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Chairman: K. W. E. Gravett, M.Sc.(Eng)., F.S.A.
85 Seaforth Avenue, New Malden. KT3 6JU.
Vice Chairman: D. B. Robinson, M.A., Ph.D.
c/o Surrey Record Office, County Hall, Kingston upon Thames. KT1 2DN.
Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. E. Milton-Worssell, B.A., A.L.A.
62 Harriotts Lane, Ashtead. KT21 2QB
Acting Hon. Treasurer: R. McSorley,
The White House, 91 Stoughton Road, Guildford. GU1 1LH.
Hon. Editor: T. Everson, B.A., M.Phil., Dip. Lib.
c/o Kingston Museum & Heritage Service, North Kingston Centre, Richmond Road, Kingston upon Thames. KT2 5PE.

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The meetings organised by the Council include a one-day Symposium on a local-history topic, the Annual General Meeting, which includes a visit to a place of historical interest, and lectures. The Council produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time and these are available from bookshops throughout the county.

Membership on the part of local history societies will help the Council to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. The annual subscription for Societies is £ 15-00, due on April 1st., and in return for this they receive a copy of *Surrey History* and three newsletters a year. Members of Member Societies may attend the Symposium and other meetings at a reduced fee and obtain publications at a special rate from the Hon. Secretary. Member Societies may also exhibit at the Symposium and sell their publications there.

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

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Cover Illustration: Phyllis Lavender of Cherry Orchard Farm, Cuddington, with the farm milk cart in about 1923. Cherry Orchard Farm was towards the centre of the old parish in the Little Park [*Courtesy of Bourne Hall Museum, Ewell*].

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SURREY ELECTIONS AND M.P.s FROM THE REFORM ACT TO THE PRESENT DAY

David Robinson
County Archivist

The Great Reform Act:

The 1832 Reform Act was the first significant change in constituencies and the franchise for England since the middle ages, and for Wales, Scotland and Ireland since 1542, 1707 and 1801 when they first obtained representation at Westminster. The electorate increased by about 45%, from 439,000 (12.4% of adult males; 3.2% of the population) to 656,000 (18.4%; 4.7%) (England and Wales). Initially the abolition of the smallest boroughs and the increase in the electorate of those which survived increased the number of contests and thereby more than doubled the number who actually cast their vote but by 1841 less than half the seats were being contested.

The Act widened the qualification to vote and redrew the electoral map. The county electorate was increased by adding to the 40 shilling freeholders various categories of copyholders, leaseholders and tenants holding property worth £ 50 or £ 10 per annum depending on the nature of their tenure. The wide variety of borough franchises was replaced by a single franchise of occupiers, whether owners or tenants, of houses, shops and business premises worth over £ 10 per annum. The freeman franchise was retained where it existed, but new freemen must be qualified either by servitude or inheritance; in other words they must either serve a traditional apprenticeship or be the sons of freemen – borough corporations could not create new freemen at will. Most other borough qualifications were retained only by existing holders during their lifetime. The Act reduced the scope for granting short-term leases to dependants by requiring twelve months' occupation of the qualifying premises and residence within the borough or within seven miles of it. 'Occupation' meant possessing a legal interest in the property. The 'occupier's' family and others such as servants and lodgers living in the house were not legally occupiers and therefore did not possess a vote; equally some 'occupiers' might live elsewhere. Until 1832 owning property worth 40s in a borough gave a man the right to vote in the parliamentary election for the county constituency even though it might also give him a vote for the borough constituency, for example if it were a burgage tenement in a borough with a burgage franchise. After 1832 a man could no longer vote in a county constituency on a qualification which conferred on him the right to vote in the borough constituency but he might *occupy* property in a borough which gave him the right to vote in the borough and *own* other property in the borough on the strength of which he could vote in the county.

Fig. 1. Poster for Reigate Reform Dinner, 1832. A more popular event was held in the Castle Court.

A system of electoral registration was introduced. Registers were compiled by the parish overseers of the poor, sent to the high constables of the hundreds (this stage was removed in 1843) and thence to the clerk of the peace for the county. In boroughs they were sent to the returning officer for the borough. Revising barristers heard claims and objections and the clerk of the peace produced a final list for the sheriff or under-sheriff. The definition of qualifying property left many uncertainties which would be resolved only over a period by case law. It was a basic skill of the election agent to challenge the qualifications of voters opposed to his party and to defend his own voters. Polling remained a public act and bribery, intimidation and the creation of qualifying tenures for dependants did not cease. One of the more constructive responses to the continued exclusiveness of the franchise was the creation by leading Liberals of the National Freehold Land Society in 1849 to buy land for property development to enable men of small means to purchase freehold property and thereby gain the right to vote. In the early 1850s they purchased land and developed estates in Kingston, Hook, New Malden, Wimbledon, Reigate, Redhill and Sutton.

The redrawing of the electoral map divided Surrey, with a population of 500,000, into two: East Surrey and West Surrey. Because most of the population was in the north-east of the county the line was drawn well to the east. It was based on the historic hundred boundaries and, as a result, Thames Ditton at the northern end, divided since the middle ages between Kingston and Elmbridge hundreds, and Newdigate on the Sussex border, divided between Copthorne and Reigate hundreds, fell partly into East and partly into West Surrey. Between

them the border parishes on the western side were Cobham, Chessington, Ewell, Cuddington, Banstead, Walton-on-the-Hill, Headley, Mickleham and Dorking. The pre-1832 Surrey electorate of about 4,000 was increased to 6,062: 3,150 in East Surrey and 2,912 in West Surrey.

The disfranchisement of the smaller boroughs cost Gatton, Haslemere and Bletchingley their representation. In Reigate the coming of reform was greeted with a mixture of excitement and panic because the borough was on the borderline for survival. Ambrose Glover, steward of the manor, lawyer and man of business to Lord Somers, was anxious to create as many £ 10 properties as possible. William Bryant, former agent of the Hardwickes who had shared control of the borough with the Somers family, and now the bitter enemy of the Somers interest, petitioned for the whole of Reigate hundred to be taken into the constituency to weaken Somers family influence. In the event Reigate lost one seat and the constituency was enlarged to cover the whole of Reigate parish but no more: there were 152 electors out of 4,400 population. To celebrate the passing of the Act a dinner for 1,200 people was provided in the Castle Court. This cost £ 82 14s. 6d. and included 42st. 3lb. roasting beef, 80st. 7lb. boiling beef, 342 gallons of beer, 120 loaves of bread, 600lb. plum pudding, 4 gross of pipes, 6lb. tobacco and 16s. worth of vegetables.

Fig. 2. Guildford High Street during the 1849 West Surrey by-election. W.J. Evelyn, Conservative, defeated Richard Wyatt Edgell, Liberal.

Guildford constituency was enlarged to cover the whole built-up area and retained its two seats with 342 electors representing about 4,000 population. Southwark took in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, and a new constituency of Lambeth was created covering Newington, Camberwell except the hamlet of Dulwich, and Lambeth as far south as St. Matthew's, Brixton. Southwark had 4,775 electors for nearly 150,000 population and Lambeth had 4,768 for about 120,000. In total about 16,000 Surrey men had the vote in comparison with perhaps 7,000 who qualified before the Act.

After 1832 there was no longer a single polling place for each constituency. The West Surrey election court continued to be held at Guildford, the scene of Surrey elections since the middle ages, but Dorking and Chertsey became additional polling places. The election court for East Surrey was to be held at Croydon, with Reigate, Camberwell and Kingston as the other polling places.

After the Reform Act: national context and county politics:

Party lines slowly hardened between the 1832 and 1867 Reform Acts. Nonetheless the Whigs remained a loose coalition of aristocrats harking back to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and professing general libertarian principles, radicals demanding greater democracy, dissenters and some churchmen who wished to reform or disestablish the Church of England, and utilitarian technocrats who wanted more efficient administration. The categories frequently overlapped. The Tories predominated among the gentry and rich businessmen but there was no clear class divide between the parties and there were working class Tory successors - Disraeli's 'angels in marble' - to the 'Church and King' mobs of previous centuries. Neither party represented the working class - the Whigs' New Poor Law of 1834 was detested by labourers - although individuals in both parties supported specific measures of factory reform. You were more likely to be a Whig, or a Liberal as they were increasingly called, if you were a townsman, a nonconformist and generally in favour of change; you were more likely to be a Tory, or Conservative, if you were a countryman, a strong churchman and a believer in tradition. After their 1832 landslide the Liberals did not win a majority of English county seats again until 1885; the Conservatives did not win a majority of English boroughs until the Liberal split of 1886. Party discipline was weak, party consciousness was variable, leading politicians changed party regularly. In 1834 four cabinet ministers resigned from Grey's Liberal government; by 1841 three of them were serving in Peel's Conservative government. The Conservative split in 1846 over abolition of the excise duty on cereals (the Corn Laws) produced a body of able politicians, followers of Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister who repealed the Corn Laws, who slowly moved towards Liberalism but would combine with either party to form a government.

The election which followed the Reform Act saw the Whigs confirm their popularity at the polls, winning 348 of the 471 English seats. Over the next three years they reformed the poor law and municipal corporations and began reform of the Church of England. They were briefly out of office in 1834-5 as a result of internal divisions but regained power in the 1835 general election and retained it in 1837. In 1841 the Liberals were defeated in parliament. Peel took office and won a large majority at the subsequent general election. Following his successful repeal of the corn laws in 1846 with Liberal support he was defeated by a

combination of Liberal opponents and his own disgruntled Conservatives. He and his followers became a third force in politics, few in numbers but strong in ability, and between 1846 and 1868 there were long periods when no ministry enjoyed a stable majority in parliament. Lord John Russell succeeded Peel. The 1847 general election gave the Liberals only slight gains but Russell carried on a minority government with Peelite support. In 1852 his government fell but, following the election of the same year, Whigs and Peelites formed a coalition ministry under Lord Aberdeen. The fall of the government in 1855, owing to public concern at mismanagement of the Crimean War, led to a period dominated by Palmerston, whose personal popularity drew a large number of floating M.P.s as well as voters to support him. This gave him victories in general elections of 1857, 1859 and 1865, although some of his supporters gave support only on their own terms and the Conservatives formed a government in 1858-9. Palmerston's death in 1865 gave Russell a further term of office. Russell introduced a reform bill which was defeated. The Conservatives under Derby came to power and carried a bill which, as amended, became more radical than the Liberal one.

The Surrey constituencies tended to follow the national pattern. In 1832 the sitting Liberal county M.P.s, John Ivatt Briscoe of Chertsey and William Joseph Denison of Denbies, headed the polls in East and West Surrey respectively, partnered by other Liberals, Major A. W. Beauclerk, a radical reformer, in East Surrey and John Leech in West Surrey. In 1835 Denison held his seat but his Liberal colleague, H. L. Long, was narrowly squeezed out by the Conservative Charles Barclay of Bury Hill, Dorking, while in East Surrey Richard Alsager of Tooting, a Conservative, topped the poll and Beauclerk defeated Briscoe for second place. In both cases the Conservatives put up a single candidate to attract the second choices of middle-of-the-road voters.

Denison retained his seat in 1837, and Long was again defeated into third place by a Conservative, this time G. J. Perceval of Nork. When Perceval succeeded his father as Lord Arden in 1840 another Conservative, John Trotter, was elected unopposed. Denison and Trotter were re-elected unopposed in 1841 and Denison and the Conservative Henry Drummond of Albury in 1847. On Denison's death in 1849 W.J. Evelyn of Wotton, Conservative, defeated Richard Wyatt Edgell of Milton Park, Egham, Liberal, in a hard-fought contest, giving West Surrey two Conservative M.P.s for the first time. Drummond and Evelyn retained their seats in 1852: the only general election after 1832 and before 1874 at which two members of the same party were returned. Significantly they appear in some contemporary sources as 'Liberal-Conservative'. Drummond was again successful in 1857, partnered by the Liberal Briscoe, who returned after twenty-two years. On Drummond's death in 1860 another Conservative, George Cubitt of Denbies, was elected unopposed, and Briscoe and Cubitt were returned unopposed in 1865. Thus West Surrey was represented by two Liberals for the first three years after the Reform Act, by two ostensible Conservatives between 1849 and 1857, and by M.P.s of opposed parties for 25 of the 36 years between 1832 and 1868. Seven of the nine general elections produced one Liberal and one Conservative, four of them without a contest.

East Surrey, bereft of the urban core of south London, except for the 'ownership' voters, was balanced between the parties initially but the growth of urban population outside the Southwark and Lambeth constituencies soon

moved it into the Liberal camp. Conservatives took both seats in 1837, retained their seat in a by-election in 1841 and took both seats unopposed in the same year. In 1847, by contrast, following the repeal of the Corn Laws, two Liberals, Thomas Alcock of Kingswood Warren and Peter Locke King of Brooklands, were elected unopposed and they were re-elected in 1852, 1857 and 1859, being unopposed in 1857. Locke King retained his seat in 1865 and 1868, partnered by another Liberal, Charles Buxton of Foxwarren. East Surrey elected two Liberals on six occasions, two Conservatives twice and divided once.

When elections came to the vote they were usually closely contested. In 1837 only 43 votes separated the three candidates in West Surrey and only 353 votes separated the four in East Surrey, yet there was no contest in either constituency in the 1841 and 1847 general elections. As in the eighteenth century the sense of the county might become apparent before polling and this sense, in West Surrey, might favour compromise. Denison for the Liberals from 1832 until his death in 1849 and Drummond for the Conservatives from 1847 until his death in 1860 remained undefeated regardless of the popularity of their party or the politics of their fellow-M.P.

After the Reform Act: Borough politics 1832-67:

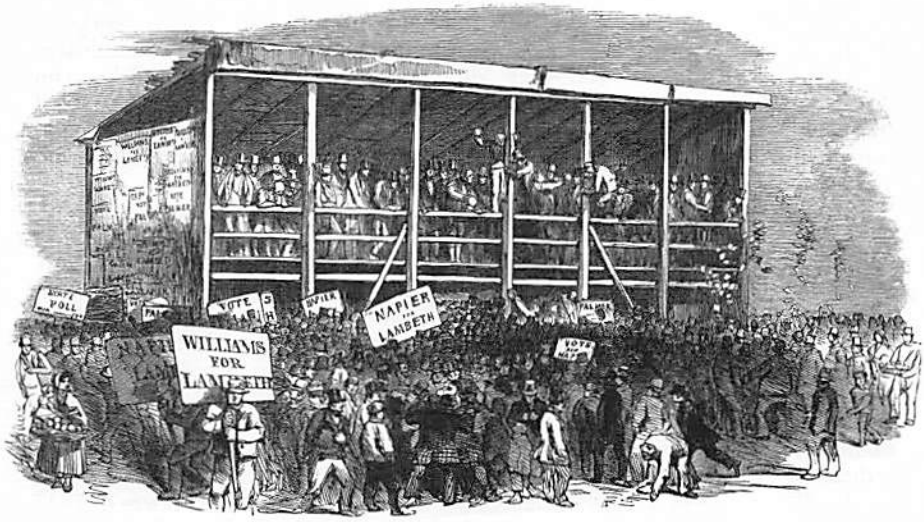


Fig. 3. Lambeth Hustings, 1850 by-election. The three candidates were all Liberals.

Two of Surrey's four borough constituencies, Southwark and Lambeth, showed their radicalism by voting solidly Liberal throughout the period. Indeed, the Conservatives put up candidates in Southwark at only one general election, 1837, and two by-elections, and in Lambeth at four general elections – 1835, 1837, 1841 and 1865 – and one by-election. Contests came from within the Liberals' own ranks, between candidates professing varying degrees of

radicalism or differing on purely personal grounds; the two constituencies were contested at all the general elections except 1835, 1841, 1847 and 1865 in Southwark and 1859 in Lambeth.

From 1832 to 1852, Southwark returned 'Sheriff' Humphery, a wharfinger of Hibernia Wharf, Tooley Street, and Clapham Common, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1842-3. Until he retired in 1852, Humphery united civic dignity, local commerce and radical sentiment. His 1832 manifesto set out the full radical programme: secret ballot, shorter parliaments, repeal of the house and window taxes and all taxes on knowledge, thorough and immediate reform of the church including abolition of tithes, removal of the bishops' share in temporal government, 'giving the right of appointing the Clergy into the hands of the Parishioners, and paying them according to the extent of their duties and merits', repeal of the corn laws, abolition of the slave trade, amendment of the poor laws and reduction 'in the salaries of the overpaid Public Functionaries and in every branch of our National Expenditure'. Some parts of this manifesto would be soon implemented, others such as the ballot not for half a century, and some other policies have never come to pass. Humphery was partnered by William Brougham, brother of the Lord Chancellor, from 1832 to 1835, by D.W. Harvey, originator of the *Sunday Times* and an 'ultra radical Reformer' from 1835 to 1840, by Benjamin Wood, a Southwark hop merchant, until 1845, and by Sir William Molesworth, a radical who had sat previously for East Cornwall and Leeds, thereafter. Molesworth was re-elected until his death in 1855, partnered by Apsley Pellatt, proprietor of the Falcon glass works in Southwark, in the 1852 parliament. Sir Charles Napier, a radical admiral, was elected at the by-election following Molesworth's death and sat until his own death in 1860. John Locke, another supporter of household suffrage and triennial parliaments, was returned with him in 1857, defeating Pellatt, and remained M.P. until his own death in 1880. He was partnered from 1860 until 1870 by A.H. Layard, excavator of Nimrud and Nineveh.

