SURREY HISTORY

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November 1973



Outwood Post Mill



Alfold House



Coal Tax Post, Esher



The Old Jolly Farmer, Farnham now William Cobbett (Cobbett's Birthplace)



St. Peter's Cross and Cage, Lingfield

LOCAL HISTORY GROUP

SURREY HISTORY

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	CON	TENTS				
			• • • •		••••	2
Surrey Records by Marguerite Gollancz The Military Occupation of Farnham During the				••••	3	
Civil War, 1642-1646 by D.E. Hall				7		
Hedgerow Dating by Elfi Outline of a Study at Sh	ere on the Ident	ification	and		••••	15
History of Village Ho						17
by Sir Jack Sutherland Harris Samuel Vassall and the West Surrey Wool Industry by A.L. Crowe					17 26	
Local History from Fire						32
Price to members of S	Surrey Local His	tory Soci	eties 25p	; to non-	-members	: 40p



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INTRODUCTION

Each autumn in recent years the Annual Local History Symposium at Dorking has attracted a considerable audience and an increasing number of exhibits of good quality from Local History Societies in the county. Another index of growth of interest in historical studies is the steady rise in the number of local societies, the majority of which are members of the Surrey Local History Council. In addition to providing a worth-while hobby for their members, these societies are also extending our knowledge of the environment in many important ways. With these developments in mind, the Surrey Local History Council decided to make a positive contribution by the publication of a new magazine, 'Surrey History'. Several local societies already publish Proceedings or Special Papers and 'Surrey History' will not interfere with these, nor will it compete with the Surrey Archaeological Collections, which is both more learned and wider in scope, covering also the field of excavation. It will provide a useful forum for studies over the whole range of local history, including aspects of geography. personal memories and by-gone life in the ancient county, and will allow some discussion at an earlier stage than publication in a learned journal. Initially it will appear annually and it gives me great pleasure to commend the first copy to you.

Kenneth Gravett,
Chairman
Surrey Local History Council

The illustrations on the cover are by Timothy Grimm, A.R.I.B.A.

SURREY RECORDS

Marguerite Gollancz County Archivist

I was pleased to accept our general editor's invitation to write a short note on Surrey records, with particular reference to those in my care, and by so doing extend a welcome to future searchers.

I would like to stress, however, that in their own interests, before visiting a record repository, local historians should discuss their proposed project with fellow searchers, more particularly members of their Local History or Archaeological Society, who may already have gained some experience of the pitfalls and joys of historical research.

They should also visit their district library in order to consult not only Surrey county and parish histories but, equally, books devoted to local history in general and methods of research including the use of archives. The number of books devoted to all aspects of local history is increasing rapidly and many of these are published primarily to help the growing band of amateur local historians. Three books may perhaps be mentioned: W.G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 1959, F.G. Emmison, Archives and Local History, 1966, and An English Local History Handlist edited by F.W. Kuhlicke and F.G. Emmison in 1965 for the Historical Association. This indispensable book list is referred to in A Brief Guide for Local Historians in Surrey, issued by The Surrey Local History Council in 1967, but now almost out of print.

In connection with preliminary studies, the amateur historian will wish to learn more about the contents of the Surrey Record Office and the Guildford Muniment Room, and also to find out where else certain types of records relating to the county may be found. It is hoped before too long to issue a short guide to the Surrey Record Office and to revise the Summary Guide to Guildford Muniment Room issued in 1967 and almost out of print.

We must turn now to the Surrey Record Office at County Hall, Penrhyn Road, Kingston upon Thames KT1 2DN. This is the place of deposit for non-current records of the County Council, records of the Surrey Court of Quarter Sessions (responsible for the county administration before the creation of County Councils in 1888), and of those of other administrative bodies now or at one time active in the county including, for example, Highway and School Boards, Poor Law Guardians and Urban District, Rural District and Parish Councils. Registers and other ecclesiastical records of parishes in that part of the Diocese of Southwark within the administrative county, as it was until the creation of the Greater London Council, are deposited here, as are the diocesan copies of tithe apportionments and maps for the historic county. A considerable number of manorial records, accumulations of deeds and family, estate and business papers have been placed here either on permanent

loan or as gifts, through the generosity of custodians and owners, whom the County Archivist is pleased to advise, even if they do not wish to place their records on deposit.

