be necessary.

To oppose any tendency for the Guildford Town council to be prejudiced or controlled by any political party.

Thus, the Town Association continued to emphasise its anti-party political credentials. Such a stance was echoed in the declaration it required its candidates to sign:

I declare that, if I am elected as a councillor of the Borough of Guildford, I shall act and vote as a member of the Guildford Borough Council as my conscience and experience dictates and not at the dictate of any political party, committee or caucus or under pressure from any political group.

In order to maximise its impact throughout the borough, the Town Association adopted what was to some extent a federal structure. At the centre was a general committee with the Chairman, Robert Tribe; Treasurer, H.J. Lowings; and Secretary, Bertrand Hardy being the leading members. Its roles were to co-ordinate; to provide central direction and guidance; and to appoint a convenor for each ward. At the periphery were a series of ward committees, charged with (a) recommending potential election candidates to the general committee, which had the final say in whether or not to approve them; (b) forming the nucleus of the election committee for the ward; and (c) acting as a channel of communication between the ward and the general committee. Membership was open to anyone who supported the objects of the Association and the subscription was 2s 6d per annum (the same as 1924). By September 1945, the Association had recruited 181 members, a not inconsiderable achievement.

Implicit in the steps taken by the revived Town Association was recognition of the increased credibility of the threat from the Labour Party in municipal politics. Undoubtedly, the party was now far stronger and more optimistic than it had been when the Town Association was initially founded, thus making the need for anti-Labour candidates to be effectively organised and supported all the greater.

At the elections of 1945 there were no fewer than 13 seats to fill, thus adding to their importance. The seats consisted of the eight regular vacancies, with four sitting councillors retiring; the four vacancies which had been filled by co-option during the war; and one vacancy arising from the death of

<b>THE TOWN ASSOCIATION.</b>		
Hon. Secretary : <b>H. JAMES LOWINGS</b> Lantiers Ho. Christmas Hill, Guildford. Telephone Ouford 6173A.	Chairman : <b>R. H. TRIBE</b> 1 Nightingale Road, Guildford. Telephone Ouford 61 683.	Hon. Treasurer : <b>R. E. HARDY</b> 1 Churchill Road, Guildford. Telephone Ouford 5211
Assistant Hon. Secretary : <b>Mrs. R. A. HARRIS</b> , Waterden Cottage, London Road, Guildford Telephone Ouford 898. (To whom all communications should be addressed)		
<b><u>OBJECTS.</u></b>		
<i>To oppose any tendency for the Guildford Town Council to be prejudiced or controlled by a political party, and to do such things as be necessary to support candidates of character and ability who will protect and advance the interests and well-being of the community as a whole.</i>		
<b><u>APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.</u></b>		
<b>To The Honorary Secretary.</b> I wish to apply for membership of the Town Association, and undertake to give what assistance I can to support any candidate approved by the Association I enclose my subscription of two shillings and sixpence for the year to 31st March next.		
(Signature) .....		
Date .....		
To assist the Committee, will applicant please complete the following questionnaire :-		
-----		
<b>NAME (Mr. Mrs. Miss) &amp; INITIALS</b> ..... <div style="text-align: right; margin-right: 100px;">(capital letters)</div>		
<b>ADDRESS</b> .....		
<b>TELEPHONE No. Home.</b> .....		
<b>Business.</b> .....		
Would you be prepared to address a public meeting? .....		
Have you a car ? and if so would you be willing to place it at the disposal of a candidate on election day? .....		

Fig 2 A post-Second World War application form for membership of the Town Association (reproduced by permission of Surrey History Service)

a sitting member in July 1945. By ward, there were two vacancies each in Holy Trinity, Merrow and Christchurch, Onslow, St Nicolas and Stoughton and one each in Friary, Stoke and Westborough. The Town Association nominees comprised one sitting councillor who was seeking re-election in Holy Trinity; the four councillors who had been co-opted during the war, all of whom were seeking re-election in Merrow and Christchurch, Onslow, Stoke<sup>4</sup> and Stoughton respectively; and no fewer than eight further candidates for previously Independent-held seats in Friary, Holy Trinity, Merrow and Christchurch, Onslow, St Nicolas (2) and to contest Labour held seats in Stoughton and Westborough. Thus, the Association was instrumental in recruiting eight candidates who were new to council service. Ranged against the Town Association nominees were 13 Labour Party candidates and one non-aligned Independent candidate, Gilbert Shaw, who contested Onslow.

Following its victory at national level in the 1945 General Election and with the extension of the local government franchise,<sup>5</sup> Labour had high expectations. It hoped to win in four wards: Onslow (2 seats); Stoke (1 seat); Stoughton (2 seats); and Westborough (1 seat). However, it was aware of the challenge it faced. This was how the Labour leader, Alderman Vernon

Wilkinson, in a message to Stoughton electors portrayed what he and his colleagues were up against:

As usual our opponents seek to disguise their political views by calling themselves Town Association candidates. In Guildford Labour will be opposed by Liberals, Tories, Rotarians and members of trade organisations, all united in the opposition to public enterprise and determined to preserve private profit no matter what cost to the people. Whilst we believe in the maximum amount of individual enterprise in the service of the community, we do not expect those committed to private enterprise to run the public services wholeheartedly.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, in his eyes, the Town Association was an 'unholy alliance' of political and economic leaders opposed to the principle of public enterprise.

Apart from differences over the role of public enterprise, the election was fought around two conceptions of the nature of local politics. These were clearly summarised in a *Surrey Times* editorial headlined, 'A Memorable Election':

Rarely in living memory has so much interest been stimulated in Guildford's municipal elections as on this occasion. There is one great issue at stake, Labour state that without party there is no policy. The Independents reply that Guildford is too small to be party governed and that a free unfettered councillor will give the best service – in other words – individual ability above party dictation.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, concern over the desirability of non-partisanship or otherwise in municipal affairs was very much to the fore.

Despite its optimism, Labour only achieved a net gain of three seats, two of which were in Onslow ward where Gilbert Shaw's candidature effectively split the anti-Labour vote.<sup>8</sup> Thus, notwithstanding Labour's advance, 1945 can still be regarded as the rejuvenated Town Association's finest hour. Not only had it recruited candidates for all 13 vacancies, but by the end of the year its membership stood at nearly 200.

Twelve months later, the minutes of the Town Association suggest that organisationally it was still in good health. Membership had risen to just over 200 and its finances were sound. It had also taken steps to increase the role of the ward committees. However, the seeds of its demise had already been sown. Ironically, the sowers were not the ideological opponents of Town Association members but some of their 'soul mates' in the Conservative Party.

Since the late 19th century, Conservative-inclined councillors had used the label 'Independent' in municipal elections and, as mentioned in the first part of the article, some of those who supported the Conservative Party in parliamentary elections had been active in the Town Association and received its support in municipal elections. Thus, not surprisingly, the decision of Conservative Central Office in 1946 to encourage Conservatives to

'come out of the closet' as far as municipal elections were concerned caused considerable consternation amongst leading figures in the Town Association and similar organisations in other boroughs. At its annual meeting in July 1946 the question of whether a compromise was possible was raised:

It has been suggested that the Conservative Party will not put candidates in the field against retiring council members of The Town Association, but unless The Town Association are to function as a nominating body and introduce fresh blood on the council, its process of extermination will be final. There are men [*sic*] in public work today who profess of no allegiance to any party and there is also a Liberal element on the council. If the Conservative Party enter the lists definitely next November, will not the Liberals eventually endeavour to follow suit? They will have to do something to justify their existence. The Labour Party would benefit from more candidates of other parties in the field.<sup>9</sup>

The references to the Liberals were somewhat prescient given their, albeit short lived, electoral successes in the early 1960s and subsequently from the early 1970s onwards.

In September the Conservative Party formally announced its intentions for the forthcoming elections. Essentially they were a compromise with the Town Association. In Stoughton and Westborough, Labour-held seats, it put forward its own candidates, Ernest Glew and Edward Hodgkinson, the first of whom was successful. In Merrow and Christchurch and Stoke it supported the candidatures of Samuel Slater and Kenneth Velde, who were standing for the first time but in deference to opinions expressed in these wards consented to use the designation 'Independent'. The Chairman of the Conservative Association also issued the following statement:

The general policy of the association is directed to secure the council best able to represent and serve the interests of Guildford residents. In this connection the association recognises the present transitional state of public opinion in Guildford with regard to the basis on which borough elections should be contested. In the past all candidates for local elections stood as Independents, but since the challenge of Socialist candidates backed by their parliamentary organisations has become general the Independent label has lost much of its significance, with the result that most local elections throughout the country are now fought on a party basis. Guildford has not completely reached this position. There are still a considerable number of electors who wish to support an 'Independent' candidate, but there is a substantial and growing number who prefer to support a Conservative candidate to meet the organised Socialist campaign. Accordingly the association will give its support to approved candidates standing either as Conservatives or as Independents according to the feeling

of the wards concerned and, of course, provided that the candidate requests support.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, to summarise the position, the Conservative Party would only nominate candidates with a party label where it could do so without upsetting existing arrangements. As the use of the word 'transitional' signified, it was anticipated that over time Conservatives would gradually replace Independents. Put another way, the party was prepared to bide its time in the interests of not undermining the anti-Labour cause.

In the 1946 elections, the Town Association ended up openly supporting six candidates. Three of these were Independent councillors seeking re-election: Archibald Graham-Brown who was successful in Friary; Arthur Williams in Holy Trinity, where he was unopposed; and Harold Norris in St Nicolas. Two other candidates were Samuel Salter in Merrow and Christchurch and Kenneth Velde in Stoke, who as indicated also had overt Conservative support. Both won easily. Finally, there was none other than Gilbert Shaw in Onslow. Clearly, he had been forgiven for splitting the anti-Labour vote a year early and he made amends on this occasion by regaining one of the seats from Labour.<sup>11</sup>

### **Endgame: 1947 to 1958**

The rather uneasy truce between the Town Association and the Conservative Party continued throughout 1947. The elections of that year proved to be something of a 'damp squib', being described in the *Surrey Times* as 'uninteresting and uninspiring'.<sup>12</sup> As in 1946 the Town Association supported six candidates. Five were sitting councillors seeking re-election and all were successful. In Onslow ward, following Gilbert Shaw's success in 1946 the Town Association nominee once again regained a seat from Labour.<sup>13</sup> The Conservatives only contested Labour-held Stoughton and Westborough in an open manner, thereby maintaining the stance they had adopted in 1946. In neither case was their candidate successful.