Election battles in Lambeth as in Southwark were largely between Liberal candidates propounding varying degrees of radicalism. At the 1832 election Charles Tennyson, a Lincolnshire landowner having no previous connexion with Lambeth, arrived as the Liberal standard-bearer having defeated a Cecil candidate in the near-pocket borough of Stamford in 1831. He had been M.P. for Great Grimsby, where his own estate lay, in 1818 and 1820 and for Bletchingley in 1826 and 1830, the latter being ironic proof that pocket boroughs were not necessarily held by the forces of reaction. Tennyson (later Tennyson D'Eyncourt) and Benjamin Hawes, son of a Lambeth soap manufacturer and 'a sound Liberal resident in the borough', defeated two radical barristers and retained their seats against Conservative opposition in 1835, 1837 and 1841. Charles Pearson, another Liberal, defeated Hawes in 1847 but resigned three years later and at the by-election William Williams, a Welshman and former M.P. for Coventry, was returned. Williams retained his seat until he died in 1865. D'Eyncourt fell out of favour with the electors in 1852, and William Wilkinson was elected to partner Williams. In 1857 he was defeated by William Roupell, illegitimate son of Richard Palmer Roupell, developer of the Roupell Park estate in Norwood. William Roupell resigned in 1862, fled to Spain and returned to a sentence of penal servitude for life for forging his father's will. Frederick Doulton, the Lambeth potter, was elected in 1862 and 1865, partnered in 1865 by Tom Hughes, author of 'Tom Brown's

Schooldays'. Lambeth politics seems to have been more febrile than Southwark's from the 1840s, perhaps because of a lack of established civic worthies such as the Borough, with its commercial traditions and links with the City, could boast, but perhaps also because a judgment extending the franchise to certain classes of voters who compounded for the rates almost doubled the electorate between 1841 and 1847.

At the other extreme from these large urban constituencies Reigate was in many respects a relic of a previous age. With much the smallest electorate in Surrey it was almost totally in the hands of the Somers family in the earlier part of the period. Viscount Eastnor represented the borough until he succeeded as Earl Somers in 1841 when his son succeeded to the seat, and in 1847 and 1852 another member of the family, Thomas Somers Cocks, was elected. The Somers candidates were Conservative and until 1852, when a Liberal ran Cocks close, their opponents received derisory votes. The Somers interest now withdrew and from 1857 to 1865 only Liberals seriously contested the seat. The electorate increased from 228 in 1852 to 442 in 1857, 548 in 1859, 737, overtaking Guildford, in 1863, and 920 in 1865. In 1857 William Hackblock of the Rock, Reigate Hill, defeated the Assyriologist and decipherer of cuneiform Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had continued Layard's excavations at Nineveh. Hackblock died the following year and at the by-election Rawlinson defeated Frederick Doulton, future M.P. for Lambeth, and W.J. Monson of Gatton. Rawlinson resigned later in 1858 on being appointed to the Council of India and Monson defeated Wilkinson, the former M.P. for Lambeth. Monson again defeated Wilkinson in the general election the following year, although Wilkinson seems on this occasion to have been nominated against his will and not to have campaigned. When Monson succeeded as Lord Monson in 1863 Granville Leveson Gower of Titsey defeated Wilkinson, once more a serious candidate, by 13 votes. A petition by Wilkinson against Leveson Gower for treating and bribery was withdrawn, apparently on a promise from Leveson Gower that he would stand down in favour of Wilkinson at the next general election, but Wilkinson died shortly before the 1865 election. Gower stood again and defeated E.J. Monson, son of the former M.P., but Monson's petition led to the election being declared void and a subsequent Royal Commission revealed such widespread corruption that the borough was disfranchised.

Guildford, like West Surrey, tended to share its political favours. In six of the nine general elections the borough electors returned a Conservative and a Liberal; in 1837 they returned two Conservatives and in 1841 and 1852 two Liberals. In 1832 they returned Charles Baring Wall, who had represented the borough in 1819-26 and 1830-1, together with the sitting Liberal M.P., James Mangles of Woodbridge, and rejected the other sitting Liberal, Fletcher Norton. Mangles and Wall were returned again in 1835 but in 1837 a second Conservative, James Yorke Scarlett, partnered Wall and defeated Mangles. By 1841 Wall had defected to the Liberals, if such a clear-cut term can be used – he was also described as 'Liberal-Conservative' – and he and James Mangles' son, Ross Mangles, were returned. Mangles held one Guildford seat until 1858 when he was appointed to the Council of India. At the by-election Guildford Onslow held the seat for the Liberals by 29 votes from W.J. Evelyn and retained it until 1874. Mangles was partnered by a Conservative in 1847 and a fellow-Liberal in 1852. From 1857 until 1866 William Bovill of Worplesdon Lodge as the Conservative member partnered first Mangles and then Onslow.

WAIT FOR THE BALLOT.

TUNE—"Wait for the Waggon."

You Men who serve your Masters well,
Come here and sit with me,
And we'll chat of your position,
And let our thoughts flow free;
You cannot tell which way to Vote,
Nor what you ought to do,
You've got a heart, you've got a head,
But a breeches pocket too;
Then wait for the Ballot,
Wait for the Ballot, wait for the Ballot,
And then we'll all be free!

You know which way you'd like to go,
And how to please your wife,
But tell which way to Vote this time,
You cannot for your life;
You know your heart's with Wilkinson,
You know he's just your Man,
But you fear to give offence to some,
Deny it if you can;
But wait, &c.

You've ne'er been paid for what you did,
Unless you did it well,
And then which side the favour lay,
I'd trouble—them to tell.
You'd never sell an Article,
Unless the thing were good,
And they'd never cease to buy of you,
Tho', Vote which way you would;
So wait, &c.

Fig. 4. Poster in favour of William Wilkinson, candidate for Reigate, and supporting the secret ballot.

Only one Guildford election, 1859, was uncontested, perhaps because of the reward a contested election brought to the electors. While Reigate was the 'classic' corrupt borough, Guildford, also small and therefore a place where an individual vote had real value, was receptive to bribery and treating. When the Reform League sent a representative to the borough in 1868 he reported that, election or no election, regular meetings were held in Tory public houses where punch costing 10s a bowl was dispersed to anyone who cared to attend. Furthermore, 'on two successive occasions, we have heard men openly proclaim (with the approval of all present, saving myself), that their votes would go to the highest bidder - that candidates for Election were guided by no principle, and hence no discredit attached itself to those who traded on their desire for personal advancement, and Party supremacy.'

Members, parties and elections, 1832-67:

Members of parliament usually had local roots or connexions. Surrey lacked the long-established county families which dominated other counties - Greys and Percies in Northumberland, for example - and Surrey political figures tended to be recently settled in the county. The county members typically gave both a London and a local address and many had a business or professional background: Denison and Drummond in banking, Barclay and Buxton in brewing, the Cubitts in building. East Surrey and, after 1867, Mid-Surrey M.P.s were likely to live in the suburban fringe around London: Sir Henry Peek (Mid-Surrey 1868-84) at Wimbledon House, Sir Richard Baggalley (Mid-Surrey 1870-75) at Kenyon House, Clapham, William Grantham (East Surrey 1874-85, Croydon 1885-86) at Sussex Place, South Norwood. Most Guildford M.P.s were gentlemen resident in the vicinity but James and Ross Mangles were also East India proprietors. After the end of the Somers dominance at Reigate, Monsons of Gatton, a Leveson Gower of Titsey and William Hackblock of the Rock, Reigate Hill, contested the seat: the first two being members of relatively established families, Hackblock a recently-retired London merchant.

The presence of Sir Henry Rawlinson at Reigate and Layard at Southwark reflects both the close link between archaeology and diplomacy and hence with politics and also the need for ambitious politicians to find safe seats. This was perhaps more necessary for radicals, and William Brougham, Charles Tennyson, William Williams, Sir William Molesworth, Thomas Hughes, and D.W. Harvey (John Walter, the famous proprietor-editor of 'The Times' was an unsuccessful candidate in 1840), are all examples in Southwark and Lambeth. Nonetheless Southwark looked primarily to local men and prided itself on its status as 'first Borough in this Kingdom' (a phrase used in a resolution to support Humphery which argued that the borough 'mainly depending on Commerce, ought to be represented by ONE OF ITS OWN INHABITANTS, and a man well acquainted with Mercantile Affairs, who must be best qualified to protect the Local Interests of his Constituents'). It had close links with the City and was a major commercial and industrial centre in its own right. Its M.P.s included Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of London but their trading interests lay south of the river.

Although party organisation was becoming stronger, candidates remained strikingly independent. Humphery, for example, proclaimed: 'I am no Party Man, but I will support the present Administration [Grey's Liberal government

of 1832] while their acts are consonant to the feelings and interests of the great Body of the People, and only while their measures are characteristic of Liberty and Economy, and are guided by the principles of good Government.' Brougham, perhaps understandably, was more of a party man, and a supporter of Brougham and Humphery wrote that the one argument heard against Brougham was 'that he will not pledge himself to support the measures of the people, which no man can do, who may be "pledged" to support the measures of the Administration, which are not always in accordance with the wishes of the people.' Wakefield, one of two ultra-radical barristers who stood for Lambeth in 1832, was prepared to make this commitment to his electorate: he was 'willing to make the pledge, from which other candidates revolted, viz., that of resigning his seat whenever called upon to do so by his constituents.'

Elections were occasions of extreme partisanship. As the *Illustrated London News* reported, at the 1849 West Surrey by-election, when Wyatt Edgell withdrew, 'up to four o'clock the excitement of the scene [in Guildford] was good-humoured, and nothing more; but, shortly after, when Mr. Evelyn appeared on the balcony of the White Hart, missiles began to fly about, and eventually nearly every pane of glass in the front windows of the White Hart was broken; whilst the windows of the Crown were similarly treated by Mr Evelyn's partisans. Brickbats and flowerpots were also freely thrown, and the constabulary force, consisting of four or five men, was incompetent to quell the disturbance'.

Elections were not secret, and the survival of poll books, in particular for Guildford and West Surrey elections, enables us to see how each elector voted. The Guildford poll books state the elector's trade or profession and his address. It would be possible to trace the continuity of a voter's political commitment and any possible relationship between that and his business. It might also be possible to make connexions with Borough Corporation politics. One of the striking features is the amount of cross-voting. In a constituency with two M.P.s, each elector possessed two votes and if one party felt itself to be the weaker it might put up a single candidate to attract voters who, on grounds of principle or expediency, preferred to split their votes. The 1835 Guildford election result was: Mangles (Lib.) 299, Wall (Cons.) 214, Austen (Lib.) 131. There were 24 'plumpers' for Wall, six for Mangles and two for Austen, but more – 177 – voted for the 'mixed ticket' of Wall and Mangles than the 166 who voted for the two Liberals, while 13 voted for Wall and Austen. Mangles' son gained strong cross-party support in 1847. The electors gave him 31 'plumpers' against 22 for Thurlow and 7 for Currie, the two Conservatives, but 189 voted for Mangles and Currie and 22 for Mangles and Thurlow, against 140 who voted the straight Conservative ticket. The result was: Currie (Cons.) 336, Mangles (Lib.) 242, Thurlow (Cons.) 184. In 1852 Thurlow, the sole Conservative against two Liberals, almost snatched second place and in 1857 another Conservative, Bovill, easily took second place behind Mangles as a result of cross-voting. This may explain why in 1859 Guildford Onslow, elected as Liberal in place of Mangles at a by-election, and Bovill were unopposed, although it is not clear how far this reflects a balanced ticket appealing to electors and how far it reflects the cost of an election to the candidates.

The West Surrey poll books do not state the elector's trade or profession but they are arranged geographically. A cursory survey seems to suggest that Conservatives were stronger in the south and west and Liberals stronger in the

north and east. There was less cross-voting than in Guildford but in a close-run election a small number of cross-voters could sway the result. In 1835 1,077 voted for the Liberals Denison and Long while 856 plumped for the Conservative Barclay but 366 voted for Denison and Barclay while only 92 voted for Long and Barclay: the result was Denison (Lib.) 1,488; Barclay (Cons.) 1,316; Long (Lib.) 1,285. Individual villages might vote quite differently. Bramley voters cast 23 votes for Barclay, 4 for Denison and 1 for Long, while Dunsfold voters cast 5 for Barclay, 13 for Denison and 14 for Long; Fetcham voters cast 10 for Barclay, two of whom also voted for Denison, and none for Long; Headley voters cast 8 for Denison, 7 for Long, 2 for Barclay. It might be possible to discover the influences, for example the politics of the leading local landowners, which produced these results. Geographical voting patterns might be influenced by the candidates' local influence. The electors who voted at Dorking tended to vote for their local men, the Liberal Denison of Denbies and the Conservative Barclay of Bury Hill, and this enabled Barclay to squeeze into second place ahead of Denison's fellow-Liberal, Long. In 1849 the Conservative W.J. Evelyn of Wotton won the Dorking parish voters by 88-30 while the Liberal Wyatt Edgell of Milton Park, Egham, won the Egham parish voters by 81-21. The link between the Church of England and Conservatism is shown in the 1837 West Surrey election by 44 clergymen (identified by 'Revd.' before their name) voting for the Conservative Perceval and only seven each for Denison and Long.

Two elections: Lambeth 1847 and Reigate 1865:

The 1847 Lambeth election shows the highly personal nature of the electoral process. Benjamin Hawes and Charles Tennyson-D'Eyncourt had been the sitting members since 1832. Hawes had become minister for the colonies in the Liberal government formed after Peel's defeat in 1846 and had voted for grants in support of denominational education, which had alienated the Nonconformists. Charles Pearson, solicitor to the City of London, a Wesleyan Methodist, a man 'of advanced Liberal principles', personally and politically opposed to Hawes, was introduced 'by a man of local influence' to 'a club composed mainly of parochial gentlemen, who contributed 5 shilling p.a. each towards a fund to relieve any case of sudden or extreme distress recommended by a member.' Pearson contributed £ 1 to the club that evening. 'The club was charmed with their new and distinguished acquaintance.' A vote of thanks was proposed and in his reply Pearson suggested that he might some day be a parliamentary candidate in Lambeth. He obtained pledges of support and thereby established the nucleus of an election party. The Tories were always weak in Lambeth and were so divided and demoralised by the repeal of the Corn Laws that they did not put up a candidate. The election was therefore between Hawes, D'Eyncourt and Pearson. The electorate had increased from 7,731 at the previous election to 13,885 partly by natural increase but especially because of legal decisions enfranchising certain classes of voter who compounded for their rates. On election day Pearson soon pulled ahead. By 11am he had received 2,222 votes to Hawes' 1,869 and D'Eyncourt's 1,629. At noon, when he was 428 ahead of Hawes and 665 ahead of D'Eyncourt his supporters, meeting in his Central Committee Room, discussed whether to

remain neutral between Hawes and D'Eyncourt and, if not, which to support. In favour of Hawes 'there was something flattering in the idea that a Member for Lambeth should be a member of the Government' but D'Eyncourt was the more progressive and Hawes' votes on the denominational grants had given offence. They decided to support D'Eyncourt. Messengers with 'the appearance of mounted jockeys on a race course' collected the returns from each polling booth every half-hour. They were sent back to the polling places with the message, 'Mr Pearson's supporters are requested to split with Mr D'Eyncourt.' D'Eyncourt, 237 behind Hawes at noon, was 95 behind at one o'clock, 76 behind at two and 62 ahead at three. By the close of the poll at 4 o'clock Pearson had 4,614 votes, D'Eyncourt 3,708 and Hawes 3,344.

In Reigate the 1865 election was between Granville Leveson Gower, the sitting M.P., and E.J. Monson of Gatton. Both were Liberals: the only perceived political difference was said to be over tests for Dissenters at Oxford University. Monson put up a third candidate named Richardson to split Leveson Gower's support. Gower won comfortably with 473 votes to Monson's 276 and Richardson's 11. Monson then petitioned against the result. Bribery was proved against Gower's agents and the election declared void. This was followed by a Royal Commission which uncovered such extensive corruption that the borough was disfranchised. The Commissioners reckoned that 346 of the 760 who voted could be shown to have taken bribes. Witnesses suggested that this was in fact a reduction in bribery compared with the 1863 election. Monson was shown to have paid £ 1,730 to James Nichols in addition to the £ 1,367 5s. 4d. disbursed by his official agent, the local solicitor Hart. Nichols was landlord of 'The Grapes', high bailiff in the County Court, assistant overseer of the parish, clerk to the Burial Board, sheriff's officer and, above all, the man who had made out the borough electoral registers since 1850, and he had spent the sum to Monson's advantage. Leveson Gower's agent had spent money on a similar scale. They employed sub-agents, local tradesmen who paid voters for duties which were often nominal. Mechanics and labourers earning three to six shillings a day would claim £ 1 a day for 'loss of time'. Hotels, public houses and beershops were awash with funds to buy a variety of drinks, tobacco and cigars: 'it was there the main battle of the election was fought'. Thomas Barker, a tailor canvassing for Monson, observed, 'I asked persons for their votes but you might as well have asked them for their lives unless you had money to give them'. One voter, Edward Russell, received £ 6, ostensibly for an old cannon which lay buried in a ditch in Reigate Park, after what was in effect an auction between the two parties for his vote. The end of Somers hegemony had produced not a free electorate but a corrupt one: as one of the witnesses observed, 'Bribery is all we fear, for intimidation, that is gone from Reigate, and so is landlord influence.'

The 1867 Reform Act:

By the 1860s the electoral system, which many Whigs, although not the Radicals, and most Conservatives had professed to believe would serve for all time, was showing signs of age. Excluded social groups were seeking admission to the franchise and the constituencies, unequal in 1832, were even more unequal after thirty years of demographic change. The 1867 Act sprang from an

initiative by Russell's Liberal government which was taken over by the Conservatives and, almost accidentally, extended by amendments beyond their original intentions. The county franchise was extended to holders of property worth £ 12 (tenants) or £ 5 (life interests, copyholds, and leases of sixty years and more). The borough franchise was extended to inhabitant occupiers, whether owners or tenants, of any dwelling house within the borough and lodgers occupying lodgings worth £ 10 if let unfurnished. 'Inhabitant occupier' did not cover all adult males, let alone all adults, in a house: it was the head of the house who voted, not his sons or his servants. The Act nevertheless almost doubled the electorate from just over one million to two million out of a population of 22 million in England and Wales. The Surrey electorate increased from 55,000 to 80,000 out of a population of one million.

The 1832 Act had divided the larger counties. In Surrey the new Eastern and Western constituencies had been almost equal in 1832 with just over 3,000 and just under 3,000 electors respectively, but by 1865 suburban growth in south London and around Richmond, Kingston and Croydon had taken the East Surrey electorate up to 9,913, while West Surrey had risen only to 4,081. The 1867 Act divided East Surrey into two constituencies: East Surrey and Mid-Surrey. The boundary was drawn to the eastern side of Battersea, Wandsworth, Wimbledon, Tooting, Mitcham, Beddington, Coulsdon, Chaldon, Merstham, Nutfield and Godstone. With a smaller area but widened franchise the new Eastern Surrey had an electorate of 10,932; Mid-Surrey had 10,565. West Surrey, unchanged in area, had an electorate increased to 6,708.