Records of Quarter Sessions and Magistrates Courts are among the public records covered by the Public Records Acts 1958 and 1967. The Surrey records are held in the Surrey Record Office: by appointment under these Acts. Those for the Surrey Court of Quarter Sessions survive from 1659/60 and, until 1889, cover the historic county. The Court of Quarter Sessions sat at different towns including Guildford, Kingston and Reigate; also Southwark and later Croydon, Croydon being superseded by Newington where, in the 19th century, the Sessions House became the headquarters of the Clerk of the Peace for Surrey. When County Hall was opened as the administrative headquarters of the County Council in 1893, some records of the Court were moved to Kingston; others were transferred later, mainly in 1953; others, unfortunately, were destroyed. When using the volume in the series Guides to Surrey Archives devoted to Quarter Sessions records and other records of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Surrey, issued in 1931 by the Surrey Record Society and the Surrey County Council, it should be remembered that records there noted as being in the Newington Sessions House are (if extant) in the Surrey Record Office. The editions of the Quarter Sessions Rolls and Order Books, 1659/60-1668, were printed by the Surrey County Council and to 1666 also by the Surrey Record Society. A typescript (with a parish index) for the years 1669-1691 may be consulted in the Surrey Record Office. In addition to the records of the Court itself there are the administrative records, registers, enrolments, plans and other documents created by or deposited with the Clerk of the Peace. Among these are, for example, lists of freeholders, that is those men who were qualified for jury service (1696-1703, 1762-1824) often including their status or occupation, inclosure awards (most of them with plans) and, from 1789, plans of public works prepared in connection with Parliamentary Bills and including schemes for works that were not carried out. These plans, with the reference books that accompany them, more particularly those relating to railways. provide a useful source for the study of land use and occupation.

It should be noted that records of Courts of Assize are preserved in the Public Record Office at Chancery Lane, London WC2 1LR, the Surrey records forming part of those of the home circuit to 1876 and the south-east circuit from 1893. Both Courts of Quarter Sessions and Assizes were abolished under the Courts Act 1971, and are

superseded by Crown Courts.

In the Surrey Record Office records relating to schools include minutes of some 18 School Boards established under the Education Act of 1870, those of School Managers and Governors and school log books, some of these starting in 1862. Business records include the archives of White of Dorking, agricultural engineers and surveyors, founded in 1817, the Merstham and the Dorking Lime Works (from 1872 and 1865 respectively) and several gas undertakings. Large family and estate accumulations include the Goulburn papers and the Tollemache records. These and smaller accumulations include deeds, estate papers, correspondence, maps and accounts relating to properties in many parishes, as well as court rolls and other manorial

documents for about 115 manors.

The Guildford Muniment Room at Castle Arch, Guildford, is now also under the care of the County Archivist. Here may be found non-current Guildford borough records, registers and other ecclesiastical records of parishes in the diocese of Guildford (including a few Hampshire parishes), together with accumulations of manor court rolls, deeds, maps and papers relating mainly; but by no means exclusively, to the south-west of the county. Large family and estate accumulations include the Loseley MSS, Onslow, Bray, Godwin-Austen and Leigh-Bennett (of Addington) archives. Records of the Wey and Godalming Navigations are important business archives deposited here. A list of deposited parish registers is available (2d plus postage).