Due to a change in the date on which municipal elections were held the next annual contests were delayed until May 1949. In the intervening period there were two by-elections. One in Holy Trinity was won by the Town Association nominee, R.M. Hardy, in a contest between two Independents. The other was in Stoughton where a Conservative candidate gained the seat from Labour. Thus, the pattern established in 1946 was maintained.

However, there were some in the Town Association who were not entirely happy with the existing state of affairs and a mini-crisis arose in the run up to the May 1949 elections. In April a meeting of the Town Association was convened at the instigation of electors from two of the most independently minded wards, Friary and Onslow, both of which had their own Independent Committees that were separate from the Town Association. In the case of Onslow a particular bone of contention was the likelihood of a three-way contest between the Labour candidate, H. (Vic) Tidy, who had been defeated

in 1947; a Conservative candidate, Charles Butler; and an Independent candidate, William Affleck. Not surprisingly, the latter was keen to secure the support of the Town Association. However, his candidacy brought to the surface a number of fault lines amongst the membership.

From the views expressed at the April meeting, it was clear that there were some significant differences of opinion within the Association. In commenting on the meeting, the *Surrey Times and Weekly Press* made the following observations in its 'Think on These Things' column:

The meeting resolved itself into some straight speaking. The weakness of the Town Association in the past has been a fear of a three-cornered fight and possibly defeat. Indeed, some of the members interpret the organisation as purely an anti-Socialist body sacrificing their individuality into party contests under a thin disguise. There have been in the past negotiations and compromises with local Conservatives. The biggest encouragement to exercise sturdy British independence has come from Onslow Ward, where a large body of electors have rallied round Mr W.E. Affleck despite the cajoles of the Conservative Party politicians 'that you will let the Socialist in.' Perhaps the outstanding contribution to the Town Association meeting came from the deputy Mayor [Cllr A.W. Graham-Brown] when he said: 'We cannot have any truck with political parties at all. There can be no negotiations with them if they choose to fight these wards under a party ticket. Let's cut it [negotiations]; we either believe in independent representation or not.' Conservative organisations do not like the Town Association. It prevents them from annually running the electoral machine. They may boast of the fact that when once a nominee of theirs is elected he [*sic*] is not subject to any party interference in the way he [*sic*] performs his duties. But once the independent spirit is withdrawn the Town Council resolves itself into political parties to the detriment of the town.<sup>14</sup>

A number of the differences can also be confirmed by surviving correspondence from this period. For example, in letters sent to the Secretary of the Town Association various councillors, who had received support from the Town Association at previous elections, indicated their support for the Butler candidacy and opposition to that of William Affleck. As Kenneth Velde wrote: 'I believe that the efficient Labour Party machine, which has for so long been thrown into the Local elections, can only be countered effectively by a similarly well organised machine [i.e. that of the Conservative party]'. However, he did feel the need to emphasise the ability of Conservative councillors to act according to their 'independent' assessment of issues in deciding how to vote in the council chamber. 'There has never been any suggestion of the Conservative Party [unlike Labour] dictating policy to councillors it has supported.'<sup>15</sup> It is interesting, as well as understandable,

that such councillors sought to have a 'foot in both camps', since they were not averse to seeking assistance from the Town Association when the need arose. Presumably they took the view that the Town Association's imprimatur could help them reach parts of the electorate that might have been less inclined to vote for an openly Conservative candidate, such as Liberals and those who were opposed to national party participation in local elections.

To sum up, based on the evidence of contemporary press reports and extant correspondence it would appear that by the late 1940s there were essentially three main strands of thought amongst members of the Town Association. One of these was the longstanding opposition to the Labour Party and the need to give top priority to doing everything necessary to pursue this end, even if it meant entering into agreements with the Conservative Party to avoid splitting the anti-Labour vote. A second strand was that of genuine independence or non-partisanship, which required the Association to eschew any deals with national political parties of whatever colour. A third and less clearly articulated strand was that of fostering independence at ward level by allowing ward based organisations the final say in whether or not to contest elections and to respect their decisions whatever the potential impact of them on the outcome.

Although the Affleck candidacy in Onslow did split the anti-Labour vote in 1949, the Labour candidate was still beaten into second place by the Conservative candidate Charles Butler.<sup>16</sup> For some in the Town Association, however, pleasure at Labour's defeat was somewhat marred by their disappointment at William Affleck finishing bottom of the poll.

Nonetheless, despite this setback there was sufficient support for the independent cause within the Town Association for it to continue, at least for the time being. As the local paper put it: "Town Association Goes On".<sup>17</sup> Under a new chairman, Councillor E (Barrie) Nicklin, and with a membership on paper of about 190, it began the new decade in somewhat better shape than might have been expected.

As part of his strategy, Barrie Nicklin was keen 'to get the ward committees going again' and to improve attendance at meetings. In April 1950, he wrote: 'If we are going to be really independent I will work my hardest to make the association grow'.<sup>18</sup> It was clear that he wanted to demonstrate that the Town Association could be every bit as 'well oiled' and efficient as the Conservative Associations.

In the 1950 elections the controversy of a year earlier was avoided although, somewhat provocatively, Gilbert Shaw, who was seeking re-election in Onslow, changed his designation from Independent to Conservative. By contrast in Merrow and Christchurch, where a vacancy arose, the Conservatives were happy to accept the Town Association nominee, the Rev H.J. Griffiths, who held the seat without a contest. Despite a prediction that there would be more triangular contests,<sup>19</sup> these did not materialise since, even though





Fig 3 Members of the Town Association on a visit to the Houses of Parliament in 1952. Councillor Barrie Nicklin, the last chairman, is circled. (Reproduced by permission of Surrey History Service)

the Conservative Party was by now in a dominant position as far the anti-Labour forces in Guildford were concerned, it was still prepared to ‘play a long game’ and to wait patiently for opportunities to arise where it could replace Independent councillors with its own nominees without generating too much hostility. Consequently, the demise of the Town Association was long and drawn out rather than short and sharp.

In 1951 the Town Association’s involvement in the annual municipal elections was again substantial. Initially it intended to support six candidates,<sup>20</sup> all of whom were Independent councillors seeking re-election. However, one of these, J.N. List in St Nicolas, declined the offer of support. By contrast, in the Onslow contest Charles Over received a great deal of help for which he was extremely grateful and Barrie Nicklin in a letter to members about this contest felt moved to write: ‘The Town Association as the Independent Organisation ... responsibility for defeating the socialist candidate is now ours’.<sup>21</sup>

While all the Independent candidates were re-elected, Barrie Nicklin’s positive spin on the contribution of the Town Association was somewhat negated by the concern he expressed a few days later over the Conservative Party’s intentions with respect to a by-election in St Nicolas. In his words: ‘We have now been warned to “keep off the grass”. If we fail to take action, it will be registered as a Conservative gain from Independent, and presumably the process will be repeated on each occasion. This would be the death knell of the Town Association’.<sup>22</sup> In the event, a Conservative gain from Independent was recorded. Thus, despite his aspirations the ongoing replacement of Town Association backed candidates with Conservative nominees, during the 1950s, proved to be inexorable as the data in the Table illustrate.

## Non-Labour Municipal Election Candidates 1951 to 1960

Year1/Ward2	Fri	HT	M&B	Ons	StN	Stou	Stk	West
1951	IT*3	IT*	IT*	IT*	Ind*	Con	IT*	Con
21/06/51					Con			
1952	IT*	IT*	IT*	Con*	IT*	Con	IT*	Con
29/01/53			IT					
1953	IT	IT*	IT*	Con*	Con*	Con	IT*	Con
02/07/53	IT							
1954	IT*	IT*	IT*	IT*/ Con4	Ind*	Con	IT*	Con
1955	IT*	IT*	IT*	Con*	IT*	Con	---	---
23/06/55			Con					
12/01/56			Con					
1956	IT*	IT*	Con	Ind/ Con6	Con*	Con	Con	Con
1957	IT*	IT*	Con*	IT*	Con*	Con	Con	Con
1958	Ind	IT*	Con*	Con*	IT*	Con	Con	Con
19/06/58		Ind			Con			
1959	Ind	Ind*	Con*	Ind*	Con	Con	Con	Con
1960	Ind	Ind*	Con*	Con*	Con*	Con	Con	Con

### Key and Notes

1 Years indicate annual elections, which were held on a Thursday during the first half of May. Full dates are provided for by-elections

2 Wards: Fri = Friary; HT = Holy Trinity; M&B = Merrow and Burpham; Ons = Onslow; StN = St Nicolas; Stou = Stoughton; Stk = Stoke; and West = Westborough.

3 IT = Independent with Town Association support; Ind = Independent without Town Association support; Con = Conservative. Bold indicates that the candidate was successful, normal type that s/he was unsuccessful and italics that the election was uncontested.

\* = Sitting councillor seeking re-election

4 The 1954 contest in Onslow was between a Town Association nominee and a self-styled Conservative.

5 In 1955, none of the seats were contested due to the imminence of the general election.

6 The 1956 contest in Onslow, for which there were two vacancies was between two Conservatives, one of whom was a sitting councillor seeking re-

election, and one Independent. The Independent and the 'new' Conservative candidate were elected.

The only ward in which the transition from Town Association nominees to Conservative candidates was a little 'messy' was, perhaps not surprisingly, Onslow. On the whole, those Independents with Town Association backing who wished to seek re-election were able to do so. Only when vacancies arose through retirement or defeat did the Conservatives move in, but not in every ward. In Friary and Holy Trinity new Independent candidates were still being recruited at the end of the decade.

It would seem from the surviving evidence that the Town Association was formally wound up during the municipal year 1958/59. However, Independent candidates continued to contest municipal elections until 1962 and occasionally thereafter. Moreover, right up until 1974, there remained members of aldermanic bench who, when councillors, had been Town Association nominees.

## **Conclusion**

The longevity of the Town Association was testimony to the tenacity with which some local politicians clung on to a belief in the efficacy of a less partisan and confrontational approach to local politics. In their view, communities like Guildford were better served by an approach that was based on the pursuit of consensus rather than on the conflict and discord associated with party politics. Such sentiments are reflected in these words of Councillor Barrie Nicklin, the last chairman of the Town Association':

I believe that a candidate for a local council should be actuated by the desire to serve his town and fellow citizens and not by the desire to advertise party politics ... A councillor elected as an Independent may hope to serve anyone in the ward needing help, irrespective of their political views.<sup>23</sup>

Organisations like the Town Association can be seen as an attempt by communities to give expression to the tenets of "localism" and to resist what later came to be called the 'nationalisation of local politics'.<sup>24</sup>

While their passing was almost inevitable once local politics became one of principal battlegrounds for the national political parties, with their superior resources and organisational clout, it is important not to overlook their contribution to local democracy.