The 1832 Act had enfranchised the largest towns and disfranchised the smallest, but the borough constituencies still reflected past history. Changes in population had exacerbated these inequalities. By 1865 Lambeth had 27,754 electors, Southwark 11,631, Reigate 920 and Guildford 667. Reigate had been disfranchised for corruption after the 1865 election. The 1867 Act was conservative in its changes to borough constituencies. Lambeth and Southwark were unchanged but their electorates increased to 33,377 and 17,703 respectively; Lambeth's population was by now fast approaching 400,000 and Southwark's 200,000. Guildford, with 1,219 electors and a somewhat enlarged area, lost one seat but was still grossly over-represented.

Elections remained expensive. In 1880 the Liberal candidates in Southwark spent £ 8,000 in winning 9,500 votes and East Surrey Conservatives spent £ 13,000 in winning 8,000 votes. It was not only individuals who took it for granted that their votes had value. In the debate on the Corrupt Practices Bill of 1883 Sir Trevor Lawrence, Conservative M.P. for Mid-Surrey, quoted a letter from a Nonconformist minister who wrote of his congregation, 'We don't take any interest in politics ... but we do take a deep interest in our place of worship, and we are anxious to get it out of debt .... Those who help us most in our struggle to meet our liabilities are our best friends, and will get our votes, be they Liberal or Conservative .... As the matter stands, you and Sir Henry [Peek, the other Conservative M.P.] contribute about a fifth of what the Liberals contribute .... Unless you and Sir Henry largely increase your contributions it [the Chapel committee's decision] will be against you. But you will have yourselves to blame.' About two hundred votes were claimed to be involved and the letter shows the pressures which a body of constituents, whose motives, however self-interested, no doubt seemed to themselves pure, would bring to bear on their members of parliament. In the same debate Denzil Onslow, M.P.

for Guildford, stated that 'he should be very sorry to be precluded from subscribing, perhaps somewhat liberally, to charitable objects connected with Guildford, in order to show that the interest of his family in the borough which he represented had not been diminished'. It would have been difficult for an Onslow, with two centuries of family connexion, political and otherwise, not to be what previous centuries would have called a 'good lord' to the borough.

Edwin Bonner's duty at the 1868 West Surrey election, the first occasion on which he acted as an assistant agent for the Conservatives, was to issue railway tickets at Gomshall station 'to any voter who chose to avail himself of the means of conveyance to attend the [West Surrey] poll at Guildford'. He reckoned that many of the Gomshall voters who travelled first class on election day had never previously travelled other than third class. The 'White Hart' in Guildford, the Conservative inn, 'did a roaring business for some weeks prior to polling day, while each village had its Inns secured by one party or the other, and every possessor of a horse or the semblance of one, took care to let it for hire for a price which in many cases represented the full value of the animal'.

The electoral process was slowly cleaned up in the course of the nineteenth century. The Corrupt Practices Act, 1854, required an audit of candidates' accounts and defined the various forms of corrupt practice including, for the first time, intimidation. The Ballot Act of 1872, by making elections secret, reduced the scope for effective bribery and coercion and the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, imposed a legal maximum expenditure which ranged upwards ranged from £ 350 in the smallest boroughs and £ 650 in the smallest counties. The Act banned the use of places where refreshments were sold as committee rooms and payments for transporting voters to the polls. The number and range of people who could be paid was restricted to agents, sub-agents, clerks and messengers, and the number of each was specified. The use of 'force, violence or restraint', 'abduction, duress or any fraudulent device or contrivance' and treating with food, drink or entertainment were all forbidden. Bills, placards and posters must bear the name of the printer and publisher. Individual voters' expectations were reduced by the increase in electorates as well as by the laws against corruption: status and respect rather than money became the norm. The candidate, in a borough at least, was expected to meet every elector, 'indeed the candidate himself not only considered this to be his duty but thought it to be indispensable'. Towards the end of the century Bonner observed regretfully, 'We have apparently fallen on degenerate days, when election incidents are not and all is calm, businesslike and prosaic.'

The larger electorate required more systematic party political organisation. As late as 1868 the Lambeth Liberals Lawrence and McArthur had 'separate committees and independent machinery, but as the day of election drew near a junction of the forces was effected, and at too late a period for a cry of 'no coalition' to be raised effectively'. The increase in the electorate and the restrictions on expenditure generated a need to bring together party workers and canvassers. Supporters of parties could become fully-fledged members of constituency associations. National associations were founded: the Conservative National Union in 1867 and the National Liberal Federation in 1877. Local associations became more permanent and ubiquitous. Guildford Conservative Association was founded in 1866, and Reigate Conservative Registration Association prior to 1869. Caterham had an association by 1874 and Dorking by 1886. These are associations whose early records have survived. Other

associations no doubt date from a similar period; records of Liberal associations have probably failed to survive the decline of the party in the present century and no doubt a trawl of contemporary newspapers or of national party records would bring many to light.

Politics in Surrey, 1868-84:

The first elections after the 1867 Reform Act were held in 1868 and resulted in a clear Liberal majority. Gladstone's government brought in nationwide elementary education in 1870 but began to lose support when in 1871 they introduced a Licensing Bill. From then onwards the brewers and their wealth and the publicans and their influence were firmly behind the Conservatives. The loss of East Surrey in an 1871 by-election marked the change. The Ballot Act had an unforeseen effect on British politics because electoral secrecy in Ireland enabled a Home Rule party launched in 1870 to gain 59 seats in the 1874 general election, which the Conservatives won. Their government lasted until 1880 when Sir Edward Clarke's victory at a Southwark by-election gave Disraeli misleading encouragement to go to the country. The Liberals swept the board, winning 352 seats.

In 1868 the Liberal M.P.s for East Surrey, Locke King and Buxton, and the M.P.s for West Surrey, John Ivatt Briscoe, Liberal survivor from the period of the 1832 Reform Act, and his Conservative partner George Cubitt, were re-elected. When Briscoe died in 1870 and Buxton in 1871 they were replaced by Conservatives, Lee Steere of Jayes, Ockley, unopposed in West Surrey, and James Watney, a brewer, in East Surrey. In 1874 and 1880 both constituencies returned two Conservatives, the West Surrey members being unopposed at both elections and even East Surrey becoming very safe Conservative by 1880. Mid-Surrey was safe Conservative throughout the period, with no contest in 1874.

Guildford moved similarly into the Conservative camp. Guildford Onslow, Liberal member since 1858, defeated his fellow-member, the Conservative Richard Garth, by 21 votes in 1868 for the borough's single remaining seat but was soundly defeated by his Conservative relation, Denzil Onslow, in 1874, and Denzil Onslow was again clear victor in 1880. Lambeth remained in the Liberal hands of Sir James Clarke Lawrence, a London butcher and Lord Mayor, 1868-9, and William McArthur, a London merchant engaged in trade with Australia and Lord Mayor, 1880-1, although a single Conservative, Morgan Howard, who fought all three elections against them, came close to success in 1874 and 1880. Southwark politics were complicated by the presence of working men's candidates who split the Liberal vote. The Liberal M.P.s, Layard and Locke, comfortably defeated a single Conservative in 1868 but in 1870 on Layard's resignation Lt.-Col. Marcus Beresford won the seat for the Conservatives with 4,686 votes. George Odger, the 'Lib-Lab', won 4,382 and Sir Sydney Waterlow, the official Liberal candidate, 2,966. Locke and Beresford were re-elected in 1874, when Odger came third ahead of a second official Liberal. Clarke's by-election success on the death of Locke in 1880 briefly gave Southwark two Conservative M.P.s but the Liberals took back both seats at the subsequent general election.

TO THE ELECTORS OF EAST SURREY.

GENTLEMEN,

At the earnest and frequently renewed solicitation of large numbers of the Electors, representing all classes and all districts in East Surrey, I beg to offer myself as a Candidate for your suffrages, and ask, in conjunction with my friend Mr. WATNEY, for your earnest support in this the greatest political crisis of our time.

To many of you I am well known, and to such it is needless to proclaim my political principles; but to those whose friendship or acquaintance I cannot yet claim, I unhesitatingly state that those principles are Conservative.

Gentlemen,—By Conservative principles, I understand principles which have been enunciated by the greatest statesmen that ever governed England—by Pitt, by Peel, by Lord Derby, and by many other illustrious men—principles which, having preserved the integrity of the Empire during those great political convulsions that revolutionized almost every other country in Europe, belong rather to the nation than to the individual; principles that are the first to suggest reforms where abuses have crept in, but which, appreciating the liberties and freedom that we possess, and the material advantages that we enjoy, lead me to consider it the first duty of a statesman to uphold that constitution which has given us, and under the protection of which we have enjoyed, those blessings.

In an address it is impossible to give you in detail my particular views on the varied but important subjects of the day, and I can only most briefly now refer to a few of them, but I hope soon to meet you face to face, and to discuss fully, and I trust in a friendly spirit, whatever political questions are uppermost in your minds.

There is the Income-Tax, which Mr. Gladstone as a political conjuror now proposes to abolish, but I am sure each of you has already asked himself for what purpose except to bribe the electors on the eve of an election he continued it till now, and sometimes almost at a war price, when the elasticity of our revenue has been such that he could, had he wished it, have "re-adjusted it," as he calls it before.

Then, the great question of Education, in which I have endeavoured to bear my part, and, as a member of the School Board of Croydon, have, in conjunction with most of my colleagues, introduced a system of undenominational religious instruction which has stood successfully the most bitter opposition from the Radical Dissenters and opponents of religious education, and the most searching enquiry of Her Majesty's Educational Department.

And last, but not least, is this (if possible) still greater question of the threatened motion to disestablish the National Church, a motion which will receive my most determined opposition, for though I am quite ready to admit that some reforms may be necessary to make the Church more in harmony with the altered times and circumstances under which we live, and though I have always respected and endeavoured to act in harmony with those who are Dissenters only from religious conviction, yet I am convinced that these attacks, made, as they are, almost exclusively by the political Dissenters, are not the effect of any wrongs from which Dissenters are now suffering, but are the effects of the irritation from former grievances which time has not yet healed.

I appeal, then, not only to you who have already rallied round the Conservative cause, to support Mr. Watney and myself, but to you who (prejudiced as you may have been against Conservatives in years gone by, owing to the narrow views of many of the Tory party in the decade preceding the Reform Bill of 1832) must now see, call yourselves Whigs, Moderate Liberals, or what you please, that the broad and enlightened views of Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and the other Conservative statesmen of the day, are much more akin to your own than those of the motley crew composing the Liberal Government, who have so often shown how easily Mr. Gladstone has, at their dictation, given up, one by one, the principles he once loved so well.

Join, then, the banner of those who can and will carry out improvements in our domestic laws without confiscation, and in our municipal institutions without destruction. Progress, but progress with stability, is my motto, and I ask you to aid me in carrying it out.

I have the honour to remain, GENTLEMEN,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM GRANTHAM.

SUSSEX PLACE, SOUTH NORWOOD,
January 26th, 1874.

Fig. 5. Election address for William Grantham, successful Conservative candidate for East Surrey, 1874

Fig. 6. Photograph of George Odger, 'Lib-Lab' candidate for Southwark in 1870 and 1874. Odger, standing, is wearing the silk hat made for him by the Hatters Trade Union. Back left is William Stafford, honorary secretary to Odger's campaign at the Southwark 1870 by-election. Front left is H. Chenery, a retail coal factor, and on the right J. Andrews, a pork butcher, both supporters of Odger.

By 1880 the six county seats and Guildford were safely Conservative while Lambeth and Southwark were Liberal, with a significant independent working class political presence in Southwark. The change in Surrey reflected similar developments in Middlesex, Essex, Kent and the City of London. The south-east, except for working class urban areas, was moving towards the Conservatives. The period between 1867 and 1884 was the high point of two-party politics if the Irish dimension is excluded. The Peelites and the Liberal-Conservative supporters of Palmerston had departed. The Whig and Radical traditions were reasonably fully merged in the Liberal party. The presence in Parliament of Irish Home Rule members and the first stirrings of support for independent working-class candidates foreshadowed changes which would take place in the ensuing period.

Parliament was becoming a more active legislative body and its debates were more concrete and less high-flown. Already in 1827 Lord Egremont had commented that 'the flights of Demosthenes are as little suited to Sinking Funds and paper money, and corn and fir timber and cotton, as a trumpet would be to a Quakers' meeting', although the careers of Gladstone and Disraeli show that high rhetoric retained its place. Governments were drawn into education, social welfare, health and sanitation. Much of this was achieved by creating and empowering a variety of local authorities – local boards of health, sanitary authorities, school boards, poor law unions. Other needs of a more complex society were met by empowering and regulating private companies – railway, gas, electricity – and a very high proportion of Acts were Local Acts. In 1846, for example, 177 Public General Acts were passed, although some of these were local in nature, for example the act allowing the creation of Battersea Park. In the same year there were 402 Local and Personal Acts declared public, including acts for the construction of the L.S.W.R. branches to Hampton Court, Chertsey and Egham, and Farnham and Alton. There were 43 Private Acts printed by the Queen's Printer, mainly relating to family trusts, and eight Private Acts not Printed, six of them to dissolve marriages and two relating to naturalisations. The year 1846 was exceptional, marking the height of the 'railway mania', but as late as 1906 there were only 58 Public General Acts, but 212 Local Acts, two Printed Private Acts and one Private Act not Printed. The categories had changed slightly, and the Local Acts included a number of 'Public Acts of a Local Character' confirming Provisional Orders on matters which might previously have been Public Acts. The Local Acts included acts for the widening of Blackfriars Bridge and giving additional powers to Sutton District Waterworks and Epsom and Ewell Gas Company.

The 1884 Reform Act:

In 1884, Gladstone, under pressure from the radical Joseph Chamberlain, introduced a parliamentary reform bill. The resulting Act extended the household and lodger franchises enjoyed in boroughs to the county constituencies. It also extended the franchise to tenants occupying land or tenements worth £ 10 per annum and to men living in houses tied by office, service or employment in which their master did not reside. The county and borough franchises were now almost identical, except for the county 'ownership' franchises. The Act raised the electorate from about 2.5 million to 4.4 million

out of a population of 27 million in England and Wales. Approximately two-thirds of adult males now possessed the vote.

The Redistribution of Seats Act 1885 complemented the 1884 Act by bringing about near-equality of constituency sizes. The distinction between borough and county constituencies remained, but was significant only in relatively minor matters of qualification, expenditure and administration. Surrey, grossly under-represented in parliament, gained considerably in representation. North-eastern Surrey was divided into sixteen borough constituencies in seven parliamentary boroughs:

1. Southwark parliamentary borough: West Southwark; Bermondsey; Rotherhithe
2. Lambeth parliamentary borough: North Lambeth; Kennington; Brixton; Norwood
3. Camberwell parliamentary borough (which included Penge): North Camberwell; Peckham; Dulwich
4. Newington parliamentary borough: West Newington; Walworth
5. Wandsworth parliamentary borough (which included Tooting Graveney, Streatham and Putney): Wandsworth
6. Battersea and Clapham parliamentary borough: Battersea; Clapham
7. Croydon parliamentary borough: Croydon

The remainder of Surrey was divided into six county constituencies:

1. North-Western or Chertsey
2. South-Western or Guildford
3. South-Eastern or Reigate
4. Mid or Epsom
5. Kingston
6. North-Eastern or Wimbledon

The borough of Guildford was disfranchised although the name Guildford was retained as an alternative name for South-Western Surrey. Each of the constituencies, borough and county alike, elected a single M.P.

The 1884 and 1885 Acts effectively replaced the principle of representation of communities – counties and boroughs – by representation of individuals with votes of equal value. The main exception to this principle was the second vote which 'ownership' voters in borough constituencies could still exercise in the county: in Surrey these were cast in the North-Eastern or Wimbledon division. As a result this division had the largest electorate in the county, 14,086. There were 12,619 electors in Croydon and the other constituencies ranged between 7,501 (Lambeth Norwood) and 11,102 (Kingston). There were now twenty-two constituencies in Surrey electing twenty-two M.P.s compared with six constituencies electing eleven M.P.s before 1885. The population of the county was 1.5 million; the electorate had reached a little over 200,000.

Politics and parties, 1884-1918:

The 1885 general election gave the Liberals a sweeping victory. Their enfranchisement of the counties and Chamberlain's 'unauthorised programme' of agrarian reform gave them a majority of English county M.P.s for the first time since the 1832 election, even though they lost seats in the boroughs. The Liberals split over Gladstone's first Irish Home Rule bill in the following year:

those opposed to Home Rule – the Liberal Unionists – left the party and the Conservatives with their new allies dominated the period to 1906, winning elections in 1886, 1895 and the 'khaki election' of 1900 which was influenced by Boer War patriotism. The Liberals won a sufficient number of seats in 1892 to govern with Irish Nationalist support, but their period of office was dominated by Gladstone's second Home Rule bill. When this was defeated in 1894, Gladstone resigned and after a brief spell during which the Earl of Rosebery, of The Durdans, Epsom, was Prime Minister, the Liberals lost the 1895 election heavily. The 1906 general election was a sweeping triumph for the Liberals, although the presence of 29 Labour party M.P.s, mostly elected with Liberal support, together with 24 officials of the miners' union who joined the Labour party in 1909 and other 'Lib-Labs', was a portent for the future. They retained power, but dependent on Irish Nationalist and Labour support, at elections in January and December 1910 forced by House of Lords' opposition to the 'Peoples' Budget'.

The parties were defining themselves increasingly on the bases of class, geography, religion and ideology. The Conservatives were becoming the party of the upper and middle classes, and particularly of the south-east of England where Nonconformity was weak. They were also becoming the party of imperialism, supporting the expansion and consolidation of the empire. The Liberals were the party of the Nonconformist middle class and generally of the working class. Most of their aristocratic supporters had left the party over Home Rule. They were strong in the north and south-west of England and in Scotland and Wales. They were strongly identified with free trade, although both parties espoused this until the Conservatives began to flirt with protectionism and, later, 'Empire Free Trade'. The relationship between Liberals and working men was somewhat fraught. Liberal M.P.s were mostly well-off – local committees expected their candidate to bring personal wealth to the campaign – and Liberal radicalism had been individualistic and opposed to government expenditure, and many Liberal employers were opposed to trades unions and combinations of workers. The Liberals slowly moved towards more socially reformist policies and elected the first working men M.P.s in 1880, but Keir Hardie was elected as a Labour M.P. in 1892 and the Independent Labour Party was founded in the following year. In 1900 the trades unions, I.L.P. and socialist societies founded the Labour Representation Committee to promote Labour candidates. They returned two candidates at the 1900 general election, and trade union financial support made it practicable for working men to stand for election and to be maintained once elected. The L.R.C. was renamed the Labour party in 1906.