The archives of the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, including those of the former Boroughs of Surbiton and of Malden and Coombe, are made available to students in the Surrey Record Office. It is, however, essential to give the County Archivist, who is also Honorary Borough Archivist, at least two days' notice of records required. A detailed *Guide*, published in 1971, is available from the Town Clerk at Guildhall, Kingston upon Thames, KT1 1EU (price £1 plus 12p postage and packing).

Changes in county administration are of course reflected in the records of the county. Those who are interested in the history of Staines and Sunbury should in the first place consult records in the Middlesex Section of the Greater London Record Office, 1 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London, SW1H 9BS (telephone 01-633 4431).

The London Section of the Greater London Record Office at County Hall, London SE1 7PB, holds records not only relating to that part of Surrey which became in 1889 part of the new county of London, but also certain records covering the whole ancient county. Among these are probate records of the Commissary Court of the Bishop of Winchester in Surrey and of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, as well as certain other surviving records of the Archdeaconry. The series of wills (not always complete) include original wills, 1553–1857, registered wills, 1480–1857, and probate act books, 1662–1858. A fuller list is printed in the Bulletin of the Surrey Archaeological Society, no. 68, August 1970. Applications to consult records should be addressed to the Head Archivist (telephone 01-633 7808/6851).

Other records of the Bishopric of Winchester, out of which the modern dioceses of Southwark and Guildford were carved, are held in the Hampshire Record Office, 20 Southgate Street, Winchester (telephone Winchester 63153).

The Lambeth (Minet) Library, 52 Knatchbull Road, London, SE5 9QY (telephone 01-733 3279) holds an important collection of Surrey maps, deeds and other documents, books, engravings and parish register transcripts. A Short Guide was printed in 1965.

These transcripts supplement those printed by the Surrey Parish Registers Society (now defunct) and the Surrey Record Society. The Record Society exists to publish editions of records relating to the historic county. Many of the volumes have important introductions. The texts range in date from the 12th to the 19th century and should be consulted by all Surrey historians, as should the shorter

texts and the articles based on original documents appearing in the Surrey Archaeological Collections.

The first duty of the archivist is to the records in his custody. Care is taken that conditions of storage are secure and that the records are preserved from careless handling, damp and other physical dangers. Records in bad condition are repaired by the Record Office archive repairers. Skilled listing preserves the original archival arrangement and relationship one to another in the group. Records less than 30 years old are generally not open to public inspection. In some cases longer terms of closure are imposed at the request of the depositor.

The archivest's second duty is to the public. At the Surrey Record Office the search room is open on Monday to Friday, at present from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. It is also usually open on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month for the benefit of those unable to come into the office during the week. Prior notice of a visit, by letter or telephone, is appreciated. Proposed Saturday visits must be arranged by midday on the previous Thursday. In the search room lists and indexes (under name of parish) can be consulted, under the guidance of an assistant archivist, who also supervises the use by the public of records deposited in the office. The telephone number is 01-546 1050, extension 179 for the search room and general enquiries; extension 174 for the County Archivist in person.

The search room at the Guildford Muniment Room is very small. In their own interest all searchers should always make appointments. The opening hours are at present Monday to Friday, 9 a.m.—12.30 p.m. and 1.30 p.m.—4.45 p.m.; Saturday, 9 a.m.—12.30 p.m. and 1.30 p.m.—3.45 p.m. The telephone number is Guildford 66551.

Lists of Accessions to Repositories are printed annually by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, National Register of Archives, and are available in many libraries. Accessions to Surrey repositories appear as an appendix to the annual reports of the Surrey Record Society. The lists themselves are available in the Surrey Record Office, the Greater London Record Office, and many also at Guildford.

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF FARNHAM DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1642–1646

D.E. Hall

Farnham Museum Society

It was a common practice during the First Civil War for Royalist and Parliamentary forces alike to place garrisons in towns and villages and to fortify individual manor houses. Although this had a tendency to tie up bodies of troops who could well have recruited into one or other of the several field armies for active service, in some cases a strategic value was achieved by establishing and maintaining influence over an important line of communication, a magazine or arsenal, or an exit to the sea.