With periodic calls to keep local government local and for a return to, what is now termed, a 'new localism',<sup>25</sup> they provide an illustration of grass roots initiatives which, although often motivated by anti-Socialism, nonetheless represented a genuine attempt to energise the local political process. Indeed, even within the Town Association there were those who were as strongly committed to non-partisanship with respect to the right of the political spectrum as to the left. Thus, they personified Grant's view

that non-partisanship, namely a 'belief in the desirability of the absence of party politics from local government', is a core value of 'localism'.<sup>26</sup>

## Notes and References

1. Ottewill, R., 2005, 'The Town Association of the Borough of Guildford: Part 1', *Surrey History*, VII (2), 14-28.
2. This occurred in August 1939 and was the result of a bathing accident.
3. *Surrey Times*, 29 Sept 1945.
4. Here the nominee was Geoffrey Swayne, who had transferred from St Nicolas ward.
5. Under the provisions of the Representation of the People Act 1945 the electorate for municipal elections was put on the same basis as that for parliamentary elections, namely universal suffrage. Previously it had been restricted to those who occupied property.
6. *Surrey Times*, 20 Oct 1945.
7. *Surrey Times*, 27 Oct 1945.
8. The full result was R.P. Phillips, Labour, 1521 votes (45.9%); H.V. Tidy, Labour, 1457 votes (44.0%); R.O. Dowdeswell, Town Association, 1439 votes (43.4%); W.J. Davis, Town Association, 852 votes (25.7%); and G.L. Shaw, Independent, 850 votes (25.6%).
9. *Surrey Times*, 13 July 1946.
10. *Surrey Times*, 14 Sept 1946.
11. The full result was G. Shaw, Independent, 1331 votes (52.3%), R.V. Smith, Labour, 1213 votes (47.7%).
12. *Surrey Times*, 18 Oct 1947.
13. This was C.W. Over, who also received help and support from Guildford Conservative Association.
14. *Surrey Times and Weekly Press*, 9 April 1949.
15. Letter dated 6 May 1949, S[urrey] H[istory] C[entre], Ref 1740/2.
16. The full result was C.H. Butler, Conservative, 1415 votes (40.8%); H.V. Tidy, Labour, 1319 votes (38.0%); W. Affleck, Independent, 733 votes (21.1%).
17. This was the headline for an item in which it was reported that: 'A resolution [proposed by Cllr A. Graham-Brown and seconded by Cllr Mrs H.V. Currie] expressing the desire that the Guildford Town Association should remain in being and that it would welcome members from any source of independent opinion was carried unanimously', *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 9 April 1949.
18. *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 5 April 1950.
19. *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 9 April 1949.
20. In Friary, Holy Trinity, Merrow and Burpham, Onslow, St Nicolas and Stoke wards.
21. Letter dated April 1951, SHC, Ref 1740/2.
22. Letter to Town Association members dated 7 May 1951, SHC, Ref 1740/2.
23. Letter published in *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 2 April 1949.
24. See Gyford, J. 'The Politicization of Local Government' in Loughlin, M., Gelford, M.D. and Young, K. eds, 1985, *Half a Century of Municipal Decline 1935-1984* (London, Allen and Unwin).
25. See, for example, Corry, D. and Stoker, G. 2002, *New Localism: Refashioning the Centre-Local Relationship* (London, New Local Government Network). See also speech by the Local Government Minister, Nick Raynsford, New Localism: making a reality of the myth, 17 March 2003, [http://www.odpm.gov.uk/stellent/groups/odpm\\_about/documents/page/odpm\\_about\\_609](http://www.odpm.gov.uk/stellent/groups/odpm_about/documents/page/odpm_about_609)
26. Grant, W., 1977, Independent local politics in England and Wales (Farnborough, Saxon House).

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# SOME NOTES ON SOUTH WEST SURREY'S SEVENTEENTH- AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRADE TOKENS

*John Theobald*

This article is based on the first part of a lecture entitled 'Four centuries of Local Unofficial Money in South West Surrey, or The Butcher, The Baker, The Candlestick Maker', given at the Spring Meeting of the Surrey Local History Committee at Shalford on 19 March 2005. The second part, dealing with tokens used for various purposes in the 19th and 20th centuries, is to be published in a future issue.

## **Introduction**

No history of South West Surrey in general and of the Guildford area in particular would be complete without a passing reference to money. Today we take the coins in our pockets, wallets and purses very much for granted. Over a thousand years ago things were very different. The ruling monarch often travelled around the country and arranged for money to be issued as and when it was needed. In his entourage was a 'Moneyer', whose job it was to satisfy those needs. The Royal Mint at Llantrisant in South Wales today is a far cry from those primitive times. Before Llantrisant, the Mint at Tower Hill in London had been the main coinage production base in England for about a thousand years, since the time of William the Conqueror. Provincial coin mints were used subsequently from time to time, especially in time of need. Guildford occasionally was the seat of a Royal Mint from the time of Ethelred II in 978, up to and including the reign of William II in 1100. Undoubtedly this was because of its strategic geographical importance between London and the important Southern towns of Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton. Guildford would have featured from those earliest times as a convenient stopping point and centuries later as a staging post for changing horses along those routes.

In the 17th century local people usually needed money, or an acceptable substitute, only when they required something for their household that could not be obtained by barter. Unofficial money as a substitute for regal coinage was only introduced when times were desperately hard and coin of the realm was virtually unobtainable. The first national token-issuing crisis was in the 17th century at the end of the Civil War. Most large villages and towns in the country had a reasonable selection of tradespeople to satisfy the day-to-day requirements of the inhabitants. The butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker are well remembered in old nursery rhymes, but the blacksmith, cordwainer, draper, grocer and haberdasher too were some of the important early key tradespeople who issued tokens.

These tokens were mainly to the value of a farthing, but some halfpennies and even a few pennies were struck and circulated. Between the short 22-year span of 1650 to 1672, nationally about 14,000 local tradespeople – men and women – and several town authorities issued unofficial and unauthorised – strictly speaking ‘illegal’ – low value ‘token’ money. They were joined in due course by banks and then, some time later, by general stores and then by what we now call Post Offices.

The second issue of tokens came at the end of the 18th century when improvements in mass production techniques and consistency of the final product enabled pieces to be struck in considerable quantities. They were produced for commercial, advertising and collecting purposes, as well as for the original principal reason – as money of necessity.

### Seventeenth-Century Tokens

For the overall issue of 17th-century trade tokens, this area is not very different from many other parts of the Home Counties. George Williamson’s token distribution list, published in 1889/1891, shows that 54 different Surrey places issued just over 300 different tokens in the period.<sup>1</sup> At that time, the county of Surrey reached right up to the Thames, so towns like Battersea, Camberwell, Croydon, Rotherhithe and Wandsworth were included. Some of the issuing towns and villages in South West Surrey are listed below in Appendix A and issuers’ names are given in Appendix B. Appendix C provides more detail on issuers in Guildford, where 29 tokens were issued in the period. The local tradespeople included in these lists have been chosen arbitrarily. They represent about a quarter of the county’s token output of the time, as classified by Williamson. Several of the tokens are varieties, in that one may contain a date and another none.



It appears that many of the Surrey pieces were produced in London and there is no evidence to suggest that any were struck actually within the county. Very few good quality and condition specimens exist because, by their very nature and purpose, the tokens were all intended for immediate circulation, to relieve the critical regal money shortage. These 17th-century tokens circulated for, at most, about two decades, probably within reasonably well-defined areas around towns and villages. Sometimes their use may even have been restricted to a couple of streets in London – but essentially it was where the issuer was known and

**Fig. 1** Token of Joseph Chitty of Bramley, bearing the arms of the Blacksmiths’ Company. Guildford Museum Penfold Collection 1168/15; Williamson’s Boyne ref. Surrey, Bramley 18. Photograph by Brian Wood.



**Fig. 2** Token of Henerie Chittin of Godlyman, bearing the arms of the Grocers' Company. Guildford Museum Penfold Collection 1168/87; Williamson's Boyne ref. Surrey, Godalming 86. Photograph by Brian Wood.

so it was hoped could be trusted. Significantly, adding status to the overall issue, even certain towns, including Guildford, Alton and Midhurst in this southern region, issued corporate town tokens.

### **Tradesmen's Wives**

Mostly it was men who issued tokens, but some women issued them as well, possibly as widows or perhaps as single women. This series of tokens is unique for several reasons. A lot of the male token issuers were married and many of the pieces carry a courtesy initial of the issuer's wife's first name.

When three initials are seen together, usually two of them are the first and family name of the male token issuer and the third is the first letter of his wife's first name. That fact alone is of considerable interest to researchers into local genealogy. In some token varieties, issued at different times by the same tradesman, the wife's initial changes, denoting a possible change of wife. A significant contemporary reason for women dying was childbirth, but the death rate generally was high. For a brief time during this short and turbulent twenty-year period of our history, many Surrey towns and villages were racked with the plague, decimating the populations of many of them. Distemper, perhaps as a euphemism for the plague, is a commonly recurring reason for death in some local parish registers around the years of 1665 and 1666.

### **Trade Guilds represented on Tokens**

The trades involved were many and varied. Some of them crop up time and again. Others, such as a postman at Shalford in Surrey or a rat killer at Salisbury in Wiltshire, are highly unusual. Membership of the trade guilds, particularly the strong London companies, helped traders to ensure that good quality standards and prices were maintained and unauthorised competition was discouraged.

The Blacksmiths' Arms are borne on the only token of Bramley (Fig. 1). Joseph Chitty was the issuer and his family name appears on tokens in a number of places in Hampshire and Surrey, including Godalming. Another local blacksmith resided at Farnham. Unfortunately, although the guild arms are displayed, the issuer is almost anonymous. We have the tantalising information of his own two initials, plus that of his wife's first name: I.M.D. Who was he?

The Cordwainers' Arms appear on the token of John Genang in Farnham.

The Fishmongers' Arms are on two tokens by different issuers in Farnham. It must have been highly unusual for two members of such a specialist guild to issue tokens in a town like Farnham, where there is no sizeable river and no nearby coast. One possible explanation is that the Bishop of Winchester had his summer retreat at Farnham Castle and he enjoyed eating fish. Could one of the bishop's fishponds have been located at Frensham?

The Grocers' Arms are borne on the token of Henrie Chittin in Godalming (Fig. 2). The coat of arms shield has a camel surmounting it, which is a symbolic reference to the spices that were carried from the East. On the tokens, nine cloves are usually depicted and would have been recognised instantly by the population. Other local tokens have a sugar loaf depicted, which was another recognisable sign of the grocer's trade.