Rural and suburban Surrey consolidated their conservatism. The six county constituencies elected Conservative M.P.s throughout the period except in the Liberal landslide of 1906 when Chertsey, Reigate and Guildford went Liberal by 99, 219 and 800 votes respectively. The prosperous middle-class borough constituencies of Croydon, Dulwich, Norwood, Wandsworth, Clapham (except in 1885) and Brixton (except in 1906) were also solidly Conservative. Further north, Peckham went Liberal only in 1906 and December 1910 and Lambeth North in 1892 and 1906. Rotherhithe moved from Conservative to Liberal in 1906 and remained Liberal in 1910. Walworth and Kennington did likewise, having previously voted Liberal only in 1892. Bermondsey was marginally Liberal, electing Liberals in 1885, 1892, 1906 and the two 1910 elections and Conservatives in 1886, 1895 and 1900. Only four constituencies were strongly

Liberal: Camberwell North, which elected Conservatives only in 1886 and 1895; Newington West, which elected Conservatives in 1885 on a split Liberal vote and 1886; Southwark West, which was Liberal except between January and December 1910; and Battersea which was solidly Liberal throughout the period. The general picture is fairly clear: only in a few working class constituencies in the north of what is now the London Borough of Southwark, together with Battersea, was there a Liberal majority, but the Liberal core was expanding: in 1885 the Liberals won a majority of English seats but took only five seats in south London whereas in December 1910 they were in a minority in England but took nine seats in south London.

South London, according to Charles Booth, contained 'larger and more numerous blots of extreme poverty' than the East End, but a variety of local and personal factors overlay any simple link between social structure and politics. In Rotherhithe the watermen and lightermen were Conservative and J.C. Macdona, the M.P. from 1892 to 1906, defended their legal privileges in Parliament and before the City Corporation. The costermongers of Walworth were also Conservative in inclination. Southwark West may have gone Conservative in January 1910 because the Liberal M.P., R.K. Cawston (1888-1910) had moved his firm of wholesale stationers out of the constituency. The seat, although Liberal for all but eleven months in the thirty-three years 1885-1918, was only won once at a general election by more than 500 votes. Battersea's Liberalism, and in particular the support for John Burns as a working-class Labour-leaning candidate, was thought to be owing to its workers being employed by limited companies rather than, as elsewhere in the area, by employers they knew personally.

Although the Liberal split no doubt harmed the Liberals locally as well as nationally there was little Liberal Unionism in Surrey or south London. The only Liberal Unionists elected were H.M. Stanley, the journalist, explorer and 'discoverer' of Livingstone, defeated at Lambeth North in 1892 and successful in 1895, and H.O. Arnold-Foster, M.P. for Croydon, 1906-10. Apart from them one unofficial candidate stood in Camberwell North in 1886 and polled derisorily. The Labour party did not win any Surrey seats during this period; a number of Lib-Labs stood and John Burns, Liberal M.P. for Battersea, was initially elected for Battersea in 1892 as an independent Labour M.P. but refused to join with Keir Hardie and Havelock Wilson in a Labour group and from 1895 can be regarded as a Liberal. Before 1918 only a handful of Labour candidates stood, and no constituency had a series of such candidates. After George Odgers (1870 by-election and 1874) and George Shipton (1880 by-election) in Southwark and Dr Richard Pankhurst in Rotherhithe in 1885, no candidate classifiable as Labour stood in any of the three Southwark seats until Alfred Salter in the Bermondsey by-election in 1909. Salter's candidature probably cost the Liberals the seat. The highest Labour vote was the 4,007 polled at Croydon in 1906, which saved this normally safe Conservative seat from a Liberal victory.

Politicians and Policies, 1885-1918:

All but one of the retiring Conservative county members in 1885 found berths in the new seats. George Cubitt of Denbies, first elected for West Surrey on the

death of Drummond in 1860, won Epsom, and William St. John Brodrick of Peper Harow, who succeeded Lee Steere in 1880, won Guildford. The Mid-Surrey M.P.s, Sir John Whittaker Ellis of Richmond and Sir James John Trevor Lawrence of Burford Lodge, were returned for Kingston and Reigate respectively. Of the East Surrey M.P.s, William Grantham was returned for Croydon. His partner James Watney did not stand. The M.P.s for Surrey county seats in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods tended to have a Surrey address, usually in or near their constituency, and a London address. They were not often members of long-established Surrey families. Reigate, for example, was represented by Lawrence, formerly of the Indian Army medical service, until 1892, Henry Cubitt, son of Baron Ashcombe, of the building firm, until 1906, Harry Cunningham Brodie, their one Liberal, a colonial merchant, 1906-10, and Richard Rawson, an army colonel, from 1910 to 1918. Epsom was represented by George Cubitt, father of Henry, until 1892, then by Sir Thomas Bucknill of Hylands House, Epsom, a barrister, until his appointment as a judge in 1899, and then by William Keswick (1899-1912) and his son Henry Keswick (1912-18) of the Hong Kong firm of Jardines. These Keswicks, as China traders, may be seen as successors of the East India Company's Mangles in the nineteenth century and nabobs of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries such as George Holme Sumner (*Surrey History* vol. V no. 4 p. 232). Chertsey was represented by Frederick Hankey of Silverlands, partner in his family's banking firm, Charles Henry Combe of Cobham Park, brewer, Henry Leigh-Bennett of Thorpe Place, John Fyler of Windlesham, barrister, Lord Bingham of the Rifle Brigade, Francis Marnham of Addlestone, their solitary Liberal, who was a member of the Stock Exchange, and, significantly, a Baptist, and Donald Macmaster, a Canadian lawyer. Of the Surrey M.P.s in this period only St. John Brodrick of Peper Harow, M.P. for West Surrey, 1880-5, and Guildford, 1885-1906, was truly 'old Surrey'.

The south London M.P.s were mostly merchants and lawyers, with some military men. A high proportion were members of their borough councils and the London County Council. C.G. Clark, wholesale druggist, Liberal M.P. for Peckham, 1906-8, was mayor of Camberwell, 1902-3, and member of the L.C.C. H.C. Gooch, his Conservative successor, was a member of the L.C.C. 1907-10 and 1914-34 and Chairman 1923-4. Members were likely to be involved in local industries - Bermondsey M.P.s included Alfred Lafone, Conservative (1886-92, 1895-1900), head of a firm of leather dressers, R.V. Barrow, Liberal (1892-95), owner of tanneries, and John Dumphreys (1909-10), a leather dresser and hailed as a 'Conservative working man'.

The most remarkable local M.P. was John Burns, M.P. for Battersea, 1892-1918. Burns was born in South Lambeth and educated at Battersea National Schools. He joined the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, the year of its foundation, and became active in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. As 'the man with the Red Flag' he was acquitted of seditious conspiracy in a riot in Trafalgar Square in 1886 but a year later was imprisoned for trying to force his way into the Square on 'Bloody Sunday'. He was 'the man in the white straw hat' as a leader in the dock strike of 1889, and was elected to the L.C.C. for Battersea in the same year. His supporters founded the John Burns Fund to maintain him. He left the S.D.F. in 1889, charged with cooperating with the Liberals, and founded Battersea Labour League. His election to Parliament in 1892 gave him the opportunity of leading the three-man Labour group but he

refused to join the group or in 1893 to join Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party. He refused an offer of office in the Rosebery administration of 1894, supported municipal socialism, and attended the inaugural meeting of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900, but remained a supporter of the Liberals in government. In December 1905 he became President of the Local Government Board with a seat in the Cabinet – the first working class Cabinet minister – where he became unpopular with the Left for his opposition to reform of the Poor Law. He was briefly President of the Board of Trade in 1914 but resigned in opposition to the declaration of war. Burns' political career illustrates the uneasy relationship between trade union activism, Labour sympathies and established Liberalism in a south London which remained firmly on the Liberal side until 1918.

By the turn of the century Liberal candidates in south London were maintaining the radical tradition. Bermondsey's candidate in 1900, J. Williams Benn, presented a programme of municipal management of trams, markets, steamboat services and lighting and water supply; trade union wages, hours and conditions; old age pensions for the deserving poor; one vote and one vote only for every adult; 'in South Africa equal liberty to all races'; and the end of the House of Lords' veto on legislation. Alfred Salter's Labour programme at the 1909 Bermondsey by-election did not go far beyond this. For Salter the main problem of the time was poverty, the 'wasteful and wicked distribution of wealth', and his policies included the eight-hour day and minimum wage, abolition of the poor law and workhouses, cooperation instead of competition in industry, municipalisation of all means of local transit and communal services such as lighting, water, milk, electricity and power, full adult suffrage and abolition of the House of Lords. By 1918 Salter had moved much further to the left, demanding nationalisation of land, banking and insurance, railways, mines, canals, shipping and bulk electric power manufacture.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century manhood suffrage, itself not yet fully achieved, began to be seen as not enough for full democracy. Benn, for example, was advocating full adult suffrage in 1900. The campaign for women's suffrage had begun to be heard at the time of the 1867 Reform Act. Dr Richard Pankhurst, a radical barrister who polled 2,800 votes as a 'Lib-Lab' in Rotherhithe in 1885, was counsel for 5,346 women householders of Manchester who claimed the vote under existing legislation. He drafted the Married Women's Property Act, 1882, but left the Liberal party because of Gladstone's refusal to include women's suffrage in the 1884 Reform bill. His most lasting influence was in converting his wife Emmeline to the cause of women's suffrage. The 'suffragist' National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was founded in 1897 to campaign for women's suffrage by peaceful means. In 1903 Mrs. Pankhurst founded the Women's Social and Political Union and inaugurated militant campaigning. Ethel Smyth, the composer, taught Mrs. Pankhurst to throw stones at a tree on Hook Heath, Woking, under cover of dusk: 'I imagine Mrs. Pankhurst had not played ball games in her youth and the first stone flew backwards out of her hand, narrowly missing my dog. Once more we began at a distance of about three yards, the face of the pupil assuming with each failure – and there were a good many – a more and more ferocious expression'. Ethel Smyth herself spent two months in Holloway prison for breaking the window of Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and became famous for conducting her 'March of the Women' through her cell window with a

Fig. 7 Charlotte Despard of Battersea, founder of the Women's Freedom League.

Fig. 8. Dorothy Hunter of Haslemere, the Liberal 'girl orator' and supporter of women's suffrage.

toothbrush. After the withdrawal of the Franchise Reform Bill in 1913 Surrey was the scene of a number of suffragette incidents: the orchid houses at Kew were wrecked and the tea pavilion set alight; bombs were placed near the house being built for Lloyd George on Walton Heath; a stand at Hurst Park racecourse was burnt down; and Emily Davidson threw herself in front of the king's horse at the Derby.

The move towards militancy alienated some members of W.S.P.U. Charlotte Despard, a member who was also deeply involved in social and philanthropic work at Nine Elms in Battersea, formed the less militant Women's Freedom League in 1906. She later stood as pacifist Labour candidate for Battersea – Surrey's first woman parliamentary candidate – in 1918. One of the leading Surrey suffragists was Dorothy Hunter, daughter of Sir Robert Hunter of Haslemere, co-founder of the National Trust. Dorothy, as the 25-year-old 'Girl Orator', had taken a leading part in the defeat of St. John Brodrick in the South-Western Surrey election of 1906: an Epsom Liberal organiser wrote to Lady Hunter, 'Many people round here give Miss Hunter the greater part of the credit for Brodrick's defeat, not without reason'. Her activity as an orator extended from St. Austell to south London, where she spoke on consecutive nights at Browning Hall, Newington, and Shaftesbury Hall, Southwark. An admiring Free Trade organiser quoted a labourer who had heard her at Browning Hall as saying, 'They ought to put her up to speak everywhere and Tariff Reform would be killed stone dead.' She was a leading speaker in the Wimbledon by-election of 1907. C.E. Hambro had resigned as M.P. to provide a safe seat for Henry Chaplin. This was probably the safest Conservative seat in the county and the Liberals did not put up a candidate, but Bertrand Russell stood as a nominee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and polled one-quarter of the votes.

Representation of the People Act, 1918:

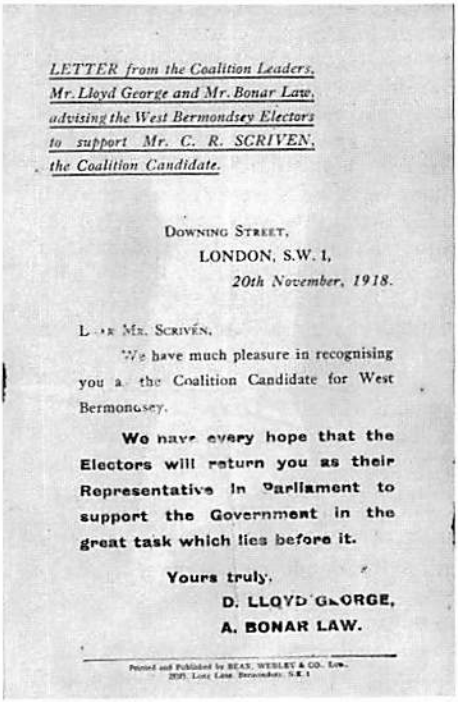
The War changed the political scene. In 1915 the Conservatives were brought into a coalition government and in 1916 Lloyd George, with their support, replaced Asquith as prime minister. The Labour leader Arthur Henderson joined the war cabinet in 1916 but withdrew in the following year and thereafter Labour became a clearly distinct party with individual membership and no longer primarily a means of securing trade union representation. In 1916 a conference presided over by the Speaker proposed that residence should be the qualification for the franchise, and that women should receive the vote but at a higher age than men. The Representation of the People Act 1918 which enacted most of the proposals of the Conference added more electors to the register than all its predecessors put together: in the United Kingdom as a whole 13 million men and 8.5 million women were on the register, against an electorate of eight million before the war, although the period of qualification still excluded the more mobile sectors of the population. War had been the catalyst for change. Millions of men excluded from the pre-1918 franchise were laying down their lives for the country and women's war-work was proving necessary for national survival. Asquith, formerly an opponent of women's suffrage, stated, 'Some years ago I ventured to use the expression, "Let the women work out their own salvation." Well, Sir, they have worked it out during this war'. Many women

over thirty were in fact excluded because a woman needed to occupy either property in her own right or as the wife of a qualified man: most unmarried daughters, many unmarried women living in furnished rooms and resident female servants were excluded. In 1928 women finally won electoral equality. The 1918 Act introduced a deposit of £ 150 to be forfeited by candidates who failed to gain one-eighth of the votes cast. All constituencies were to vote on the same day instead of the election being spread over several weeks. The expenses of the returning officer were to be paid for from central funds instead of by the candidate. Provision was made for experiments with proportional representation, but these were not implemented.

Constituency sizes had diverged over the thirty-three years since the last redistribution. The inner cities were losing population; the suburbs were growing. Lambeth North declined from 7,939 votes in 1885 to 6,440 in 1910 whereas Lambeth Norwood grew from 7,501 to 13,908. Further out, Croydon increased from 12,619 to 27,350 and Wandsworth from 10,088 to 38,523. The 1918 Act redistributed seats to secure greater equality, although the changes were somewhat conservative: a number of inner London seats were quite small; a number of suburban ones relatively large. In Surrey the core of south London remained relatively unchanged. There were two seats in the London Borough of Bermondsey (Bermondsey, Rotherhithe), three in Southwark (North, Central, South-East), four in Lambeth (North Lambeth, Kennington, Brixton, Norwood): an unchanged total in this area. Camberwell's representation increased from three to four (North, North-West, Peckham, Dulwich), and Battersea's to two (North, South). The area previously covered by the Wandsworth and Clapham constituencies increased from two to five (Putney, Wandsworth Central, Balham and Tooting, Clapham, Streatham). Outside this area which was now in the County of London lay five Surrey borough constituencies, Croydon North, Croydon South, Richmond, Kingston and Wimbledon. The rest of the county was divided into seven county constituencies: Chertsey, Farnham, Guildford, Reigate, Eastern Surrey, Epsom and Mitcham. The populations varied between 22,366 (Southwark North) and 45,115 (Croydon South).

The 1918 Act, by removing the 'ownership' franchise, removed the dual qualification of those electors in parliamentary boroughs who possessed that qualification. The areas of parliamentary counties and parliamentary boroughs were now totally mutually exclusive. Some men could still exercise a second vote, if they had a 'business' vote in a different constituency from their residence or if they possessed a vote for a university constituency.

The 1918 election was exceptional because of the government coalition between Lloyd George and the Conservative leader Bonar Law. They sent their 'coupon', a telegram recognising their supporters as coalition candidates. Candidates such as the Liberals E.A. Strauss in Southwark North and C.R. Scriven in West Bermondsey produced posters consisting largely of a union flag and the text of the leaders' telegram. Coalition candidates won 483 seats (334 Conservative, 134 Liberal, 15 Other), non-coalition Conservatives 48, Asquith's supporters and other non-coalition Liberals 29, and Labour 60. The Conservatives left the coalition in 1922 and because of the rise of Labour the 1920s became a period of three-way struggle, the pattern of results distorted by temporary coalitions and tactical withdrawals in individual constituencies and by the division of the Liberals between the followers of Asquith and Lloyd



LETTER from the Coalition Leaders, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, advising the West Bermondsey Electors to support Mr. C. R. SCRIVEN, the Coalition Candidate.

DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W. 1,
20th November, 1918.

DEAR MR. SCRIVEN,

We have much pleasure in recognising you as the Coalition Candidate for West Bermondsey.

We have every hope that the Electors will return you as their Representative in Parliament to support the Government in the great task which lies before it.

Yours truly,
D. LLOYD GEORGE,
A. BONAR LAW.

Printed and Published by BEAN, WESLEY & CO., Ltd., 203/5, Lant Lane, Bermondsey, S.E.1

Fig. 10. The 'coupon', the letter of support from David Lloyd George and Andrew Bonar Law, Liberal and Conservative leaders of the coalition government, in favour of the Coalition Liberal candidate for West Bermondsey in the 1918 general election.