The occupation of the town and castle of Farnham offered several such advantages. Quite apart from its prestige and political value as one of the principal towns of 17th-century Surrey, Farnham lay astride two important roads, namely the London-Southampton route through Winchester and the east-west thoroughfare of the Harroway providing a link to Kent, a factor to prove crucial in the Royalist strategies of the 1643 campaigns in the south. Whoever held Farnham also controlled the London-Portsmouth road and the ways into Sussex. The security of the grain trade overland through the Farnham wheat market (and thence of flour and bread), the iron foundries (especially those of East Sussex) and of the gunpowder mills of the Tillingbourne valley all lay in the grasp of those who, for King or Parliament, gained the town and held it. It was in fact economic factors such as the ones mentioned which in the long run finally decided the outcome of the conflict and the ultimate downfall of Charles I.

Apart from a brief occupation by what seems to have been a hastily-raised part of the posse comitatus under the royalist High Sheriff, John Denham, during the latter part of November 1642, and a punitive hit-and-run raid by a brigade of Royalist horse in January of 1645, the history of the town and castle of Farnham is dominated by the presence of Parliamentary forces for almost the entire duration of the four years of the First Civil War. Not that it remained safe from the threat of Royalist capture, however, for during November and early December of 1643 a Royalist army, some 8,000 strong, commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton, lay in a wide arc to the west of the town from Odiham through Alton to Petersfield and fighting occurred in many places even within Farnham Park, less than two miles to the North of the castle, capture of which was only narrowly averted.

At other times the castle garrison was continuously occupied in patrol duties designed to check the forays of the Royalist forces blockaded in Basing House and Winchester Castle, especially during the early part of 1645 when things were getting very desperate. The capture of a Chichester grain wagon, the plunder of driven cattle and the firing of some buildings in Crondall were events typical of those

which kept the Farnham Castle garrison very much aware of their Royalist counterparts only a few miles away. It was one such raiding expedition to fire the town of Odiham on the night of 1 June 1644 which led to the capture of a considerable portion of the original defenders, the besieging of Basing House for 19 weeks by county forces from Hants, Sussex, Kent and Surrey (including a contingent from the Farnham Castle garrison) and the mounting of a relief expedition from the King's Oxford army, under Colonel Henry Gage which broke the blockade.⁴

The Parliamentary occupation of Farnham by military forces under its command divides itself into two categories. There was the Castle garrison, who were more or less permanently stationed in the town, and secondly there was the Parliamentary field army which used Farnham as its headquarters, base and arsenal at various times but mainly during 1643 and 1644.

The first regular garrison of the Castle appears to have been that commanded by George Wither, the Hampshire poet and pamphleteer, who as a Captain in the Surrey militia, was appointed on 14 October 1642, with a weak company of some 60 musketeers, some labourers and a half-strength troop of Surrey horse, and charged with putting the Castle into some sort of defensive order. Wither seems to have provided cattle, victuals and carts from his own estate, for which there is evidence to suggest that its location was Wanborough, on the northern slopes of the ridge now known as the Hog's Back. He was an unstable and impulsive man, at odds with Sir Richard Onslow to whom he was, among others, locally answerable, and thereafter deserted his post on or about 10 November 1642. The empty Castle was then occupied for a time by the Royalist posse under Sheriff John Denham but he in his turn was ousted when a small force of horse and dragoons commanded by Colonel Sir William Waller stormed it on 26 November 1642.

Waller's horse departed to undertake, with an enlarged brigade of cavalry and dragoons, the storming of Marlborough and the temporary recapture of Winchester; the indications being that a temporary holding force of dragoons was left at Farnham pending the consolidation by a more substantial garrison. The dragoons were almost certainly from the London companies raised for the Earl of Essex's army and commanded overall by Colonel Richard Browne, a London wood-merchant. Who was actually in charge of the Farnham detachment is not clear but it may well have been Major Nathaniel Whetham, whose name appears on warrants served from the Castle upon the Hundred of Godalming and who held a commission as Captain, then Major, in Colonel Browne's dragoons in the winter of 1642/43.