The arms of the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers are borne on the only token that was issued in Ripley: the halfpenny piece of THOMAS EELES. Additional information on Thomas Eeles and the Haberdashers' Company has been provided to the Send and Ripley History Society and is to be seen at the Ripley Museum.

The Mercers' Arms interestingly are on the only two Cranleigh tokens. They were issued by William Didlesfold and John Mower. Another tokeneer whose piece bore these arms was Richard Garner of Woking.

The Tallowchandlers' Arms – the 'candlestick maker' of nursery rhyme – appear on the token of a woman issuer, Margaret Catt of Reigate in the east of the county. Several other local tokens carry the image of a man dipping a string of candles.

### **Shapes, Materials, Spellings and Pronunciation**

The shape of most of the 17th-century tokens was round. However, across the whole country, a few square, hexagonal and even heart-shaped pieces occur. Sizes vary with many in the range of 15-20mm in diameter, but precise measurements are not considered significant. The materials used for the tokens were largely copper and brass, although a few appear in tin and lead. In the 17th century, there were no typeface letters J and U. Instead, I and V were used. Spellings had not yet been harmonised and standardised. As an example, half penny was sometimes spelled halfe peny.

Coin of the realm up to and including the reign of Charles I used Latin words, harking back to the grand period of the Roman Empire and possibly paying homage to the Pope and Roman Catholicism. After Charles's execution, the puritanical and very English Commonwealth Protectorate insisted on the English language being used on its coinage. The 17th-century trade tokens continued this logical theme. Since that brief time 350 years ago we have reverted to and continued to use Latin on our coinage, which virtually nobody notices or can even understand today.





**Fig. 3** Token of Elizabeth Amus of Ebisham at the 'King's Head, Crowned'. Guildford Museum Wetton Collection LG 3835/54, Williamson's Boyne ref. Surrey, Epsom 67. Photograph by Brian Wood.

Place names on tokens often followed the vernacular pronunciation. Local accents, dialects and names influenced how many of the place names were spelled. Guildford has an interesting slight vernacular pattern with six varieties of its name on 25 different tokens. They are GILFORD, GILLFORD, GILLDFORD, GVILFORD, GVILFORDE and GVILDFORD. However, in nearby Godalming (where even today people have difficulty with the spelling), its contemporary spelling was an entirely different matter from Guildford's. It was spelled in nine different ways on the varieties of its local trade tokens, issued by just seven different tradesmen: GODALLMIG; GODALMAN; GODALLMIN; GODALMIN; GODALLMINGE; GODALMINGE; GODLYMAN; GODALMING and GODALLMING. Elsewhere in the area, other spellings continue to remind us on these tokens of their earlier place names, such as Abenworth for Abinger. Dorking became Darkin and Darking, as well as Dorking and Dorkinge. Epsom is spelled Ebisham, as in the token of Elizabeth Amus (Fig. 3).

It is a different story with the use and spelling of the county name. Only one Guildford token out of 25 issued bears the county name, spelled SVRRY, and it was issued by IOSEPH NETLES. By contrast, in Sussex, nearly a quarter of all of that county's tokens that were issued proudly bear its name.

### **Guildford Tokens**

Further details of selected Guildford issuers are given in Appendix C. Guildford Borough issued its own farthing tokens in brass (Fig. 4). This is virtually the only time in our long history that



**Fig. 4** Two examples of the Guildford Borough brass farthing. The initials F.M. and F.S. may be those of the Overseers to the Poor. The difference in size of the Shield Arms of St Edward the Confessor on the two examples shows distinct varieties. Guildford Museum Wetton Collection LG 3835/80 and 81; Williamson's Boyne refs: larger shield Surrey, Guildford 98, smaller shield Guildford 99. Photographs by Brian Wood.

brass farthings were circulated and probably they gave rise to the saying 'so poor, he hadn't even got two brass farthings to rub together'. The Guildford Borough tokens depict the arms of the Borough – 'a castle between two woosacks, in base a lion couchant' – and a set of initials, F M F S. Probably those initials belonged to the overseers of the poor and so possibly one use for these town tokens would have been to assist the poor people of the Borough. Most of the other Guildford pieces purely depict the woosack and the castle as well.

This use of the castle and woosack is a symbolic reference to the enormous impact on the town that had been made over the previous centuries by sheep, 'Guildford Blue' cloth and the woollen industry. Many of the other Surrey tokens and those of neighbouring counties bore images that alluded to the occupation of the token issuer. Guildford boasted 25 different varieties of farthing tokens, with the initials or names of 15 male token issuers. Guildford also had just one halfpenny token. It bore the words IOHN MAY SHOOMAKER IN GILFORD HIS HALFE PENNY. This token also included the design of a shoe or cordwainer's last. At the time, much of the population was unable to read or write. Therefore a visual sign at a person's door, or on the shop front, if there was one, or even on a token, would have been sufficient for local folk in many towns and villages to know what goods or services were available and to identify them. It is important to remember that these token issuers were respectable hard-working people; there is no evidence to suggest that they did not honour or redeem for coin of the realm the tokens that they had issued, when called upon so to do.

### **A Case Study: The Guildford Postman Token**

A few of the tokens that were used in the Guildford area in the mid-17th century offer us a tantalising glimpse of a man who may have been a very early English postman. The issuer's name was THOMAS WILMOT and his eight varieties of tokens tell us that he lived NEERE GVILDFORD.

The 1967 reprint of Williamson's *Boyne* lists a possible Compton connection under Surrey, Guildford, and Tokens Nos. 127-130.<sup>2</sup> THOMAS WILMOT, who had a wife whose first name began with the letter A, issued four varieties of a token. We know that fact, because three initials appear on the back or reverse side of the token: T. W. A. The address on the token is NEERE GVILDFORD and the two illustrations both show a postman with a staff and bag, but wearing a high-crowned hat in one variant and a low-crowned hat in the other (Fig. 5). A note written by George Williamson for token 128 reads: 'The mark W is deeply cut in the stonework of Compton Church in several places. Might not this refer to the issuer, as he is expressly mentioned as residing "neere Gvildford?"' A note for token 130 reads: 'Of their issuer nothing is known. It is termed the Postman's Token.'<sup>3</sup>

Cecelia Lady Boston, writing in 1933,<sup>4</sup> also mentions the possibility of a 17th-century token issuer residing in Compton: 'The issuer of this token is supposed to have resided at Compton, as his initials are cut on the north



**Fig. 5** Tokens of Thomas Wilmot neere Guildford. (a) 'Low hat' with crossed W on the reverse. Guildford Museum Penfold Collection 1168/128; Williamson's Boyne ref. Surrey, Shalford 129. (b) 'High hat' with plain W on reverse. Guildford Museum Penfold Collection 1168/126; Williamson's Boyne ref. Surrey, Shalford 127. Photographs by Brian Wood.

wall of the Church in similar fashion as they appear on the token itself. The value is one farthing, and the issue between 1650 and 1670.' She lists four variations as follows:

1. Thomas Wilmot: in the field W. T. A.; reverse: Neere Guildford, in the field a postman with a bag and staff wearing a high-crowned hat.
2. As last, but the two inner strokes of the W on the obverse cross one another at the top, whereas in No. 1 they meet normally.
3. As No. 1, but the postman is wearing a low-crowned hat and bag wig.
4. Obverse as in No. 2, reverse as in No. 3.

Compton's claim to an issuer was however disproved by Wilfred Hooper in the 1940s in favour of Shalford.<sup>5</sup> Hooper features only four of Guildford's 33 tokens and they are the Postman Tokens, Nos. 127-130. He writes:

127, 128, 129, 130. Thomas Wilmot. These form the interesting series known as the 'Postman's Token'. The collection [Penfold bequest] contains good specimens in brass of 127, 128 and 129 (illustrated) and one in copper of 127, which has been struck over the token of another issuer. On the obverse the date 165(7) is discernible, and the remains of an inner circle of cable pattern. On the reverse, below the little figure of the man with his staff and bag, can be seen the faint impression of an earlier device.

Hooper states that it is not certain that the issuer was a postman but may have been a chapman or carrier. He notes Williamson's suggestion that the issuer lived at Compton. However he argues that he lived at Shalford, which answers better to the description 'neere Gvildford', the address on the tokens, since Shalford village is within a mile of that town and the parishes adjoin, whereas Compton is three miles distant. He points out that Wilmot was charged for three hearths in Shalford in 1664 and the registers of that parish record the christening of five of his children, all daughters, between 1655 and 1671, and the burial of himself and his wife as follows:

1687 Febr. 22 Buried John Gad in woollen. Affidavit received Febr. 26.

Ye same day Buried Thomas Wilmott. Affidavit received Febr. 29th.

1693 Octr. 25th Buried Ann Wilmott widdow in woollen. Affidavit received Octobr. 28th.

The Shalford provenance was re-confirmed by the Wetttons, who for the first time place a Thomas Wilmot token under Shalford.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly they list only one token, No. 127. They note: ‘Williamson includes a die variety of this token which appears to be a mule between his Nos. 127 and 129. It is thought that this may have been a mis-reading of his No. 127.’ The incorrect attribution to Compton remains, however, in the 1987 reprint of Lady Boston’s book.<sup>7</sup>

Thompson and Dickinson list the ‘Postman Tokens’ of Thomas Wilmot under Surrey, at the end of the Guildford section, under the heading GUILDFORD neighbourhood, Tokens Nos. 4619a-c; 4620a & b; 4621a-c. Thus eight varieties of this token are identified and some excellent bibliographical cross-references are provided. The Hooper claim for Shalford is noted and that village in the Surrey listing refers to Bramley (Shalford Parish) as well as referring back to Guildford neighbourhood, Tokens Nos. 4619 - 4621.<sup>8</sup> The year 2000 saw the first publication of a priced catalogue for 17th-century trade tokens by Michael Dickinson. Under Surrey, he lists the Wilmot tokens immediately after Guildford, but under the Shalford name.



### **Eighteenth-Century Tokens**

#### ***Two late 18th-Century Tokens in South West Surrey***

Almost 150 years after the only previous outpouring of unofficial money – between 1650 and 1672 – King George III was on the throne and Britain was locked into squabbles with France and America. Once again the country was virtually bankrupt, this time mainly as a result of trying to fund the war against the French. This situation was exacerbated by the effects of the Industrial Revolution and the collapse of the old agricultural worker dependency, which caused the migration of country folk into towns in their attempt to earn money. Accordingly, in desperation, unofficial emergency Copper Farthings, Halfpennies and

**Fig. 6** Guildford halfpenny. Guildford Museum G.6227; Dalton & Hamer ref. Surrey, Guildford 9. Photograph by Brian Wood.