Fig. 9. Dr. Alfred Salter's leaflet for the Bermondsey by-election, 1909.

George. Between 1922 and 1929 there were four general elections with widely different results. In 1922 the Conservatives were the clear victors with 343 seats, Labour became the second party with 142 and a variety of Liberals won 116 seats. In 1923, largely because of Liberal-Labour pacts, the Conservatives dropped to 258 seats, Labour won 191, the Liberals 159; Labour, with Liberal support, formed their first government. The Liberals withdrew their support in 1924 and in the ensuing general election their candidates were faced with both Conservative and Labour opposition. The Conservatives won handsomely with 412 seats, Labour won 151 and the Liberals only 40. The Conservative government ran its full course until 1929, when Labour returned to power with 288 seats, the Conservatives winning 260 and the Liberals 59. The economic crisis of 1931, which led the Labour prime minister Ramsay Macdonald to form a national government, briefly almost wiped out opposition, since the 30% who voted non-coalition Labour were faced by united opposition and gained only 52 seats. The great majority of national government M.P.s (471) were Conservative although 35 National Liberals, who later merged with the Conservatives, 12 National Labour (including Macdonald) and 3 'National' M.P.s were also returned, while 37 mainstream Liberals supported the National government during its first two years. The 1935 general election saw effectively a Conservative majority in national guise, although Labour came back to win 154 seats. The Liberals, except for those National Liberals who were effectively Conservative, were reduced to 21 seats and a period of two-party Conservative/Labour parliamentary politics began.

The Surrey situation mirrored in part the national scene. Only in part because the whole of rural Surrey and suburban Surrey as far north as Balham and Tooting, Clapham, Dulwich, Battersea South (except 1929-31), Wandsworth Central (except 1929-31) and Brixton (except 1923-4) remained solidly Conservative. The only issue in those areas was whether Labour would replace the Liberals in second place. In the eleven constituencies to the north a three-way or even four-way battle raged. These constituencies went predominately Liberal in 1918; only in Camberwell North and Rotherhithe were they reduced to second place behind the Conservatives. In 1922 the Liberals retained five seats to Labour's three and the Conservatives' three. A year later the Liberals and Labour were five all (and the Liberals also won Brixton), with only one Conservative, but in the debâcle of 1924 the Liberals were reduced to holding only Lambeth North. Labour won seven seats, Conservatives two and the Communists one. In 1929 Labour swept inner south London, winning all eleven seats together with Battersea South and Wandsworth Central. Of all the seats in Surrey and south London which Labour won in general elections between the Wars, only Brixton did not fall in 1929. The Labour split of 1931 left them with only Alfred Salter in West Bermondsey and let in one Liberal, one National Liberal and one 'National' as well as seven Conservatives. In 1935 seven Labour M.P.s were returned to three Conservatives and only one National Liberal retained his seat - E.A. Strauss in Southwark North. Inner south London was now essentially Labour territory.

The Conservatism of Surrey and suburban south London reflected its strong middle class. The rural seats ranged from 37.9% middle class in the 1921 Census (Eastern Surrey) to 23.6% (Reigate). The outer suburban parliamentary boroughs ranged between 42% and 35% (Richmond, Wandsworth, Croydon, Wimbledon, Kingston in descending order) and Lambeth (30.7%), Camberwell

(28.6%) and Battersea (26.7%) were all above 25%, although with variations between individual constituencies within each parliamentary borough. Southwark and Bermondsey had fewer than 20% middle-class population.

Closer examination shows the complexities which lay behind the overall picture. When John Burns retired from Battersea in 1918 his constituency was divided into a safe Conservative Battersea South and a Battersea North which returned members from four parties at various times between the Wars. Burns was succeeded in 1918 by a Coalition Liberal. In 1922 Shapurji Saklatvala, a member of the Communist party standing with Labour support, narrowly defeated H.C. Hogbin (National Liberal) with a Liberal well back in third place. A year later, Hogbin, standing as Liberal, defeated Saklatvala by 186 votes but in 1924 Saklatvala, standing as a Communist, won back his seat, defeating Hogbin who stood as a 'Constitutionalist', a label used by a number of Liberals at this election, including Winston Churchill. Labour won the seat in 1929, with a Conservative second, Saklatvala third and a Liberal fourth. The Conservatives won the seat in 1931 but from 1935 it was safe Labour. In Rotherhithe, H.W.C. Carr-Gomm, son of the lady of the manor, who had held the seat for the Liberals since 1906, was defeated as a non-coalition Liberal by a coalition Conservative. In 1922 he slipped to third behind Labour, which won the seat in 1923 and held it thereafter except in 1931 when the Conservatives won it narrowly in a straight fight. Camberwell North had been held since 1900 by T.J. 'Fighting Mac' Macnamara. Teacher, journalist and president of the National Union of Teachers, he held Camberwell North-West as a Coalition Liberal in 1918, in a 1920 by-election on being appointed Minister of Labour, and in 1922. In 1923 he held it by 80 votes, but dropped to third in 1924 when the Conservatives won the seat. Labour took the seat in 1929 and the Conservatives regained it in 1931 and 1935.

In Lambeth North the Liberal and Labour parties had symbolic standard-bearers. Frank Briant was a Congregationalist, honorary superintendent of Alfred House Institute for Working Men and Lads at Lambeth Walk since 1885, member of Lambeth Borough Council, 1899-1919, member of Lambeth Board of Guardians, 1898-1925, and Chairman, 1910-25, member of the L.C.C., 1905-19 and 1931-34. As a non-coalition Liberal he defeated the sitting Conservative M.P. in 1918 and held his seat against Conservative and Labour in 1922 and 1923. In 1924 he defeated a young left-wing Labour candidate, George Strauss, by 29 votes. Strauss defeated Briant in 1929 by 542 votes but Briant won the seat back in 1931. When Briant died in 1934 the personal nature of his hold on the seat was shown when his large majority was replaced by an even larger one for Strauss, who retained his seat, despite occasional differences with his party leadership, until 1950 and then held the successor seat of Vauxhall until 1979. These two radicals therefore held essentially the same seat for over sixty years.

Another Liberal Nonconformist with a background in social work was the Wesleyan minister Revd. Roderick Kedward, superintendent of the South London Mission, 1918-37, who was defeated by Salter in Bermondsey West in 1922, won the seat in a straight fight in 1923, and lost it again in 1924; he was M.P. for Ashford (Kent) 1929-31. Frederick Laverack, Liberal M.P. for Brixton, 1923-4, was a Congregational minister. The doyen of Labour M.P.s was Dr. Alfred Salter, who fought Bermondsey in the 1909 by-election and West Bermondsey in 1918, finishing third each time, but won the seat in 1922 and,

after losing narrowly in 1923, regained it in 1924 after which he held it until his retirement in 1945. Salter, a local doctor, was a compaigner for health, employment and social welfare, rooted in the local community. More typical of Labour M.P.s – but also rooted in their communities – were the trade union activists and organisers. Charles Ammon, organising secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, Methodist local preacher, President of the Band of Hope Union, alderman and mayor of Camberwell and member of the L.C.C., contested Camberwell North in 1918 and was M.P. for the seat 1922-31 and 1935-44, when he became Chairman of the National Dock Labour Corporation. Benjamin Smith, general organiser of the T.G.W.U., alderman of Bermondsey, was M.P. for Rotherhithe 1922-31, and 1935-46, when he became Chairman of the West Midlands Coal Board.

In the rest of Surrey the only disturbance of Conservative dominance came at the Mitcham by-election of March 1923. The Conservative M.P. who had defeated a Liberal in a straight fight the previous year retired to provide a safe seat for Sir A.S.T. Griffith-Boscawen, the Minister for Health, who had lost his Taunton seat at the general election. A rival Conservative stood against Griffith-Boscawen, and as a result of the split a young Epsom ex-teacher and secretary of the Surrey Association of Teachers, James Chuter Ede, won the seat narrowly, but nine months later Richard Meller regained the seat for the Conservatives. Chuter Ede fought the seat unsuccessfully again in 1924 and then won selection for South Shields in Co. Durham, becoming, as a wartime minister, co-author of the 1944 Education Act, and in 1945 Home Secretary in the Labour government. Meller and Chuter Ede were alike rooted in local government as members, later aldermen, and chairmen of Surrey County Council.

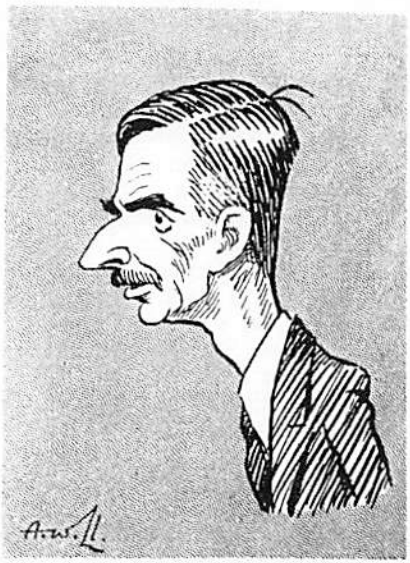


Fig. 11. James Chuter Ede of Epsom, M.P. for Mitcham 1923 and South Shields, 1929-31 and 1935-64. Chuter Ede lived in Epsom throughout his life. He was, with R.A. Butler, the architect of the 1944 Education Act and was Home Secretary in the post-War Labour government.

1945 to the present day:

The Second World War produced a further Coalition, and its aftermath was the landslide victory of the Labour party in the 1945 general election. The inter-War period had seen a massive increase in the population of north-eastern Surrey, as in other suburban seats around London. An Act of 1944 created a body of Boundary Commissioners to carry out regular reviews of constituency boundaries, with the priority of dividing any constituency of more than 100,000 electors. Two of the twenty seats thus divided were in Surrey: Epsom was divided into Sutton & Cheam and Epsom, and Mitcham was divided into Carshalton and Mitcham. At the 1945 election the thirty-four Surrey and south London constituencies divided 21 Labour to 13 Conservative. The fifty-six year old boundary of the London County Council provided a robust indicator of the political divide. Inside the boundary only Streatham and Putney remained Conservative, the other eighteen seats going Labour. In Surrey three seats went Labour – Wimbledon, Mitcham and Croydon South – and the other eleven went Conservative. The election saw the reduction of the Liberals to a total of 12 seats, only five of them in England.

The Representation of the People Act 1948 finally produced 'one person one vote' by abolishing the business vote in parliamentary elections and abolishing the university constituencies. Seats were redistributed to reflect the population changes of the past thirty years. The flight of population from London reduced south London seats from twenty to thirteen, the suburban area (those places which would later pass into Greater London) increased from eight seats (six until 1944) to ten seats, and outer Surrey from six to nine (strictly 9 ½ each as Carshalton spanned the future boundary). The creation of Boundary Commissioners eased the future process of redistribution. Later changes preceding the 1955, 1974, 1983 and 1997 elections have had the effect of reducing the south London seats to eight. Outer London seats initially increased to eleven but have since reduced to nine and the Surrey seats increased to eleven (including Spelthorne, formerly in Middlesex).

The electoral pattern between 1945 and 1964 was one of fairly uniform national swings between Labour and Conservative. Labour narrowly retained power in 1950 but the Conservatives narrowly won in 1951 and increased their majority in 1955 and 1959. Labour's victory in 1964 coincided with a rise in the Liberal vote and the general pattern of uniform swings began to be affected by regional variations between the two main parties and by the relative local strength of the Liberals. This was seen to a limited extent in the 1966 election won by Labour, 1970 election won by the Conservatives and the two elections of 1974 which gave first a Labour minority government and then a small Labour majority. It was more strongly noticeable at the 1979 election which again brought the Conservatives to power. The Liberals had remained as the main, although distant, opposition to the Conservatives outside south London in the 1920s but withdrew from standing against them in most Surrey seats in 1931 and 1935, leaving Labour as the only opposition, and from 1945 Labour was the opposition party throughout the county. In south London and Surrey the Liberals achieved second place from the 1960s at general elections in a number of outer London and Surrey seats – nine out of eleven Surrey seats in 1974 – but they remained well behind the Conservatives in all of them. They won by-elections in Sutton and Cheam (1972) and Croydon North-West (1981), both

lost at the subsequent general elections, and Southwark and Bermondsey (1983) which they have retained.

The electoral map showed the Labour bloc in south London retreating in the 1950s. In outer London Labour lost their three seats in 1950 and won no seats at general elections for nearly half a century with the exception of Croydon Central, 1966-70, and Mitcham and Morden, 1974-82. The Conservatives continued to hold the 'rural Surrey' seats as they had since 1910. In inner London the Labour seats formed a bloc nearest the Thames, reduced to six seats in 1959 - Bermondsey, Southwark, Vauxhall, Brixton, Peckham, Battersea North - and expanding to twelve in 1966 with the addition of Putney, Battersea South, Wandsworth Central, Clapham, Norwood and Dulwich. Social change had brought into the Labour camp in 1945 Brixton, which had been Conservative since its creation in 1885 except for Liberal victories in 1906 and 1923. Norwood, one of the safest Conservative seats, was lost between 1885 and 1966 only in 1945, but it has been Labour from 1966 until the present day, and Streatham, Conservative since its creation in 1918, went Labour in 1992: boundary changes may have been partly responsible. London County Council housing estates could change the electoral pattern. The creation of St. Helier estate in the 1930s probably gave the impetus for Wimbledon to go Labour in 1945 and for the Labour voting of Mitcham and Morden between 1974 and 1982. The Roehampton estates swung Putney, Conservative from its creation in 1918 until 1964, to Labour from 1964 to 1979 and again in 1997. Dulwich, Conservative from 1885 to 1964, except 1945-51, also received extensive council housing; the constituency swung to Labour from 1964 to 1983 and again in 1992.

The 1983 general election followed the creation of the Social Democratic party in 1981 by mainly Labour M.P.s. The Social Democrats and Liberals fought as an Alliance, polling 25% of the vote but winning only 23 seats, while Labour won 209 seats with 28% of the votes and the Conservatives 397 with 42%. In Surrey the Alliance parties won 28.6% of the vote, coming second in all eleven constituencies. In south London Labour was reduced to five seats - Battersea, Tooting, Vauxhall, Peckham and Norwood - while the Liberals retained their by-election win in Southwark and Bermondsey. In outer London the Liberals came within 74 votes of winning Richmond and Barnes. The Labour recovery of 1987 brought them no benefit in south London and Surrey - indeed, Battersea was lost to gentrification - but in 1992 they gained two seats. The 1997 Labour landslide seemed to indicate that the creators of the Greater London boundary in 1965 had possessed political foresight. Just as the 1945 result reflected the L.C.C. boundary created in 1888, the 1997 result reflected the boundary created in 1965. All the constituencies within that boundary went Labour or Liberal Democrat except South Croydon. All the constituencies in the post-1965 administrative county of Surrey remained Conservative. In outer London the seats in Richmond, Kingston and Sutton went Liberal Democrat, those in Merton and Croydon (except Croydon South) went Labour. In south London all the seats went Labour except the Liberal seat of Southwark North and Bermondsey.

A new phenomenon post-War was the attractiveness of Surrey and south London, with safe seats close to London, for political high fliers. The pre-War and inter-War members had been mostly of only local importance, junior ministers at most. The post-War period saw Geoffrey Howe at Reigate (1970-4)

and East Surrey (1974-92), Kenneth Baker at Mole Valley (1983-97), Norman Lamont at Kingston (1972-97), David Howell at Guildford (1966-), Humphrey Atkins at Morden (1955-70) and Spelthorne (1970-87), Virginia Bottomley in South West Surrey (1984-). Five Surrey and south London M.P.s sat in the Cabinet in the late 1980s and early 1990s - Howe, Baker, Lamont, Bottomley and Putney's David Mellor - and between 1989 and 1992 there were always three of them in the Cabinet. For Labour, Battersea North provided a safe seat for Douglas Jay (1946-83), Rotherhithe and then Bermondsey for Bob Mellish (1946-83), Southwark for Ray Gunter (1959-72). Typical of an earlier generation was Sir Cyril Black, M.P. for Wimbledon, 1950-70. A local man, he was a member of Wimbledon Borough Council and its successor Merton Borough Council from 1942 to 1978 and Mayor of Wimbledon, 1945-7, and Merton, 1966-7. He was a member of Surrey County Council from 1943 to 1965 and Chairman 1955-59, and he was President of the Baptist Union.

The seven centuries since M.P.s were first elected for Surrey and its boroughs have seen massive changes and it is difficult to trace continuity over the years. In the past two centuries the one common theme has been the radical or left-wing politics of the urban core at the southern end of London Bridge: initially the Southwark borough constituency, then Southwark and Lambeth, and later still, as the population increased and expanded, covering a wider area to the south and west. This radicalism in its Whig or Liberal form extended a degree of influence over the county seat and, from 1832 to 1868, the two county seats, but from the 1870s these seats became safely Conservative. The suburbs, initially receptive to Liberalism, also moved to the Conservatives, except in years of Liberal or Labour landslides. The simplicity of the overall picture is one half of the story. The other half is the colour and complexity provided by the ebb and flow of national trends and by local issues and individual personalities. National trends may now be more significant than local and personal influence, but the inter-War period showed, and recent years seem to confirm, that three-party politics introduces a degree of complexity in which individual constituencies become less predictable and the character of candidates more important.

Another change has been the decline of local public campaigning. Although late-nineteenth century elections might have seemed 'calm, businesslike and prosaic' (Edwin Bonner's description) by the standards of the middle of the century, public meetings remained the norm until after the war, declining as television brought the national campaign into the electors' living rooms. The existence and refinement of opinion polls, despite their varying reliability, gave a degree of foreknowledge of the result which had been lacking previously. By contrast the return of three-party politics brought a degree of unpredictability to many individual seats in suburban south London and at times in some Surrey constituencies, and Liberal campaigns in particular stressed local issues. The one constant element during more than seven centuries has been the link between representation of the interests of local people, the granting of taxes and the passing of legislation.

Fig. 12. Poster for Reigate Conservative Women's Rally, 1927. The M.P. for Reigate, Brigadier-General Cockerill, was one of the small minority of Conservative M.P.s who in 1928 opposed the extension of the suffrage to women under thirty years old.

NOTE ON SOURCES:

This article is a sequel to 'From the Origins of Parliament to the Reform Act: Surrey M.P.s and Elections' (*Surrey History*, vol. V, no. 1, 1997). It is an attempt to provide local historians in Surrey with an outline of electoral history in the belief that politics is rarely integrated into local histories of Surrey towns and villages. The main source of election results is F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Results* (five volumes covering 1832-1885, 1885-1918, 1918-1949, 1950-1973 and 1974-1983); *Britain Votes 4*; and *The Times Guide to the House of Commons* (published after each election). *The British General Election of . . .* , also published after each election, provides a useful account of the elections, with valuable constituency information.

Brief biographies of M.P.s can be found in *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, ed. M. Stenton and S. Leas (4 vols.), 1832-1885, 1886-1918, 1919-1945, 1945-1979. Those who died after 1897 will also be found in *Who Was Who* (seven volumes spanning 1897-1980) and those still alive in *Who's Who*. Many M.P.s will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and no doubt more in the *New Dictionary of National Biography* when it appears.

Poll books may be found in Surrey History Centre, mainly for West Surrey and Guildford but including manuscript voters' lists for Bletchingley, Haslemere and Reigate. The Institute of Historical Research holds copies of many pollbooks. Electoral registers for Surrey county constituencies are held by Surrey History Service, which also holds registers for some borough constituencies in certain years and for all constituencies in the post-1965 administrative county. Borough registers are normally to be found in the relevant borough archives or local studies library but not all have survived. A typescript guide to the franchise and to Surrey constituencies may be consulted at Surrey History Centre.

For reasons of space I have generally ignored the policy issues which inform and help to determine the political process. General histories of Britain will provide a sound grounding in the politics of the period: the *Oxford History of England* is useful although somewhat old, the *New Oxford History* is now coming out, and *The New History of England* is another reliable series. M. Pearce and G. Stewart, *British Political History, 1867-1990* gives a good overview. There are numerous books and articles on individual subjects and biographies of all the leading political figures. A work of particular interest for the local aspect of politics is H. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910* (1967), which contains interesting brief insights into influences on individual Surrey and south London constituencies and indicates some useful sources.

Newspapers are an important source for elections, and local newspapers are particularly useful from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards.

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS:

Acknowledgements and thanks are due for the illustrations to the following: Guildford Museum for Fig. 2 and Southwark Local Studies Library for Figs. 3, 6, 9 and 10. The other illustrations are from Surrey History Service.

APPENDIX I
U.K. AND SURREY GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1832-80

	United Kingdom			Surrey					
	Con	Lib	Etc	West	East	R	G	S	L
1832	175	441	42	2L	2L	1C	1C;1L	2L	2L
1835	273	385	-	1C;1L	1C;1L	1C	1C;1L	2L*	2L
1837	314	344	-	1C;1L	2C	1C*	2C	2L	2L
1841	367	271	20	1C;1L*	2C*	1C	2L	2L*	2L
1847	325	292	39	1C;1L*	2L*	1C*	1C;1L	2L*	2L
1852	330	324	-	2C	2L	1C	2L	2L	2L
1857	264	377	13	1C;1L	2L*	1L	1C;1L	2L	2L
1859	298	356	-	1C;1L*	2L	1L	1C;1L*	2L	2L*
1865	289	369	-	1C;1L*	2L	1L	1C;1L	2L*	2L
						Mid			
1868	271	387	-	1C;1L	2L	2C	1L	2L	2L
1874	350	242	60	2C	2C	2C*	1C	1C;1L	2L
1880	237	352	63	2C	2C	2C	1C	2L	2L

KEY: * uncontested elections
R: Reigate; G: Guildford; S: Southwark; L: Lambeth.

The national figures are useful as a guide to the results of elections but party allegiance was often weak and there might be considerable uncertainty as to the result of an election until parliament had met. 'Etc' refers mostly to Irish nationalist candidates. The Peelites and 'Liberal-Conservatives' are treated as Conservative; party attributions are particularly unreliable in the 1850s. [Source: F.W.S. Craig, *British Electoral Facts, 1832-1987*].

The Surrey party attributions are based on Craig; a number of M.P.s were described as 'Liberal-Conservatives' in the 1840s and 1850s.

APPENDIX II
WEST SURREY ELECTION, 1835

	POLLING AT:			TOTAL
	Guildford	Chertsey	Dorking	
Denison (Lib) and Long (Lib)	577	324	176	1,077
Denison (Lib) and Barclay (Cons)	73	147	146	366
Barclay (Cons) and Long (Lib)	50	32	10	92
Denison plumpers	5	17	25	47
Barclay plumpers	374	294	188	856
Long plumpers	85	24	8	117
TOTALS	1,164	838	553	2,555

RESULT: Denison 1,488; Barclay 1,316; Long 1,285.

APPENDIX III

U.K. AND SURREY GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1885-1945

	United Kingdom				South London			Surrey		
	Con	Lib	Lab	Etc	Con	Lib	Lab	Con	Lib	Lab
1885	250	325	5	90	10	5	-	7	-	-
1886	395	190	-	85	13	2	-	7	-	-
1892	315	270	4	81	7	8	-	7	-	-
1895	411	177	-	82	12	3	-	7	-	-
1900	402	184	2	82	11	4	-	7	-	-
1906	156	377	54	83	4	11	-	4	3	-
1910(J)	273	275	40	82	8	7	-	7	-	-
1910(D)	274	270	42	84	6	9	-	7	-	-
1918	382	163	60	102	11	9	-	12	-	-
1922	343	116	142	14	12	5	3	12	-	-
1923	258	159	191	7	9	6	5	12	-	-
1924	412	40	151	12	11	1	7*	12	-	-
1929	260	59	288	8	7	-	13	12	-	-
1931	471	72	64	8	16	2	1	12	-	-
1935	431	21	158	5	12	1	7	12	-	-
1945	211	12	398	19	2	-	18	11	-	1

* Plus one Communist, previously elected in 1922 as a Labour-supported candidate.

From 1886 to 1910 the Conservative total includes Liberal Unionists. 'Labour' until 1910 includes many 'Lib-Lab' candidates. 'Etc' to 1918 mainly refers to Irish nationalist candidates.

In 1931 National Liberal (35), National Labour (12) and 'National' (3) are treated as Liberal, Labour and 'Etc' respectively. From 1935 they are treated as Conservative. In South London one 'National' M.P. was elected in 1931.

South London comprises constituencies in the part of Surrey which were taken into London County Council at its creation in 1889. Surrey comprises the area which became the administrative county of Surrey, together with the county borough of Croydon.

[Source: M. Kinnear, *The British Voter*]

APPENDIX IV

U.K. AND SURREY GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1950-1997

	United Kingdom				South London			Surrey		
	Con	Lab	Lib	Etc	Con	Lab	Lib	Con	Lab	Lib
1950	299	315	9	2	3	10	-	19	-	-
1951	321	295	6	3	5	8	-	19	-	-
1955	344	277	6	2	6	7	-	20	-	-
1959	365	258	6	1	7	6	-	20	-	-
1964	303	318	9	-	2	11	-	20	-	-
1966	253	363	12	2	1	12	-	20	1	-
1970	322	287	6	15	2	11	-	21	-	-
1974(F)	297	301	14	23	1	10	-	21	1	-
1974(O)	277	319	13	26	1	10	-	21	1	-
1979	339	268	11	17	2	9	-	21	1	-
1983	397	209	23	21	3	5	1	22	-	-
1987	375	229	22	24	4	4	1	22	-	-
1992	336	271	20	24	2	6	1	21	1	-
1997	165	418	46	30	-	7	1	12	4	4

South London and Surrey are as defined in the previous table.

The 1983 Liberal total includes 6 S.D.P.; the 1987 total is 'Alliance'; in 1992 and 1997 'Liberal Democrat.' Conservative totals include Ulster Unionists until 1970.

From 1966 Spelthorne is included in Surrey: since the creation of the constituency in 1918 it voted Conservative except in 1945 when Labour won the seat.

Sources: 1950-79, M. Kinnear, *The British Voter*;
1983, 1987, F.W.S. Craig, *Britain Votes 4*;
1992, 1997, *The Times Guide to the House of Commons, 1992, & 1997*

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CUDDINGTON

Charles Abdy
Nonsuch Antiquarian Society

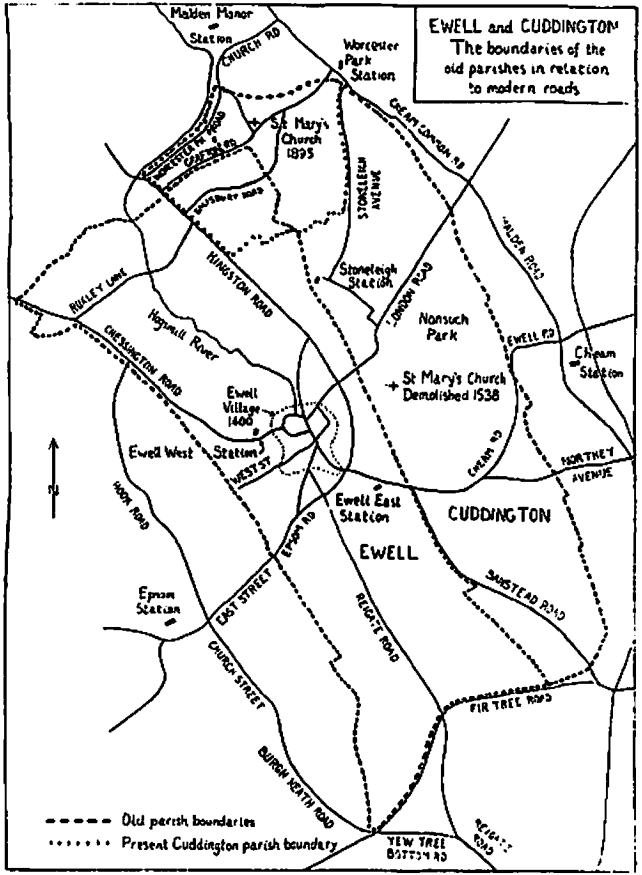
Introduction:

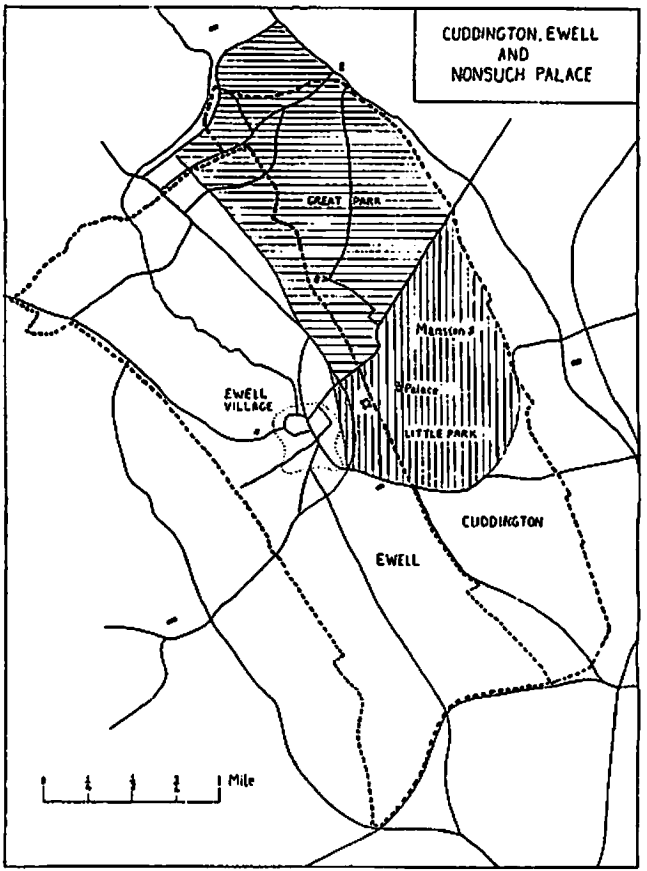
In 1538 Henry VIII had Cuddington village demolished because he had decided that he wanted his new palace of Nonsuch to be built there. But clearly that was not the end of the story: there is still a Cuddington Parish and a local government ward of that name. There is also a Cuddington Way and a Cuddington Golf Course: they are within the old parish boundaries, but well outside the present parish, as was Cuddington Hospital. Cuddington Avenue is in the present parish and so is Cuddington County First School, but the Cuddington Croft Schools are not. The old parish is now within the boundanes of the Borough of Epsom and Ewell, apart from small areas to the north and south that are within Cheam and Banstead respectively. Cuddington Recreation Ground is now in Cheam. The present parish church, St. Mary's, was consecrated in 1895 and the centenary year seemed an appropriate time for a brief history that relates the present day Cuddington to the old parish.

Cuddington prior to 1538:

The old Cuddington was a strip parish running more or less north to south alongside Ewell parish and to the east of it. The length was nearly four miles and the width about a mile. Like Ewell, the strip encompassed London clay in the north and downland chalk in the south separated by a band of lighter soils on which the village stood.

Recent excavations on what was Warren Farm have indicated occupation of the area during the Iron Age and earlier periods. The earliest mention of Cuddington is in the foundation charter of Chertsey Abbey of 675 in which land in Cuddington (and Ewell) was granted to the new abbey. It has to be said that the charter exists only in a mid-thirteenth-century copy, and there is some doubt as to the validity of the claim. The name had a variety of spellings: Cotinton in Saxon times and Codintone in the eleventh century, while later versions included Cudintone and Codyngton. It is thought to have been derived onginally from Cuda's farm. Before the Norman Conquest, Cuddington was held by Earl Leofwine, the younger brother of Earl Harold. William the Conqueror gave the manor to his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux. At the time of Domesday the tenant was Ilbert de Laci. There were 11 villagers, 13 smallholders, 4 slaves, 7 ploughs and a mill valued at 40d. The value of the manor before 1066 was £ 11; in 1086, £ 9 12s. (By comparison, Ewell had 48 villagers, 4 smallholders, 15 ploughs and 2 mills valued at 10s. The value of the manor before 1066 was £ 20: in 1086, £ 16). In the thirteenth century the St. Michael family were the holders, and they eventually took the name Codington.





Figs. 1 & 2. Plans showing the boundaries of Cuddington.

The excavation of Nonsuch Palace in 1959 revealed the foundations of the church which is thought to have started in about the year 1100 as a simply built nave and chancel, possibly replacing an earlier wooden structure. It was altered and extended at various periods so that by 1538 it was a sizeable building with a tower at the west end. The excavations brought to light many graves in and around the church, a high percentage of which were those of children. Henry VIII regarded the situation as healthy and that was one of his reasons for building there, but the local people had not been able to avoid the high infant mortality rates characteristic of the medieval period. Neither had Cuddington escaped the Black Death: the Manorial Court records for 21st. July 1349 reported the deaths of five freeholders and 15 villeins. The courts held in 1355-57 show that a number of families seem to have been completely wiped out, while some survivors held land formerly held by two or three tenants.

The manor house stood near the churchyard, and a description of it is available in the report prepared by Henry VIII's surveyors. It formed one side of a courtyard, on two other sides of which were barns and stables, while the fourth side consisted of a wall with a small gatehouse. The hall of the manor house was not large, only 24 feet by 18 feet. There were three parlours, seven chambers for servants, a kitchen and various associated rooms. The great barn was 155 feet long and 36 feet wide. There was a dove-house. To the south of the house a garden and orchard covered an acre and a half of land.

Even by medieval standards the village was small: a taxation survey of 1428 shows less than ten inhabited houses. However, Henry's surveyors were complimentary about the quality of the surrounding land and the abundance of game. Also, within sight of the manor house there were 'four farm houses with barns and stables well builded with timber and in good repair wherein dwelleth and inhabiteth four honest men and tall persons meet and able to do the King's service ... which doth live wealthily upon the same.'

Walter de Merton:

Possibly the most famous name associated with Cuddington, if one excludes Henry VIII, who might better be described as infamous in this connection, is Walter de Merton, who came to Cuddington as Rector in about 1238. He had been known as Walter of Basingstoke, but because he had been educated at Merton Priory before going to Oxford, he changed his name to Merton. Walter's education proved to be worthwhile: by 1260 he had been appointed Lord Chancellor of England. He acquired substantial estates, including the manors of Malden and Farleigh, the revenues from which supported Merton College Oxford which he founded. The House of Scholars of Merton was initially for the education of Walter's nephews and other connections including two of the children of Gilbert of Ewell who had married Walter's sister Agnes. Gilbert of Ewell held the estate subsequently known as Fitznell's Manor, which was founded by Master Robert, rector of Cuddington prior to Walter de Merton. In 1274 Walter became Bishop of Rochester. When Walter de Merton died in 1277 he left 20 marks to the poor of Cuddington. (A mark was the value of a mark weight of pure silver and in England was two-thirds of a pound sterling).

The foundation charter of Merton College of 1264 directed that the scholars were to hire a hall and live together as a community with a warden. This became the basis of the collegiate system of our older universities.

The destruction of Cuddington and the building of Nonsuch Palace:

Henry VIII's desire for a palace at Cuddington was part of a plan for a great hunting estate based on Hampton Court and extending as far south as Epsom. His growing infirmities and corpulence made him loath to travel further afield for his pleasures. The plan involved the rebuilding of the medieval palace at Oatlands at Weybridge and the construction of a new palace at Cuddington to provide hunting lodges. The new palace was to demonstrate to the world, and in particular his rival Francis I, Henry's wealth and magnificence. It was to be a *nonsuch*. In the words of John Dent 'there emerged a building of unrivalled splendour, lavishly decorated to the point of vulgarity, a monument to princely ostentation.' The great enterprise was supported by the wealth that came to the King from the dissolution of the monasteries, and in a more direct way by the use of stone from the demolished Merton Priory in the foundations of the palace.

One of the first jobs of Henry VIII's builders was to knock down the church, since the inner court of the palace was to be built over it. Work proceeded at speed; it commenced before the contract dated 10th. July 1538 for acquiring the land had been signed. The manor house was not on the site of the palace itself and its demolition was delayed, as it was found useful as living quarters for some of the builders. When Henry VIII died in 1547 the palace was unfinished, although more or less habitable. Its completion had to wait until the reign of Elizabeth I, when the Earl of Arundel who had acquired Nonsuch had the remaining work carried out so that the Queen could be invited to a magnificent and extravagant palace-warming party in 1559.