Pennies were struck once again and issued between 1789 and 1798, particularly in the Midlands and the North West of England. Even a copper shilling coin was struck at Basingstoke, to pay the workmen who were cutting the new canal there.

At about this time too, a large number of tokens appeared in the London area that carried overtly political themes, while others, featuring a range of subjects, were produced to satisfy the newly emerging interests of collectors. On this occasion, only a few emergency pieces were issued in Surrey and, of these, just two were issued in South West Surrey, in Guildford. They had one common design on one side, bearing the motto 'Success to the Woolen Manufactory' and a portrait of Bishop Blaise, holding a wool comb, harking back once again to the earlier crucial economic importance of the wool trade to the county (Fig. 6). On the other side of one of the tokens, the arms of Guildford are depicted, with the legend GUILDFORD HALFPENNY (Fig. 6). On the other side of the second token are depicted an anchor, cable and cap of liberty with the legend LIBERTY PEACE COMMERCE.<sup>9</sup>

#### Appendix A

Some of the towns and villages in South West Surrey that issued tokens in the 17th century

Town/Village	Number issued	Comments
Abinger	1	Florance Webb of Abenworth
Bramley	1	Joseph Chitty, Blacksmith
Chiddingfold	1	Thomas Lusher
Chobham	1	William Luffe
Cobham	2	Thomas King & Francis Turill
Cranleigh	2	William Diclesfold & John Mower
Farnham	12	2 Fishmongers, Cordwainer, etc
Godalming	11	Grocer, Doctor, Candlestick Maker etc.
Guildford	29	27 include the woosack and castle designs
Haslemere	4	Henry Shotter (Shottermill?)
Puttenham	2	John Wollaston (one undated)
Ripley	1	Thomas Eeles
Shalford	4	Thomas Wilmot (all 4) - the Postman Token
Woking	2	James Collyer & Richard Garner

#### Appendix B

Issuers' names (modern spellings) for the towns and villages listed in Appendix A

Henry BRADFOLDE (BRADFOLD?)	Robert FRIOR (FRYER?)
John BROWNE	Thomas GARFORTH
Robert CHINTON (CLINTON?)	Richard GARNER
Henrie CHITTIN (CHITTY?)	John GENANG
Joseph CHITTY	John GODDARD
Lawrance COLLINGS	Charles HANBY (HANDBY?)
James COLLYER	John HOLLOWAY
Simon CRANE	James HUNT
William DIDLESFOLD	John KING
John EDE	Thomas KING
Thomas EELES	Edward LEE

Henry LEE  
 Nicholas LINTOTT  
 William LUFFE  
 Richard LUNN  
 Thomas LUSHER  
 Francis MABBERLEY  
 Abdiah MARTIN  
 John MARTIN  
 Henry MAY  
 John MAY  
 Henry MORRIS  
 John MOWER  
 Joseph NETLES (NETTLES?)

John OSBORN  
 John RANDALL  
 William RAPLEY  
 John REMNANT  
 Daniell SARLLE  
 Henry SHOTTER  
 John SMALLPEECE  
 James SNELLING  
 Thomas TOMPSON  
 Francis TURILL  
 Florance WEBB  
 John WOLLASTON  
 James WRATH

## Appendix C

### *Notes on 17th-century Guildford town tokens<sup>10</sup>*

The trades followed by the tradesmen in the following list are not easy to identify on their tokens. Many have the castle and woosack as the principal designs.

JOHN BROWNE was elected a Bailiff of the town in 1662.

SIMON CRANE was a grocer in the High Street and had served his father, also a grocer, as an apprentice for 'seven full year'. In 1652 he was made a Justice of the Peace and also elected as Mayor. He lived in St Mary's Parish and was buried on 29 November 1658.

The GUILDFORD 'TOWN' farthing was issued in two varieties and has one date: 1668. It also bore four initials, which could represent Overseers of the Poor, or Churchwardens.

CHARLES HANBY or HANDBY was discharged from being Tythingman on 1 September 1662 and on 31 December 1670 he was elected Constable for St Mary's.

JOHN KING was a Freeman of Guildford, having taken up his freedom from his father (also a Freeman) as eldest son. He was appointed collector for the poor of St Mary's on 25 April 1671.

EDWARD LEE. Nothing whatsoever is known of this issuer, unless he was a relative of Henry Lee.

HENRY LEE was one of the town's poor apprentices, having been apprenticed by the overseers to 'John Childs and another, and faithfully served them seven full years', taking up the freedom of the town. He was elected overseer for the Parish of St Mary on 4 April 1680 and 26 December 1682, and Churchwarden on 13 April 1691. His two tokens are dated 1653 and 1658 and for the first time they bear the town's spelling in its modern form.

NICHOLAS LINTOTT was a town apprentice, having been bound to Thomas Newman and served him 'seven full years'. He was made Bailiff in 1659 and elected one of the 'approved men' or town councillor in 1660 and also in 1661.

JOHN MAY was a Shoemaker, his token bearing the word SHOOMAKER and a design of a shoe/last.

ABDIAH MARTIN was a Freeman of Guildford, having served his father in apprenticeship for seven years.

JOHN MARTIN was apprenticed by the overseers to Mr Cobbett, and served his master 'faithfully and well for nine years'. In 1643 the town records note that John Martyn was one of the wardens of the Rye Market-House in the High Street, in the north-east corner of Holy Trinity Church. In 1647 he was elected Mayor, possibly without first having been in the council and again was Mayor in 1654 and 1655. He evidently lived in the parish of St Mary and is buried near the north door of the church, having died at the age of 75.

JOSEPH NETLES has a thistle and a wheat sheaf as his token identification signs. John Russell describes him as a resident of St Mary's Parish and he founded an Exhibition to either Oxford or Cambridge University for a scholar son of a freeman at the Grammar School. He was a publican at the *Tun Inn*.

JOHN REMNANT was a resident in St Mary's Parish and was appointed its collector for the poor in 1669. He was also appointed its surveyor of highways on 29 December 1671 and overseer of highways on 29 December 1674. Evidently he was a Quaker.

DANIELL SARLLE is supposed to have been a lawyer. He took up his freedom of the town, as eldest son, from his father and appointed Tythingman in 1658 and overseer of the poor of the Parish of St Mary in 1676. He was a ratepayer in the Parish of Holy Trinity between 1697 and 1713.

JOHN SMALLPEECE has a barge with four men rowing on his token. He is a representative of one of the oldest families in the town, resident here for over 400 years – this was written in 1891 – and a person by that name still was listed in the telephone directory in 2005. This John was a grocer and unusually both his mother and his father were of that trade and John was registered as apprentice with them both. An ancestor was Mayor in 1502 and a Smallpeece was Mayor again in 1552, 1560, 1568, 1574, 1582, 1591, 1596, 1602, 1662 (our John) 1707, 1714, 1831 and 1836. In 1836, George Smallpeece of Guildford, gentleman, was appointed Clerk to the new Board of Guardians of the Union Workhouse at a salary of £130 per annum.<sup>11</sup>

JAMES SNELLING was a Quaker and freeman of the town, becoming an 'approved man' no less than ten times between 1665 and 1674. He was also elected Serjeant-at-Mace on 1 September 1662.

THOMAS TOMPSON was apprenticed to Mathew Birchell for seven years and took up his freedom after that. He was elected 'approved man' three times in 1665, 1666 and 1667 and Bailiff of the town in 1664. It was possibly his father Thomas Tompson the elder, who was 'dismissed from the Corporation and fellowship of the Mayor and approved men in 1608 for keeping a common alehouse or tiplinghouse'.

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## Acknowledgements

The photographs were taken for Project Matrix by Brian Wood, to whom the copyright belongs. Further information about these photographs and Project Matrix, a new county-wide Surrey Museums coin and token database initiative, can be obtained from the Surrey History Centre, Woking.

# LORD ROSEBERY AND HIS HOBBY

*by Alan Thomas*

The 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847-1929), politician and author, was a member of a Scottish family with extensive lands in Midlothian. Educated in England at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he succeeded to the title in 1868 and immediately became engaged in politics as a member of the Liberal Party. He made his maiden speech in 1871 in the House of Lords, of which he was a member by reason of a subsidiary English title, and first became prominent in 1879 when he managed Gladstone's Midlothian campaign.

Rosebery's first Government appointment was Under Secretary of State at the Home Office in 1881 as Minister for Scotland. Later, he joined Gladstone's cabinet as Commissioner of the Board of Works and then as Foreign Secretary. The death of his wife Hannah in 1890 kept him out of politics for a time, but he returned in 1892, again as Foreign Secretary. On Gladstone's retirement in 1894 he became Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister. His government lasted only 15 months until it was defeated in June 1895, when for the sake of party unity he resigned as Party Leader. He retired from politics altogether in 1905.

Other public appointments were as a Trustee of the British Museum, first Chairman of the London County Council in 1889 and Chancellor or Lord Rector of various universities. He was a member of the Epsom Urban District Council and President of Epsom College. He was also an author, writing biographies of Pitt, Chatham and Lord Randolph Churchill, and various memoirs.

In 1878 Rosebery married Hannah de Rothschild, said to be at one time the richest women in England, and who brought with her Mentmore,



**Fig. 1** South elevation of Riding School.





Fig. 2 West elevation of Riding School.

the great Rothschild mansion in Buckinghamshire. The marriage lasted only 12 years, until Hannah died from typhoid fever.

When at university Rosebery set three aims for his life: 1) to marry an heiress; 2) to own a racehorse that won the Derby; 3) to become Prime Minister. He succeeded in all three, but his attitude to high office is indicated by his statement that 'There are two supreme pleasures in life. One is ideal, the other real. The ideal is when a man receives the seals of office from his Sovereign. The real pleasure comes when he hands them back.'<sup>1</sup>

A man needs a hobby, and Rosebery's was horse-racing and more particularly breeding racehorses to win the Derby and other classic races. In 1869 he kept a racehorse at Oxford, and in a dispute with the Dean of Christ Church was offered the choice of selling the horse or leaving the University. He chose to keep the horse. This does not appear to have affected his career, and he collected many honorary degrees in later years.

The horse was entered for the Derby in 1869 and he persuaded many of his friends to back it – unfortunately it came last. This did not discourage him, and in 1874 he bought The Durdans, a small country house on the outskirts of Epsom, where he established a stud. These activities were greatly enlarged from 1878 when he married and Mentmore became available to him. At Mentmore, he established a second stud in addition to the one already there, and these were run jointly with the one at Epsom. This was thought to be a more benign environment than Buckinghamshire, and foals were sent there after weaning. His horses were successful, in 1894, 1895 and 1905, in winning the Derby. Rosebery is the only Prime Minister to have owned a winning horse in the Derby while in office.

In total Rosebery bred about 500 horses, which won 33 first prizes and a further 63 places in the 23 principal races in the calendar.<sup>2</sup>

In order that the mares and foals could be paraded before him in comfort, Rosebery built an enclosed riding school or riding house. There were other large houses near The Durdans, all now in the Epsom and Ewell Chalk Lane Conservation Area<sup>3</sup> and listed Grade II or Grade II\*. Something better than a simple shed for the riding school was therefore thought desirable, and the architect George Devey, a 'gentleman architect' who had worked on many country houses, was engaged to design something more in keeping with the neighbourhood.

The exterior (Fig. 1) has very much the appearance of a chapel, with heavy buttresses between walls containing stone-mullioned and leaded-light windows. The appearance is further enhanced by the blue-brick diaper patterns in the brickwork and the Dutch gables on the east and west walls. The west wall carries a large stone-mullioned window (Fig. 2) and the east an elaborate bay. The date of construction, 1881, is shown over the entrance porch (Fig. 3), the only way in and out and high and wide enough to admit a rider on horseback, and in the Second World War (probably) a Sherman tank.

The interior is approximately 15.3m by 36.6m and is covered with a thick layer of a mixture of sand and sawdust, suitable for exercising horses. The roof is of unusual, possibly unique, construction in that it is supported by semi-circular timber arches, built up from three layers of short lengths of timber, bolted together with staggered joints (Fig. 4). This gives a clear height of approximately 9m at the centre and 2.8m at the sides. The outward pressure of the structure is resisted by the massive buttresses.

This roof structure may be compared with a more conventional one, such as the double king-post trusses of the riding school at Firle Place, Sussex (Fig. 5). That type of structure, for a given head-room, at least in the centre, requires the walls to be higher than would be needed for the arch structure.



**Fig. 3**  
Entrance porch of  
Riding School.

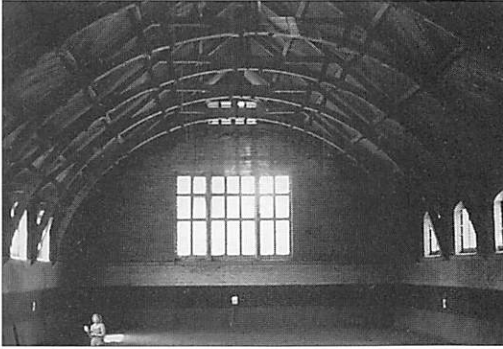


Fig. 4 Interior roof structure of Riding School.

The Riding School forms part of the Lavandou Stud, which in spite of its name is not a stud but a livery stable. It no longer has any connection with The Durdans house itself. There are three stable-blocks, which together with the Riding School are Grade II\* listed, and a fourth block which is not listed. It is one of only five Grade II or II\* riding schools or riding houses in England which are still in equestrian use, the others being at Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Eaton Hall and Firle Place.<sup>4</sup>

The main stable-block is the Cicero Stables (Fig 6), which contains eleven loose-boxes (originally thirteen) and a house and office for the tenant. It was built c.1900 in the Arts and Crafts style and was named after the Derby winner in 1905. The central tower is purely decorative – it does not even carry a clock. The exuberance of the architect (unknown) possibly led him to forget to specify adequate drainage for the loose-boxes, a continuing inconvenience.

Another listed block contains 12 loose-boxes (Fig. 7). From evidence from Ordnance Survey plans this was probably built at about the same



Fig. 5 Roof structure of Firle Place riding school.



Fig. 6 South elevation of Cicero Stables.

time as the Riding School in 1881.<sup>5</sup> The structure is of timber with the roof-line parallel to the sloping ground surface. This may have been done for economy, but it minimises the need for the steps or ramps which would have been needed with a stepped structure.

The third listed block is partly ruined and no longer in use. Again, the roof-line is parallel to the ground surface. It is unusual, for Surrey, in having a pantiled roof. It was thought to date from the 18th century, but research by Martin<sup>6</sup> using Ordnance Survey plans indicates that it was probably built between 1843 and 1866. It originally had a lean-to roof and was modified later to have a pitched roof, perhaps when the Riding School was built.

The Riding School, and presumably some of the other buildings, were used in the Second World War by the No. 2 Army Field Workshop of the Canadian Army as a vehicle workshop. Evidence for this is shown on a brass plaque taken from a park bench presented after the war to Epsom and Ewell Borough Council as a memento. The plaque is displayed at the Bourne Hall Museum.

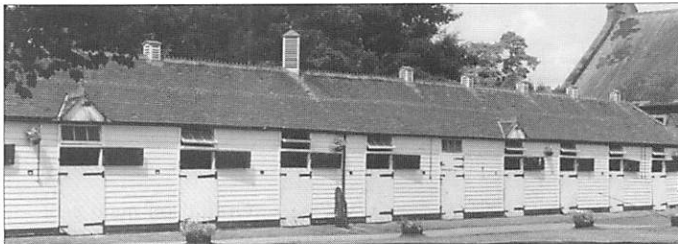
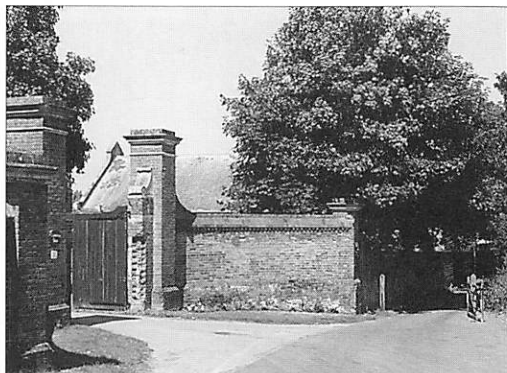


Fig. 7 Range of 12 loose-boxes.



**Fig. 8** Main gate of Lavandou Stud.

On the main gate to the stables (Fig. 8) there are several graffiti. It may be presumed that sentries were posted there, and some of them, perhaps being bored, inscribed their names and other details on the brickwork. A good example is shown in Fig. 9, where not only is the soldier's name shown, but also his home town, province (all were from Ontario) and the date. These graffiti, which would no doubt have been considered vandalism at the time, provide the only physical evidence that the Canadians were ever there. The earliest date given is 1941, and the workshop presumably moved to France in 1944.

The Riding School is on English Heritage's list of Buildings at Risk (2004). When Rosebery ceased his horse-breeding activities at about the time of the First World War, the building lost its *raison d'être* and was for some time shown as 'disused' on Ordnance Survey maps. It was never intended as a commercial proposition, and as it is it cannot earn enough money from rents to pay for its upkeep. There has therefore long been a threat to convert it, and the other buildings, into something which could earn money, but no acceptable proposal has yet been made. Access to the stables is poor, as can be seen from Fig. 8, and makes any use attracting large numbers of people difficult. It is understood that negotiations are in progress with the landlords with a view to keeping the site in equestrian use.



**Fig. 9** Graffiti on main gate August 2005

## References

The Surrey Industrial History Group commissioned R.G. Martin, an architectural draughtsman well-known for his drawings of historic buildings in Sussex, to produce drawings of the listed buildings at the Lavandou Stud. He made 13 drawings of the Riding School and the three stable blocks, containing plans, elevations and cross-sections, together with reports describing the construction and the materials, bricks and tiles used. The drawings are too large to reproduce satisfactorily in this article, but they, and the reports, may be studied at the Surrey History Centre at Woking, the Bourne Hall Museum at Ewell and the Surrey Archaeological Society's Library at Castle Arch, Guildford. The reports are referenced below as 'unpublished'. Photographs, in the form of CD-Rs, have also been deposited in these collections; some of them are reproduced here. All the photographs are by the author.

The sources of information for this article include a note *The Durdans Stables – Chalk Lane* prepared by the Epsom Equestrian Conservation Group (2003), Lord Rosebery (2 vols) by K. Crewe-Milne (1931) and 'PMs in History' on [www.number-10.gov.uk/](http://www.number-10.gov.uk/) Other biographies are by E. T. Raymond (1923), Robert Rhodes James (1963) and Leo McKinsty (2005).

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SURREY HISTORY CENTRE  
ACCESSIONS OF RECORDS AND CATALOGUING  
PROJECTS IN 2005

*by Michael Page, Robert Simonson,  
Margaret Griffiths and Di Stiff*

During the course of 2005, Surrey History Centre received 235 accessions of records from a great variety of organisations and individuals. We are very grateful to all those who contributed to preserving Surrey's heritage in this way. In this article only some of the more significant or intriguing accessions will be described, but a full list of the year's accessions can be found on our website, <http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistorycentre>, under 'Search for Archives or Books'. The majority of these records have now been catalogued and those catalogues can also be searched online (select 'Search for Archives or Books', and then 'Collections Catalogue'), along with almost all our older lists. This represents over 45,000 catalogue pages.

**Paradise Restored: Painshill Park Trust**

Painshill Park in Cobham was one of the first great landscape parks. It was the creation of Charles Hamilton (1704-86), ninth son of the Earl of Abercorn, who, between 1738 and 1773, transformed an area of rough heathland by the River Mole into a vision of idealized beauty which broke away from the symmetry and formality which had hitherto dominated garden design. Hamilton laid out grassland, planted woodland and shrubberies and created an artificial lake with islands. Dotted around the Park and punctuating the views were a number of ornamental buildings and features in a variety of styles, among them a Gothic Tower, a Roman Mausoleum, a Turkish tent, a Ruined Abbey and, perhaps most memorable, an artificial grotto with a roof studded with Derbyshire spar to capture and reflect the light. Many of the plantings were of newly available 'exotic' species from North America and elsewhere. The completed remodelling established Hamilton's fame and visitors flocked to admire the beauty of the Park. John Wilkes, more noted for political radicalism and his dissolute lifestyle, noted, 'I sauntered through the Elysium of Mr Hamilton's gardens, till eight in the evening, like the first solitary man through Paradise'. Hamilton's attempt to hire a recluse to add authenticity to the rustic hermitage he constructed was less successful, his hiring proving unhermetical in both habits and staying power.

Hamilton was not a rich man and ultimately had to sell the Park. It was well maintained for nearly two centuries but after the Second World War fell into utter dereliction. After the site was acquired by Elmbridge Borough Council, Painshill Park Trust was established in 1981 and in



**Fig. 1** Painshill Park as depicted on a Wedgwood dinner service commissioned by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1773.

1983 the Trust began a full and faithful restoration of Park to its appearance in Hamilton's day. The work continues to this day but the Park has been fully open to visitors since 1997.