The building stood on slightly rising ground in what was designated the Little Park, separated from the Great Park to the north by what is now London Road. The area of the Little Park was more than 600 acres and its creation involved the closure of the old road from Ewell Village to Cheam and the making of a new road curving round the southern boundary of the park, the present Cheam Road. The Great Park had an area of well over 1,000 acres. Although the bulk of the park was in Cuddington, 153 acres had been in the parish of Ewell and 145 acres in Malden.

Old Cuddington no longer existed: it had become part of 'The Manor of Nonesuche otherwise Codingtonne.'

Richard Codington:

When Henry first set his covetous eyes on Cuddington, the lord of the manor was Richard Codington, descendant of a family that had been in possession since the early thirteenth century. Sir Simon de Codington had been Sheriff of Surrey in 1353 and 1362. His son Ralph was Sheriff in 1400. Both men sat for Surrey in several Parliaments.

Richard Codington and his wife Elizabeth gave the King 'The Manor of Codington and other premises in Surrey' in exchange for 'The site of the late Priory of Ixworth (Suffolk) with the Church, Steeple and Churchyard and all messuages and lands thereto belonging.' It is unlikely that Richard Codington was overjoyed when the King proposed that he should leave his ancestral home and move to Suffolk but it is equally unlikely that he would have raised

objections to the move. Considered purely in terms of the value of Cuddington compared to that of the extensive Ixworth properties, it would seem that Richard and Elizabeth did quite well out of the exchange. The Cuddington manor was small and does not seem to have been prosperous, judging by an inventory taken on the death of Sir Simon de Codynton in 1374. His possessions were meagre and some were described as being much worn or broken.

Ixworth:

Ixworth today is a large village about six miles north-east of Bury St. Edmunds. It has several attractive old houses including one which is a good example of East Anglian pargetting. Ixworth Manor is recorded in the Domesday Book as having more than a thousand acres of land, including three acres of vineyards. There were 13 ploughs, two mills, a park and a church. The priory of St. Mary was founded by Austin canons in the 1170s and acquired considerable properties in surrounding villages. In 1384 Richard II granted it a market and two fairs. It was not a large establishment: at the time of the Dissolution there were only 17 canons. However, it had possession of the whole of Ixworth Manor and lands and tythes in 25 Suffolk parishes which in 1535 brought in revenues of nearly £ 170 per annum which was a lot of money then.

Records of bishops' visitations give the impression that the priory was generally well run. Complaints made by the canons were not of a serious nature: they included a deficiency of lights in the church through the fault of the sacrist and a clock that neither went nor struck. Furthermore, the brethren had no tailor to make their garments, the door of the buttery was so placed that they had to stand in the rain when they wished to drink, and the butler was insolent! The priory had extensive ranges of buildings, including a church 224 feet long with a western tower. Little remains of these buildings other than the dormitory with its undercroft which has been incorporated in a large house known as Ixworth Abbey, which is mainly late seventeenth century, and which has been well restored by its owners in recent years.

One of the first actions when a monastery was dissolved was to strip the lead from the roofs of the buildings and melt it down. This happened at Ixworth but for some unknown reason two large ingots of lead weighing about 7 cwt. each were overlooked and were discovered near the site around the middle of the last century. These ingots bearing the cypher of Henry VIII are of considerable antiquarian interest, and when they were auctioned in 1957 were acquired by local museums at Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich.

Richard Codington had some 29 years in which to enjoy his Suffolk estate, but had no offspring to leave it to when he died in 1567. When Elizabeth died in 1571 she left the manor to John Caryll, her grandson by a previous marriage to Thomas Bokenham. It has been said of John Caryll that, 'a combination of the financial mismanagement of his affairs and his active adherence to Roman Catholicism produced a state of insolvency from which he was only able to extricate himself by selling his Suffolk properties.'

Richard and Elizabeth are commemorated in a fine chest tomb in the chancel of Ixworth parish church above which is a brass plate which records that, 'Here lyeth buried the Bodyes of Richard Codington Esquyer, the first Temporall Lorde of this manor of Ipworth (sic) after the Suppression of the Abbye which

Fig. 3. The Codington Tomb at Ixworth.

he had of our Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Henrye the eight in Exchange for the Manor of Codington now called Nonsuche in the Countie of Surry, and Elizabeth, his Wyffe, sometime the Wyffe of Thomas Bucknhm of great Lyvermeare Esquyer, which had yssue by the said Thomas Bucknton, John and Dorothe, the said Richard Codington deceasyed the xxvii day of Maye in the yeare of our Lorde God mccccclxxi, and the said Elizabeth deceasyd the viii. day of September in the yeare of our Lorde God mccccclxxi. A separate brass plate shows Elizabeth kneeling with her two children by her marriage to Thomas Bokenham beside her, and there is also a plate portraying Richard Codington. Three brass escutcheons give the arms for the Codington, Codington and Jenour, and Bokenham and Jenour families. Above the tomb is an arch decorated with what Nikolaus Pevsner has described as exceptionally fine Italian leaf carving.

It is of interest that Elizabeth's first husband was Thomas Bokenham of 'great Lyvermear.' Great Livermere parish adjoins Ixworth parish. It is generally assumed that the Codingtons had no say in what manor they were given by Henry VIII in exchange for Cuddington. However, considering the number of properties that were available as a result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, it would seem a remarkable coincidence that Richard and Elizabeth should have been offered one in an area that would have been well known to Elizabeth and suggest that there was in fact an element of choice. Dame Elizabeth is believed to have founded a charity that bears the name of 'Mrs. Codington's Gift.'

It is not known who built Ixworth Abbey on the remains of the Priory.

Although it is mainly late seventeenth century, there are remnants of sixteenth-century work, and it could well be that the house was originally built by Richard and Elizabeth Codington.

The Parish without a church:

Although Cuddington church was demolished in 1538 and no replacement was built, in the eyes of the church authorities the parish remained in existence. It still existed also so far as the county authorities were concerned, and returns made for administrative purposes refer to the parish of Cuddington long after the village was destroyed. Parish registers of adjacent parishes such as Ewell and Cheam indicate that people living in Cuddington used the churches of these other parishes for worship and ceremonies such as baptism and burial.

It is difficult to imagine a parish without a church having a vestry and yet records of meetings of the justices of the peace for the hundreds of Copthorne and Effingham held at Epsom show that parish officials such as overseers of the poor and surveyors of highways for Cuddington were being appointed at these petty sessions. Although parish officials would normally have been nominated by parish vestries, the justices could appoint officials without such nominations. It is a circumstance that highlights the important part played by J.P.s in the administration of the law as well as in the administration of justice, so that Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their epic work on English Local Government referred to J.P.s as 'Rulers of the County.' Another possibility is that nominations by the manorial court would have been accepted. In 1805 all Surrey parishes were assessed for the penalties incurred by the county for not having provided the number of militia men that it should. The assessment was on a proportional basis and the figure for Cuddington was 6s. 8d. against £ 26 for Ewell.

It is clear that for some administrative purposes, such as census returns, Cuddington was lumped with Ewell. When the Epsom Poor Law Union was constituted in 1836, Cuddington was one of the 15 parishes that it comprised. There had previously been cooperation to the extent that Cuddington made use of the Ewell Workhouse: at a Ewell Vestry meeting on September 4th. 1805, 'William Broadbent, the Overseer of Cuddington, applied for leave for Ann . . . to reside in the workhouse of Ewell after her lying-in by giving a proper indemnification which was agreed to accordingly.'

Cuddington Manor:

After the death of Henry VIII, lordship of the manor passed through various hands, including those of the Duke of Bedford, who in 1755 sold it to Edward Northey of Epsom, who bought Ewell manor in the same year. The manorial courts, both Leet and Baron, were held jointly for Ewell and Cuddington, and were still meeting throughout the last century. From the time of Elizabeth I onwards the functions of the manorial courts were increasingly taken over by magistrates and parish vestries. In early times manorial courts made laws for the inhabitants of the manor and punished transgressors, as well as recording changes in copyhold land tenure and fixing rents, heriots and the other fees to

which copyhold tenants would have been subject. But in later times all the significant proceedings were concerned only with copyhold matters. It was a gradual process that is to some extent reflected in entries in the Court Rolls for Ewell and Cuddington in the period 1592 to 1736:

3rd. April, 1594: Stephen Mush was fined 4d. for pasturing certain colts on and unlawfully using the common.

1st. November, 1609: It was ordered that none keep sheep or lambs in the East Heath between the 6th. of May and the feast of All Saints under penalty of 12d. each.

27th. April, 1613: It was ordered that all inhabitants in Gallows Street remove dung and compost therefrom. Penalty 12d. to the use of the Lord (of the manor) and the Poor equally.

24th. September, 1629: It was ordered that 'no person shall be in any victualling or tipling house upon any unlawfull times that is to say on Sundays in divine service or any other time of day above the space of two hours . . . upon pain of 5d. for every such default or to ly in the stocks one hour. If found a second time . . . to forfeit 10d. or two hours in the stocks.'

By 1736 there are fewer references to crimes and punishments.

The Webbs make a telling comment: 'We find existing in the latter part of the seventeenth century a sort of local governing authority that was neither parish Vestry nor County Justices . . . but one or other tattered remnant of the old jurisdiction of the Manor. Here and there would be found public officers exercising peculiar functions under strange titles: an Aleconner or a Pinder, a Swineringer or a Burleyman, a Portreeve or a Boroughbreve. Once or twice a year a 'Court' would be held, to which people would resort for purposes they scarcely knew what.'

Although at a typical meeting on 22nd. October, 1840 the Ewell/Cuddington Court appointed jurors, constables, aleconners and a bailiff, it is likely that by then these functions would have been largely ceremonial. The manorial system was effectively ended in 1922 by an Act of Parliament that abolished copyholds and converted such tenancies into freeholds. However, the title of lord of the manor of Cuddington remains: it was held by the Northey family until 1993, when it was conveyed to Mr. Jack Connolly of Cheam. In some manors the lords of the manor still have limited rights, such as the right to ownership of minerals mined in the manor. In the case of Ewell most of the rights were given up at the time of the Inclosure Award of 1803 in return for an allotment of land.

The Rise and Fall of the Nonsuch Palace Estate:

When Henry VIII died on 28th. January, 1547, although the Palace was unfinished he had been able to stay there on short visits on several occasions. Edward VI and his successor, Queen Mary, showed little interest in Nonsuch and in 1556 Mary sold the Palace and Little Park to the Earl of Arundel, who had the Palace completed. The Earl left Nonsuch to his son-in-law, Lord Lumley, along with enormous debts, in settlement of which the Palace was given to Elizabeth. The Queen began spending money on the building and the court met there frequently: it was the heyday of Nonsuch.

Elizabeth was at Nonsuch on 28th. September, 1599 when there occurred one of those dramatic incidents that go down in history. The Earl of Essex, one-time favourite of the Queen, had been sent to Ireland to put down a rebellion, but had not carried out his instructions. Anxious to explain himself to Elizabeth in person, he had hurried to the palace, and burst into her bedroom unannounced while the Queen was dressing. Since she was without her wig and her face was unpainted, she was not pleased, and it did not help Essex to put his case. He spent a year in captivity at York House for his actions in Ireland and his unauthorised return. Shortly after, he was put on trial for plotting against the Queen and was executed in February 1601.

James I settled Nonsuch on the Queen, Anne of Denmark, and the royal family made some use of the palace. Charles I came to the throne in 1625 and in 1627 granted Nonsuch to his Queen Henrietta Maria.

During the Civil War, Nonsuch was occupied by the Roundheads. The dispatch describing the 'great victory' of the Parliamentary forces in our local Civil War battle on 7th. July, 1648 was issued from the Palace. Cromwell wished to sell off the Palace and its parks, and the survey that was carried out in 1650 to facilitate this is one of the most complete accounts of them in existence. In 1652 the Great Park was conveyed to Colonel Thomas Pride, one of the regicides; the Palace and Little Park were conveyed to John Lambert, Major General of all the forces in England and Scotland. The parks suffered badly in this period: many fine trees were felled for timber. John Evelyn visited Nonsuch in January 1666, the Office of the Exchequer having been transferred there during the plague of the previous year. He reported that 'there stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids and the avenue planted with rows of fair elms, but the rest of those goodly trees both of this and of Worcester Park adjoining, were felled by those destructive and avaricious rebels in the late war which defaced one of the stateliest seats His Majesty had.'

The execution of Charles I on 30th. January, 1649 marked the end of the use of Nonsuch as a royal palace, although following the Restoration in 1660 the Palace and both parks were restored to Henrietta Maria. After her death, the palace and parks were granted to trustees on behalf of Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine, a mistress of Charles II, who had been made Baroness of Nonsuch, Countess of Southampton and Duchess of Cleveland. She had the palace demolished and sold off as building materials after the King signed the necessary warrant in 1682. The proceeds helped pay some of Barbara's gambling debts. Although she has often been accused of vandalism, given the cost of maintaining such an elaborate structure, it is difficult to see what else she could have done.

Barbara Castlemaine died in 1709. In 1731 the Nonsuch Estate was sold off, the Little Park and the Great Park, by then known as Worcester Park, going to separate purchasers. Joseph Thompson bought the Little Park and eventually left it to his nephew, Joseph Whately, whose brother occupied a house that had been built where Nonsuch Mansion now stands, a house that may have incorporated an outbuilding of the Palace. In 1799 ownership of the Little Park passed to Samuel Farmer, who employed the architect Jeffry Wyatt (later Sir Jeffry Wyatville) to design the mansion that was built in 1802-06, and which still graces the park.

Several generations of the Farmer family lived at the Mansion, the last being Alice Farmer who had married Colonel Francis Colborne. Mrs. Alice Colborne died a widow in 1936, and in 1937 a consortium of local authorities (London

and Surrey County Councils and Sutton & Cheam and Epsom & Ewell Corporations) purchased most of the Little Park, and the Mansion. Cherry Orchard Farm that had been in the park had already been bought by Epsom & Ewell Council.

Fig. 4. The Mansion in Nonsuch Park.

The Rebirth of Cuddington and its partition:

In 1750 Worcester Park was sold to William Taylor, who had made a fortune from the gunpowder mills that he had built along the Hogsmill River at Malden in 1720. Worcester House, the mansion of the Earl of Worcester, Keeper of the Great Park, was demolished. It had been a four-storey brick building on the high ground at the junction of Royal Avenue and Delta Road. William Taylor junior had a new mansion, Worcester Park House, built in 1799 on a new site to the south west at the bottom of the hill near the present Hogsmill Tavern. It was pulled down shortly after the Second World War.

Much of Worcester Park was divided into farms, which included Bowling Green Farm, Sparrow Farm, Coldharbour Farm and Worcester Park Farm. Worcester Park Farm stood close to the site of Worcester House. Holman Hunt and John Millais stayed there for several months in 1851, working on the backgrounds of some of the paintings that helped make them famous. In a letter to friends, Millais referred to the fine avenue of elm trees along what is now Royal Avenue. The last of these trees were cut down in 1955.

In 1859 the London and South Western Railway was extended from Raynes Park to Epsom, including a station now known as Worcester Park. In 1865 the

area around Worcester Park Farm was bought by the Landed Estates Company, together with other areas outside the old park boundary and the development of the modern Worcester Park began. On the triangular piece of land between The Avenue and St. Mary's Road the Company had a small corrugated-iron church built in 1866 to serve the new estate. It is believed to have been supplied by a firm called J.C.Humphreys, who could offer a range of corrugated-iron buildings from a simple one-room construction for 50 children at £ 63 to a large hall to hold about 420 persons at £ 391. The church was known locally as the Iron Church, or sometimes the Tin Church.

It so happens that there is an Ordnance Survey map based on a survey that was carried out in 1866, and it provides a useful picture of Cuddington Parish at that time. Some two dozen detached houses are shown along The Great Avenue (now The Avenue) between Royal Avenue and Worcester Park Station, and a few more along Royal Avenue. Towards the centre of the parish is Nonsuch Park and the Mansion; apart from Harefield House on the road to Cheam, the remainder of the parish is largely made up of farms, those already referred to plus Cherry Orchard Farm, Manor Farm (Cuddington Court Farm), Warren Farm and Walnut Tree Farm at the southern tip of the parish. So one may deduce that after the destruction of Cuddington Village until the development of the Worcester Park area, the population of Cuddington parish consisted almost entirely of Nonsuch Court Officials and palace workers plus farmers and farm workers. The people associated with the palace would later be replaced by those associated with The Mansion. Further evidence that pre-development Cuddington was a sparsely populated area is provided by the 1861 census returns which give a population of 148 whereas that of Ewell was 1,922. By 1871 the population was up to 375 and this had risen to 774 by 1901, by which time the figure for Ewell was 3,338.

The congregation of the Iron Church soon aspired to having a more substantial church erected. By the early 1890s, deterioration of the building made its replacement a matter of urgency. The land on which it stood was acquired so that it could be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and with the help of wealthy supporters a new church was built which was consecrated in 1895. It was designed by A.Thomas and built of flint, with a polygonal apse and a fleche. A major benefactor was Mr. Charles Smith. In 1959 the west end of the church was extended with a gallery, choir vestry and new west window by the celebrated glass artist Lawrence Lee, who also designed windows for the rebuilt Coventry Cathedral. The Revd. Idwal Jones was able to acquire a stone and a tile from the original St. Mary's during the 1959 excavation of Nonsuch Palace, and these were incorporated in the porch of the church. There were further improvements in 1994 when the old church hall was demolished and work began on new meeting rooms, which were opened in 1995, attached to the west end of the church. Prior to the building of the new church, the Iron Church was moved to a position close to Worcester Park Station and put to other uses. It was long ago demolished.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners considered that there was a good opportunity to revive the parish of Cuddington, and the newly built church was declared to be 'the parish church of the parish of Cuddington, in lieu of the old parish church of St. Mary (demolished in 1538), as fully in all respects as if the new church of St. Mary had been originally the parish church of the same parish.'

Figs. 5 & 6. The 1895 Church of St. Mary, Cuddington.