The restoration has been meticulously researched and documented but the housing and organisation of the resultant records was becoming an ever-growing problem for the Trust. However, following the award of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant, the archives of the Trust have now been catalogued and most transferred to Surrey History Centre (ref. PPT) where they can be consulted. As well as records documenting the successive

restoration projects of the Trust, which have now brought the park and its buildings back to life, the archive includes copies of the great majority of the original sources for the conception and development of Hamilton's great creation together with the responses of 18th-century tourists and visitors to the Park.

### **The Community of St Peter, Woking**

The Surrey History Centre was delighted to receive in 2005 the archive of the Community of St Peter, Woking (ref. 7805). The records chart the history of the Anglican Sisterhood of St Peter from its beginnings in London in 1861 and its establishment of various care homes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, right through to the closure of the Convent in Woking in 2004.

The Order was founded by Benjamin Lancaster, a wealthy merchant and a Governor of St George's Hospital, and his wife, Rosamira. Concerned about patients discharged from the hospital who needed some form of convalescent care, they decided to commit a large part of their wealth to the foundation of a religious community devoted to nursing.

The Sisterhood's first house was at 27 Brompton Square, London, where two Sisters cared for 12 convalescent patients. In January 1867 a home for incurables was opened at 48 Brompton Square. Owing to pressures on space, in 1869 the Sisterhood moved to St Peter's Home, Mortimer Road, Kilburn, which became the mother house until 1944. Minute books of the General Chapter from 1869 and Council from 1875 reveal the growth and organisation of the Order. Registers of Sisters from 1861 record the growing numbers of women called to the work of the Community, and the Assistant Superior's



record books from 1889, recording events, business meetings, condition of the fabric of the buildings, the movements of the Sisters outside the House etc, help to build up a fascinating picture of life in the Order.

Following the success of the home at Kilburn and the perceived need for care homes, further establishments were opened elsewhere, caring for the elderly, the convalescent, the crippled and the long-term sick. The archive contains a remarkable series of journals kept by each house, chronicling the day-to-day activities of the Sisters. It also includes registers of patients cared for at each home and a fine series of photograph albums illustrating life at each establishment. The largest of the branch houses was established at Woking where a long-term care home for 60 patients was opened in 1885. After the evacuation of the Sisters from Kilburn in 1944 following bomb damage, Woking became the mother house.

The Sisters were also involved in overseas mission in Korea. At the request of Bishop Charles Corfe, Anglican Bishop of Korea and Manchuria, five Sisters were sent to the Anglican Mission in Seoul in 1892. They were involved in running an orphanage in Seoul (which moved to Sou Won in 1913) and in nursing and evangelism. The archive contains printed extracts from letters received from Korea and photograph albums of the Sisters at work there.



**Fig. 2** Good Shepherd children's ward at St Peter's Home, Kilburn, run by the Community of St Peter, pre-1908.

The phasing-out of convalescent homes under the National Health Service and a reduction in numbers entering the Sisterhood finally led to the closure of the Convent in 2004. The archive deposited at the History Centre, however, provides a lasting record of the Sisters' devotional life and the care homes which they ran.

### The Oldest Mosque in the United Kingdom

Surrey History Centre endeavours to make its collections representative of the county's culturally diverse past and present and therefore actively encourages the deposit of material relating to ethnic minority groups. Two related accessions are of interest for the light they shed on Woking's Muslim community and on the history of one of the most notable buildings in the town.

In September 2005, Mr Khalid Iqbal of Horsell deposited a large collection of publications relating to the Shah Jahan Mosque. Dating back to the late 1920s, these works include copies of *The Islamic Review*, and publications by The Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust (ref. 7831). Built in 1889, the Shah Jahan Mosque was the first formal place of worship for the religion of Islam in England (named after its main benefactor Begum Shah (Madame-King) Jahan, a contemporary ruler of Bhopal State in India). The building of the Mosque was largely due to the inspiration of Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1860-99), a distinguished orientalist and linguist from Hungary. Following his death the Mosque closed until 1912, when it was restored as a place of worship. In 1912, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, a lawyer from India, came to England to plead a court case before the Privy Council (the highest court of appeal for India at the time). After the conclusion of the case, he stayed on to establish a Muslim mission in England with the object of presenting a true picture of Islam. The result was the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, which published many pamphlets and religious works and ensured that Woking remained an important centre for Islam in England until the 1960s. The Mosque has recently been listed by English Heritage as a building of historic interest.

The deposit of papers from Mohammed Ilyas Raja (Z/454)

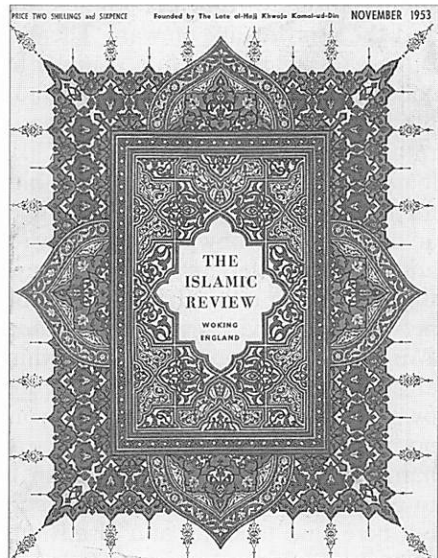


Fig. 3 Cover of *The Islamic Review*, November 1953, published by the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

also highlight the importance of Woking's religious, social and political diversity. Mr Raja was Surrey County Council's first non-white councillor, serving two terms for Woking Borough and retiring in June 2005. A Muslim and trustee of The Shah Jahan Mosque, his papers reveal the close bond that exists between the Kashmiri Muslim community in the town and the Kashmir region today, in particular through fundraising activities for the charity Ham Nawa UK. The papers comprise posters, correspondence and photographs relating to cultural events including Eid Millan festivals, music and poetry sessions featuring representatives from Pakistani television, radio and music industry in the last 15 years.

### **Surrey Goes to War**

The donation in 2003 of the archives of the Queen's Royal Surrey Regiment and its predecessors the Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) and the East Surrey Regiment, coupled with the flurry of the Second World War anniversary commemoration, have led to further deposits of records reflecting the experiences of the people of Surrey during the two world wars.

Dennis Neilson-Terry, a nephew of the actress Ellen Terry and an actor himself, served as an officer with the 7th Service Battalion of the Queen's Royal West Surreys throughout the First World War. His letters home to his parents (ref. 7502/GP209) follow a familiar trajectory as his initial desperate hope that the war will not end before he has had the chance to see action soon transmutes into complaints about fatigue, flies and dirt, monotony and the grim reality of war: 'There's one thing I don't like at all and that is these Germans have mined under here and we've counter-mined and they counter-mined again and so on and so forth, so it's only a case of who presses the button first and whether the mines have been well laid or not, rotten method of warfare, I don't like war and I don't like Germans and I loathe the trenches'. 'Death is a horrible thing out here, yet it's very merciful for the test on one's nerves is terrible really, waiting, waiting for an attack at dawn never knowing what they're going to do'. His chatty, expressive and emotional letters vividly convey, through a cloak of jaunty humour, the tedium, squalor and intermittent terror of the trenches and the gulf between the serving soldiers and the government and civilians in England: 'We English are too arrogant, we think we're God's own nation, and so we are, but we're not going to do any good by allowing ourselves to be martyred by a lot of flatulent statesmen ... you can't talk of fighting cleanly, there is no cleanliness in warfare, it isn't clean to live in the earth, it isn't clean to batter men's heads in, it isn't clean to lie covered in vermin, it isn't clean to be subjected to mental and physical torture and yet that's what our men out here have to suffer at a disadvantage whilst men at home are permitted to strike for higher wages and shorter working hours'.

The regimental archives, rich as they are, do not provide a comprehensive record of all the men who served with the regiments and thus can be slightly

frustrating for researchers seeking information about an individual soldier. However we have now taken in a fine series of enlistment, discharge and transfer registers (ref. 7791), which were formerly held in the Ministry of Defence Archive. The registers provide an invaluable (and indexed) source for men who joined the two regiments, particularly for the period between the wars. The enlistment registers generally give details of the soldier's name, date and period of enlistment, army designation (regular, territorial, militia or reserve), trade on enlistment and marital state, together with a note of his transfer, discharge or death during service.

Mention should also be made of a new project, supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund, to undertake a comprehensive recatalogue of the regimental archives, and also to further enrich the archives by recording the reminiscences of soldiers who served with the regiments during the Second World War and in later campaigns and operations in Palestine, Malaya, Berlin and elsewhere. The project is due to run until September 2007 by which time access to the regimental archives will have been improved immeasurably.

Vera Russell's experience of global war was a far cry from that of Dennis Neilson-Terry 25 years before. Her father was killed at Arras in 1917, when Vera was about seven years old, and she lived at 7 Bedford Road, Guildford, with her widowed mother and one brother for many years. She worked as a lingerie buyer for a business in Milford and in April 1943 joined the Women's Land Army who sent her to Heath Farm,



**Fig. 4** Members of Women's Land Army planting cabbages under the watchful eye of Mr Secrett of Heath Farm, Send.

Send, in the employ of Mr A. W. Secrett. She lodged at Tannery House, Tannery Lane, Send, for the duration of her time at Heath Farm, and her diaries (ref. 7787) reflect the repetitive and physically demanding work: 'lettuce planting all day'; 'lettuce again'; 'hoeing beans again'; 'cabbages until dinner time, celery planting until 9 o'clock; felt jolly tired'. Amidst her labours she found time for cycle rides with friends, invitations to tea, parties, dances, the cinema, Guildford Lido and walks, even a holiday with friends in Bournemouth. The constraints of wartime living appear: 'Went to London to buy a dress but could not get one. Came home and cut my breeches up'. Mr Secrett regarded her very highly, writing when she left: 'Your service has been more than an official membership of the WLA, for your interest and ability have impressed me right from the start ... I shall miss you very much, but you have your life to live and of course it means this departure'.

Another fascinating document reflecting the logistical demands of modern, total war is a map made in 1940 for the distribution of the homeless throughout Surrey (ref. 7821). It shows how 22,257 people, 'rendered destitute as the result of enemy aircraft action', could be accommodated in each district, under the 'Shadow Scheme, Southern Area'. The county is shown divided into zones, five miles wide, measured from the boundaries of the London Region. A further note states that for feeding purposes an extra 10,000 persons could be catered for in the same buildings, which 'are scattered throughout the Rural Districts'.

### **Getting around in Twentieth-Century Surrey**

After the nationalisation of the railways under the 1947 Transport Act, Transport Users Consultative Committees were established across the country as independent bodies to represent the interests of rail users in matters concerning the services and facilities provided by British Rail and to ensure the views of passengers on proposed line and station closures were taken into account. We have now taken in, under the Public Records Act, the archives of the Southern Region Transport Users Consultative Committee and its successors the Rail Users Consultative Committee and the Rail Passengers Committee for Southern England (ref. 7858). The records, although at present subject to some access restrictions, will constitute a fine source for those investigating the experience of rail travel on both the nationalised and privatised networks. The Southern Region stretched from Dover in Kent to Dorchester in Dorset and the minutes of the Committee are full of the sound and fury of prolonged campaigns to save threatened rural lines, as well as the familiar litany of complaints over overcrowding, dirty trains, unhelpful timetables and 'leaves on the lines'. A survey to gauge the difficulty of obtaining reliable information is entitled 'S\*d it, I'll take the car'. Nearly forty years earlier, in July 1966, a Major was particularly exercised over the plastic cups and holders in which hot drinks were now

served; the Committee gravely considered the matter and agreed that the rail authorities should be alerted to the need for a 'modified holder incorporating some form of saucer'.

Surrey's network of footpaths and bridleways provide a somewhat different travel experience to that sometimes offered by the beleaguered public transport system. That network was definitively established following the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949, under which county councils were instructed to survey and map all footpaths, bridleways and roads used as public paths and to draw up a definitive map and statement. We have now taken in all the files of evidence compiled when the county's rights of way were charted for inclusion in the first Definitive Map and Statement of 1952 (CC1089).

### **The Lushington family of Pyports, Cobham**

The Lushington family of Pyports, Cobham, whose papers were deposited at Surrey History Centre in 2005 (ref. 7854), were at the heart of many of the literary, artistic and intellectual developments of the 19th century. Vernon Lushington (1832-1912) was the son of Judge Stephen Lushington (1782-1873), an eminent lawyer who made his reputation as counsel in the divorce cases involving Queen Caroline, wife of George IV, and Lady Byron. Thomas Hardy wrote in his journal of how he had dined with the Lushingtons and had seen the portrait of Stephen Lushington 'the man who had known the Byron secret'. Stephen Lushington spent the last years of his life at Ockham Park, which belonged to Byron's daughter, Ada Lovelace.

Vernon was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a member of the Cambridge Apostles. This led during the course of his life to a series of introductions into other circles, including Positivism, Christian Socialism and the Pre-Raphaelites, and to figures as varied as Thomas Carlyle, Frederic Harrison, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt. In 1865 Vernon married Jane Mowatt (1834-84) and he served successively as a QC from 1868, Deputy Judge Advocate General, 1860-69, Secretary to the Admiralty, 1869-77, and a County Court judge in Surrey from 1877.

After their marriage Vernon and Jane lived at Wheelers Farm, Pyrford, before moving to Pyports, Cobham, in about 1875. The family's London home was at 36 Kensington Square. They had three children: Katherine (1867-1922), Margaret (1869-1906) and Susan (1870-1953). After their mother's early death, the three girls were taken under the wing of Mrs Julia Stephen, wife of Sir Leslie Stephen, the father of Virginia Woolf and editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The Stephen and Lushington families were close neighbours in London.

Katherine 'Kitty' Lushington married Leopold Maxse the journalist and political writer whose family then lived at Dunley Hall near Effingham. She became a well-known London hostess. Kitty's friendship with Virginia

Woolf resulted in her being used as the model for her novel 'Mrs Dalloway'. Kitty and Leo Maxse were engaged at Talland House in Cornwall, which was the summer residence of the Stephens. Margaret Lushington married Stephen Massingberd of Gunby, Lincolnshire, and at their marriage in Cobham Stephen's cousin the young Ralph Vaughan Williams played the organ. Margaret and Stephen later organised music festivals at Gunby. Susan Lushington never married and after her father's death in 1912 moved to Ockham Hall, Kingsley, near Alton, Hampshire. She led an active musical life, organising concerts and opera performances, including Handel's 'Water Music' from a raft floating on Kingsley village pond.

The deposited papers represent a rich resource for the history of the family, their activities and milieu. They are currently awaiting detailed cataloguing before being made available. They include a small series of papers of Stephen Lushington, nearly 1,000 letters between Vernon and Jane Lushington during the course of their married life, and letters from Vernon to his daughters, as well as correspondence between the three sisters. Some of Vernon's letters were written while on circuit as County Court Judge. On 14 September 1882 he wrote to Jane, 'I am just back - 7.30 - from a long day at Chertsey. My principal case was about a young ladies' school. Fancy my having to decide what was a Finishing School for Young Ladies, what a Superior Establishment for the education of daughters of Gentlemen ... all which and more I had to decide, without your advice'. The family's surviving engagement diaries for their London house also provide a detailed picture of their activities there between 1883 and 1910.

Susan Lushington's papers include diaries, letters from family and friends, papers relating to her concert and opera performances and letters from First World War servicemen, many stationed at nearby Bordon Camp, whom she assisted while living at Kingsley. Other correspondents of Susan's include members of the Howard family, Earls of Carlisle, Sir Hubert Parry, the composer and teacher, and William Robinson, gardener and plantsman, of Gravetye Manor, East Grinstead, Sussex.

### **A Miscellany**

In May 2005, John Hickox travelled from France to present us with a small collection of papers and memorabilia (ref. 7786) relating to his ancestor Herbert Edward Hickox (1866-1929), photographer and inventor of photographic equipment and founder of Hickox Studios, Wimbledon, and the Quta Photographic Company. In 1901, Herbert Hickox patented his first camera 'suitable for ferrotype plates' and began manufacturing ferrotype plates and cameras in Wimbledon until c.1914. The process produced cheap and highly durable 'While You Wait' photographs which were often mounted into rings, brooches and dress pins; family history recalls that Hickox took such 'instant' photographs in tourist locations such as Box Hill and several examples of these exist in the collection. By the early 1920s, Hickox had

also started manufacturing radio sets. The business was wound up some time in the mid- or late 1920s and Hickox died in 1929.

The lavender fields of Mitcham once formed a distinctive landscape in Surrey and a still book that we received in April 2005 (ref. 7775) reflects the local herbal oil distilling industry. In 1886, W J Bush and Co, already well established in London, purchased the herbal distillery at Figges Marsh, Mitcham, and moved the copper stills and other equipment to their newly built works in Batsworth Road where they developed top quality essential oil distillation of peppermint, lavender and camomile. The still book, which still carries the scent of the aromatic distillery, was a yearly record required to be kept for Customs and Excise inspection. It details names of herb growers, the quantity of peppermint, lavender and camomile crops placed in the stills for distillation and the yield of the oil produced. The latter was most often purchased from the owner of the crop and subsequently sold by Bush at auction in London. The distilling of harvested herbs at the Mitcham works was discontinued after 1957, in part because it was no longer economic for the large stills to remain idle for all but the six weeks of each year when the crops were ripe for distilling.

In January we purchased three volumes of diaries and business journals of Charles Doubell (1780-1830), surveyor of Lingfield (ref. 7731). Doubell's identity had to be teased out from clues contained in the diary entries, but once established we realised that a diary passed to us in 2001 (ref 6978), which had been attributed to an anonymous surveyor, was written by the same man. Doubell travelled almost daily in the Lingfield area, often visiting East Grinstead, Edenbridge, Westerham, Reigate, Blackham, Horley and Croydon for business purposes such as measuring timber and underwoods, valuing farms and timber, survey work and writing inventories. About once a month he travelled up to London by coach, either from East Grinstead or Croydon. Almost every week he visited East Grinstead market, probably to conduct business. His social life revolved around lunching and dining with friends, hare coursing and shooting.

An interesting document that had ended up in Montrose, Scotland, before being presented to us was a farming account book kept by the donor's great-great-great grandfather John Hamilton Colt for his farm at Woodham, Chertsey (ref. 7822). Colt, of Gartsherrie, Renfrewshire, was the only surviving son of Robert Colt MP and his wife Grace Dundas of Arniston. A wealthy man with estates in England and Scotland, he was part of the circle of the Prince Regent, served as a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace in some of the counties in which his lands were situated, and also had a military career in the 3rd Light Dragoons. He was a member of all the leading agricultural societies of his day and ran Woodham Farm, part of his Monksgrove estate, as a model farm, regardless of cost. However his lifestyle and activities dissipated most of his wealth and he only avoided ruin by selling all his English estates and returning to Scotland in the 1820s. The





**Fig. 5** Drawing of the Lower Lodge, Bury Hill, Dorking, by an unknown artist, c.1830s, from a sketchbook of views around Surrey and elsewhere, presented to Surrey History Centre during 2005.

account book covers the year December 1816 to December 1817 and gives brief daily details (excluding Sundays) of work undertaken in cultivating crops, looking after animals, maintaining the farm and carrying crops to local mills for milling. The labour statement details work done by named horses; the farm servants (Thomas Cole, James Elson and James Baker); and daily labour (including shepherd, boy, blacksmith, cooper, and various women, with details of their wages). The farm produced wheat, barley, oats, hay, peas, beans, sheep, cattle and pigs and was profitable, at least in the year covered: the annual account of receipts and expenditure, listed in weekly totals, records expenses of £1004 4s. and income of £1490 10s. 6¼d.

# 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

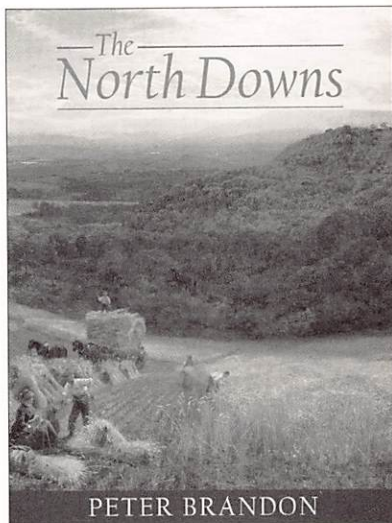
1997 £30.00 (hardback)

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](http://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.

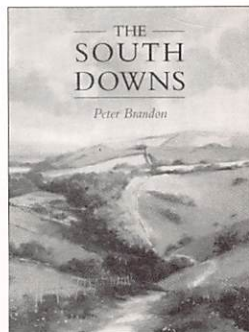
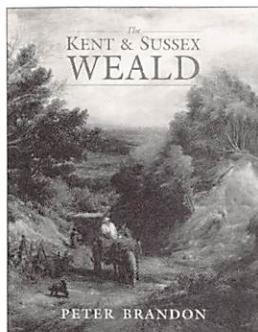
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