The development of the northern end of the old parish was followed by the growth of housing estates in other parts during this century. The big scheme that led to the present Stoneleigh commenced in 1932, and towards the end of the 1930s Gleesons began building in the East Ewell area. Development of the southern end of the old parish along Banstead Road followed. New populations springing up have made it necessary to create new parishes out of old ones, and adjust boundaries. Cuddington has been severely affected. Part of the parish was lost by the creation of the parish of St. Paul, Nork in 1931, although at that time a portion of the parish of Ewell was annexed to Cuddington. There were further losses in 1948 when St. Francis of Assisi, Ruxley Lane and St. John the Baptist, Stoneleigh, became independent parishes. They had been daughter churches of St. Mary's and had been opened in 1934 and 1935 respectively. Also in 1948, portions of Cuddington were annexed to the parishes of Ewell, Cheam and St. Philip, Cheam Common. The present ecclesiastical parish of Cuddington is the comparatively small area with boundaries that include Worcester Park Road, Highdown Drive, Stoneleigh Avenue, part of Cunliffe Road, Mavis Avenue and Kingston Road. Within this area are the Epsom & Ewell Borough Council ward of Cuddington and part of the ward of Auriol.

Cuddington Hospital:

Cuddington Hospital was built in 1897 as an isolation hospital to serve Sutton, Carshalton, Leatherhead and Epsom District Councils. It had seven wards, each in an attractive white-painted bungalow, and surrounded by flower beds. In later years it was given over to geriatric nursing and administered by Epsom District Hospital. Cuddington Hospital, which stood at the extreme southern tip of the parish, was closed in about 1980. The buildings were still standing in 1995, but they have now been demolished and the area developed for housing.

What might have been:

Suppose that Henry VIII had not come across Cuddington Village when out hunting and it had not become the site of Nonsuch Palace. It is likely that the church would still be there, and that, given its proximity to London, the village would have attracted well-to-do merchants in the same way as Ewell did, so that there could well be some fine eighteenth-and nineteenth-century houses Although Cuddington lacked the gushing springs of water that Ewell had, it is on the spring line and a water supply would not have been a problem. However, without the palace and the park it is unlikely that Cuddington would have escaped being built on: there would be bricks, mortar and concrete all the way from Ewell.

Acknowledgments:

Numerous people have provided information that has helped the author write this brief history. In particular he would express thanks to the staffs of Surrey Record Office and Suffolk Record Office and, for information on the present St. Mary's Cuddington, the Revd. Colin Cheeseman and Mr. Robert Leach.

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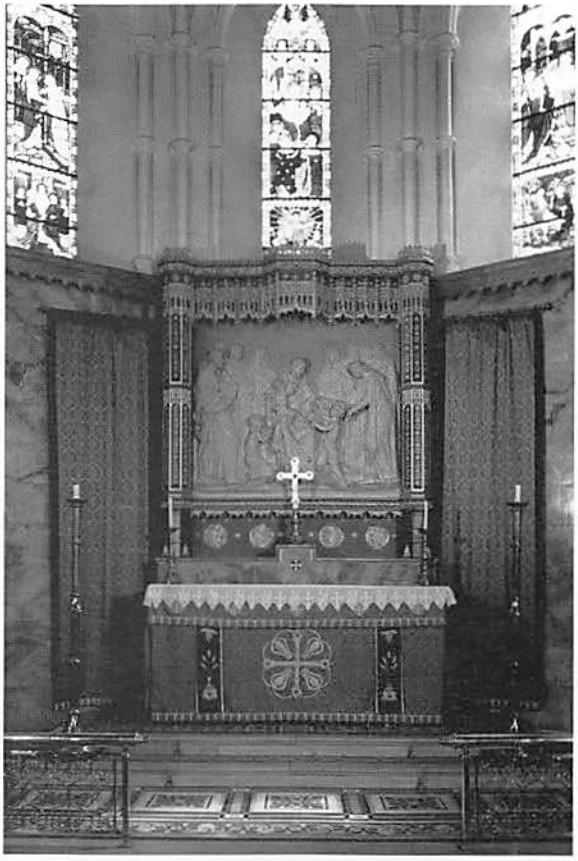

Fig. 7. The Altar at St. Mary's Church, Cuddington. The Reredos was one of the many donations by Charles Smith.

NEW FACILITIES FOR SURREY HISTORIANS
Surrey History Centre

David Robinson
County Archivist

This year, instead of the usual article on new material for Surrey historians, I am writing about the new Surrey History Centre. The completion of Surrey History Centre will have a major impact on Surrey historians. Even those who have not used the record offices at County Hall and Guildford or Surrey Local Studies Library and who may not expect to visit us at Woking will be affected by our ability to promote local access to material for the study of Surrey history.

The story so far:

In the past two issues of Surrey History I have described Surrey County Council's decision in 1995 to provide a new Surrey History Centre at Woking with capital funding of £ 3.65 million together with a County Council-owned site and the Heritage Lottery Fund decision to provide £ 2.74 million to make the Centre a larger and higher quality building and one which would house a wider range of services. The design was completed in 1996 and construction began in December of that year. During the next eighteen months the building arose, first as a steel skeleton, then as a brick-clad structure and finally, when the internal works were completed, as a building ready for occupation. It was handed over to the Chairman of the County Council on 18th. May. A number of minor works remained to be completed but we were able to begin furnishing the Centre and to complete our plans for the removal.

When *Surrey History* appears in print in November 1998 we expect to have been open to the public for a week. As I write in July I am aware of how much has been achieved but also of how much remains to be done. In particular the removal of our collections is only half complete and the furnishing of the public areas has not begun. Nevertheless we are at present on target and the first members of staff are on the point of moving in. I apologise to anyone who will have been inconvenienced by the period in which Surrey Record Office at County Hall, Guildford Muniment Room and Surrey Local Studies Library have been closed. Bringing together collections from five locations and staff from four of them, and working out how to provide a friendly, helpful and efficient service in a new building is not an easy task. The possibilities for delay in removals or fitting out were considerable. During September and October some of you will have acted as guinea pigs by visiting us and testing our service. We have preferred to fix an opening date on which we can be as confident as possible that we can offer the best possible service to everyone who uses Surrey

Fig. 1. Surrey History Centre: Conservation Room. There is still need for heavy book-binding presses as well as the most modern equipment.

Fig. 2. Surrey History Centre: One of the two main repositories, with mobile shelving.

History Centre. How have we reached this point and, more important, what are our plans for the future ?

The building:

The design of Surrey History Centre has been a cooperative effort. From the beginning the project architect and engineer, Hugh Edgar and Ian Milford of the Epsom firm of W.S. Atkins, worked with us to produce a design which we believe is a rational response to our brief. The linear design was shaped by our needing to produce a ground plan which would meet our needs if we were dependent solely on the County-Council funding, but which could easily be extended if we were successful in our Lottery application. The public areas face north onto Goldsworth Road. These comprise a large entrance foyer where visitors will be welcomed by staff at a help desk. At the back of the foyer there are a cloak and locker room, a small refreshment area with vending machines, an interview room and toilets. The foyer will also house instant-access computer terminals with general guidance and heritage information, and sales and display facilities. A grant from the Arts Lottery Fund has enabled us to commission a tapestry, 15 metres long by 1·5 metres high, to hang at the back of the foyer, and two large engraved glass panels, one at either side of the entrance. The tapestry, designed by Philip Sanderson and woven at West Dean, and the glass panels designed by Martin Donlin, are based on aspects of Surrey and its history and the work and collections of the Centre. To the right of the foyer is the reading room which will house 30 table spaces, 30 microfilm/fiche readers, a table for consulting large maps and plans, and two carrels for viewing videos, in particular of historical Surrey film held by the South-East Film and Video Archive, together with finding aids and open access books.

To the left of the foyer there is a room which will normally be divided into two by a folding acoustic screen. One half of the room will be used for talks, visits and educational activities, including school groups. There is a built-in projector for slides and videos. The other half will normally be used for exhibitions and displays, but can be used as an extension to the lecture area if numbers extend beyond the forty people whom the lecture area can hold. The foyer and exhibition/lecture area will be available for use at times when the rest of the Centre is closed.

The repositories run through the centre of the building. There are two large repositories, four-metres high and equipped with mobile racking, and a small specialist repository for black-and-white photographs, film and electronic records. There is a freezer to store colour slides. One-quarter of our repository space will be empty when we complete our move. This should allow for approximately twenty years' acquisitions on current predictions. We are hoping to use our vacant storage to earn income by offering a service to organisations which hold documents or similar items which need the highest standards of preservation. The repositories have external-thickness brick walls and a thick concrete roof to provide a high level of thermal inertia. This saves on fuel bills and will reduce temperature fluctuation if the air conditioning should fail. The air conditioning will therefore be used primarily to control relative humidity and maintain air circulation. The temperature will be maintained at 16°C (61°F) and relative humidity at 55% (35% in the special repository). In the event of a fire in

the repositories they will be filled with a mixture of argon and nitrogen sufficient to extinguish the fire without harming people or the environment.

The southern side of the building is two-storey and houses the staff working areas. On the ground floor are the rooms for receiving, cleaning, sorting and packaging new accessions, an assistants' work room together with a small photographic studio and dark room. On the first floor there are an open-plan room for the archivists and librarians, conservation room, and offices. Our education officer has a room for small meetings, for example with teachers. The county archaeological unit is located at the eastern end of the building and an office is provided for Surrey Museums Consultative Committee staff.

The service:

When Surrey History Service was set up four years ago, bringing together the archive and local studies services, albeit still on different sites, we had three aims: to rescue and preserve archive and local studies materials for the study of Surrey, in whatever medium; to make these materials available for study and assist visitors and enquirers using them; and to promote the study of Surrey history. We have achieved a great deal so far but the new Surrey History Centre marks a leap forward in our ability to meet our aims. The building will provide the best possible conditions for preserving the unique and fragile collections, matching the highest standards both in storage and in conservation facilities. It will also provide good facilities for our visitors. They will benefit first of all from our bringing together the archives at present consulted at County Hall and Guildford Muniment Room (many of which have in recent years been held in two out-stores) and the local studies collections held at Surrey Local Studies Library. Although users living near Kingston or Guildford will be inconvenienced to some extent by needing to come to Woking to consult unique materials, it is striking how often researchers are not aware that there is material relevant to their researches in another location. Few Guildford researchers, for example, use the important material for Guildford which they could find in the County Council records or other countywide collections held at Kingston. Visual materials, such as watercolours, prints and photographs, at present divided, will come together. You will be able, for example, to see Hassell water colours of a building alongside modern photographs, original documents and maps; newspaper descriptions of an event alongside archives relating to it. It will increasingly be possible to locate Surrey materials held elsewhere, whether within the county or outside, as we become a focal point for information about research sources we do not ourselves hold.

We shall for the first time have sufficient space for all our users even at the busiest times, unless numbers increase even more dramatically than we are predicting. It is still sensible to let us know of your visit in advance, especially if you are not sure that we have the items you wish to consult. Ordering documents within the Centre will now be done, as in the Public Record Office and Hampshire Record Office, by computer. We shall happily assist anyone who has difficulty with the new technologies: they are here to help, not to intimidate. There will be improved copying facilities, although even the best equipment does not remove the problems relating to large or fragile items.

Other facilities:

We shall experiment in our use of the lecture and exhibition areas. We would expect to use the lecture room for groups of children, teachers' groups, adult education classes, lecture series and individual lectures. It will also be available for hire. The exhibition area will be used for our own exhibitions but will also be available as a showcase for local museums and organisations in the county. We would hope to be able to mount cooperative exhibitions bringing together the work and collections of a number of Surrey institutions. We would consider hiring travelling exhibitions if they were on themes directly relevant to Surrey or to subjects covered by our collections. We warmly encourage group visits to see behind the scenes at the History Centre. We also expect that many individuals and groups will visit us specifically to view our tapestry and glass panels. The sales area in our foyer will be a showcase for publications on Surrey history and we look forward to selling local society publications.

Education:

I arrived in Surrey in 1975 enthused by the work of my previous record office, Staffordshire, in the use of archives in education. With neither a meeting room nor an expert member of staff it proved impossible to develop an effective service here. The additional revenue funding provided by Surrey County Council to staff the new Centre has enabled us to create a post of Education Officer. David Bond, Hampshire Record Office's education officer, advised us on the appointment, and Janet Nixon, a trained teacher who was already working as Information Assistant at Surrey Local Studies Library, was appointed. Janet began her education duties on a part-time basis in May and became full-time when Surrey Local Studies Library closed. She has already organised a children's poster competition which will have been judged at our Family Fun Day just before we open to the public and she is developing links with schools so that we can work with them in delivering the national curriculum.

Local Access:

Surrey History Centre will be the base for continuing and developing the local history forums which we have begun to develop in the county in conjunction with libraries, museums and local history societies. Our Local Access Officer will be available to promote the forums, build up their resources and develop local services in other ways where appropriate. Our lists and indexes are being converted to electronic formats for distant searching. Our place index was converted to an ACCESS database and placed on our Web site three years ago. There are at present over 17,000 entries searchable by place, date or any word occurring in the entry. It has until now been restricted to documents held at Kingston but with the merger of our holdings comes the merger of our finding aids and entries are now being added for documents formerly held at Guildford Muniment Room. Our detailed archive catalogues are now being converted for searching using STATUS-IQ, which also allows for searching for any word and

by date or range of dates. So far there are 4,000 catalogues converted, about 50% of the total. By October this will have increased and the catalogues should be available on the Web. Our reference library catalogue is accessible on the Surrey Library catalogue and Surrey Local Studies Library indexes and information cards are now being computerised. We are beginning to put scanned images, especially of pictorial material, on the Web.

Welcome:

So now we await you, the local history community in Surrey, as well as visitors and enquirers from the rest of Britain and around the world who have Surrey interests or ancestors. The staff who welcome you will be mostly the same as those whom you have met over the years at Guildford and Kingston. There will be some new faces because we are able to appoint some additional staff in view of the greater number of visitors we are expecting and the wider range of services we are offering. One well-known face will no longer be seen, at least as a member of staff. John Janaway, who initiated Surrey Local Studies Library and has led it for the whole of its seventeen-year life, has taken early retirement to pursue his interests in local history research, writing and publishing. He will not be lost to Surrey history and we expect to see him at Surrey History Centre as a researcher.

Some things will be different. One welcome change will be the more spacious conditions for study. Another, which may be greeted initially with more mixed feelings, will be the increased use of computers. We are doing our best to make these user-friendly and will gladly help anyone who has difficulties. The catalogues will remain in their traditional form as well as on computer for the foreseeable future.

We are readily accessible, only ten minutes' walk from Woking station, and we have free on-site car parking, accessed from Kingsway. We look forward to seeing you !

Surrey History Centre
130 Goldsworth Road,
Woking, Surrey
GU21 1ND
Telephone: 01483 594594
Fax: 01483 594595
Up-to-date information will be widely circulated and can be obtained from Surrey History Centre.

INDEX TO VOLUME 5

Note: The page numbers of each issue are: No. 1: 1-64; No. 2: 65-128; No. 3: 129-192; No. 4: 193-256; No. 5: 257-320

Fig. 3. Surrey History Centre: Entrance Foyer during the fitting-out process.

Publications

The Surrey Local History Council has produced *Surrey History* for many years and the majority of the back numbers are still available. In addition the following extra publications are in print:

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

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

Kingston's Past Rediscovered
by *Joan Wakeford*
1990 £ 6.95
(published jointly with Kingston upon Thames Archaeological Society)
[Nearly out-of-print - remaining stocks with Kingston Heritage Service]

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

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

Two Hundred Years of Aeronautics & Aviation in Surrey 1785-1985
by *Sir Peter Masefield*
1993 £ 3-95

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

These books are published for the Surrey Local History Council by Phillimore & Co., Ltd., of Chichester. They are available from many bookshops in the County. Members are invited to obtain their copies from the Hon. Secretary, c/o The Guildford Institute of the University of Surrey, Ward Street, Guildford, Surrey. GU1 4LH.

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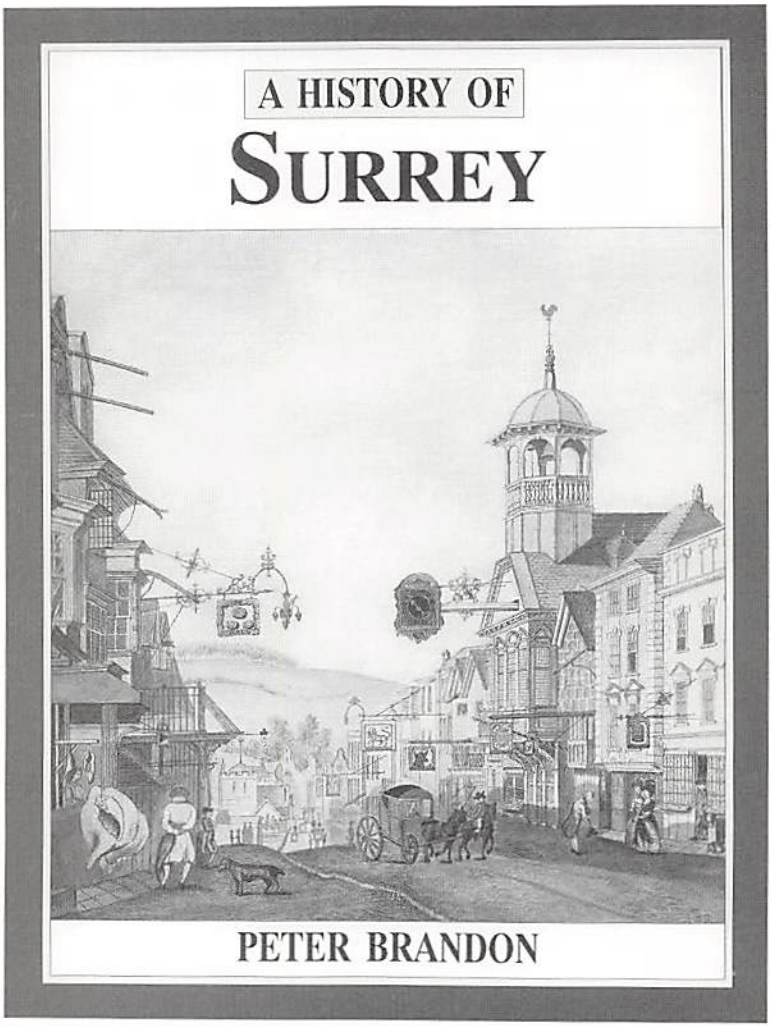

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