Whetham was transferred to the Governorship of Northampton during the summer of 1643 by which time what appears to have been the permanent garrison of Farnham Castle had been installed. This included at least one troop of Surrey trained-horse and a regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Samuel Jones, which, from their name Greencoats would seem to have worn at least green uniform coats. Recruited from the Surrey militia this regiment would, theoretically, have mustered 10 companies with a nominal strength of anything up to 1,200 officers and men. It is unlikely that anything like this number were on the muster roll and a figure of nearer 800 seems more probable. The actual numbers in the garrison would have

been much less since four or five companies of the Farnham foot served in a number of cainpaigns and expeditions undertaken by the Parliamentary army which operated in the south. The names of some of its other officers are known and the action in which it fought included:⁹

1643 -	6-15 November	Abortive siege of Basing	? 4 companies			
	26-29 November	Defence of Farnham Castle				
	13 December	Battle of Alton	4 companies			
1644-	March	Cheriton campaign				
	18 May—late July	Oxford campaign	4 or 5 companies			
	1 June	Odiham fight	detachment			
	29 June	Battle of Cropredy Bridge	4 or 5 companies			
	4 June-19 November	Siege of Basing House	2 companies			
	September	Western relief expedition	? 4 companies			
	27 October	Second Battle of Newbury	detachment			
1645-						
	November to 6 April 1646					

? disgarrisoned and sent to besieging force at Donnington Castle, near Newbury.

Political strife coloured the relations of some of the figures in the local administration of West Surrey during the early part of 1645 and Colonel Samuel Jones did not escape unscathed. By 10 April of that year he had been replaced by a Mr. John Fielder who seems to have held the appointment of Governor of Farnham Castle jointly with a Colonel Whichcott, nominated by the Committee of the Militia of the City of London. Fielder was to retain as many of the old forces as were willing to stay and to supplement the garrison as he saw fit. By this time the newly-constituted Model Army of Parliament had taken the field and the remnants both of horse and foot from the three former armies of the Earl of Essex, Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller quartered about the West Surrey/ Hampshire border until they were paid off. For a time a composite force of cavalry under Colonel Edmund Ludlow controlled the area to contain the foraging parties from Winchester and Basing but by 1 May the county forces of Surrey and Hants. were obliged to assume the burden. There is documentary evidence to show that at some time or other all these units were quartered in or operated near Farnham. 10

After the fall of Basing House on 14 October 1645, the commander of the Parliamentary brigade which achieved the final reduction of that fortress, Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell, wrote in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons a recommendation that the garrison of Farnham be withdrawn and, together with some of the Chichester garrison and other forces, be assigned to a besieging force to invest Donnington Castle. By the end of 1645 Farnham ceased to play any significant role in the fighting against the surviving Royalist forces in the south and the remnants of the Farnham foot played out their role in snuffing out one of the few remaining centres of resistance early in 1646 at Donnington.

The other major component in the military presence at Farnham was the army of what was known as the Southern Association of the counties of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey and Kent, of which Sir William Waller was commander-in-chief and Major-General. Waller had enjoyed a successful campaign in the west during the spring and summer of 1643 and, indeed, had used Farnham as a staging point for assembling the nucleus of his Western army during February of that year. The Western Royalist army under Sir Ralph Hopton defeated Waller's forces at the Battle of Roundway Down above Devizes on 13 July 1643, and this victory paved the way for an advance by the reconstituted Royalist army toward the south-eastern counties. A junction was anticipated with the King's Oxford army and control of Sussex and Kent by the Royalist sympathisers there, assisted by military support from Hopton, would have rendered the position of the capital, of Parliament headquarters and the nerve centre of operations, very precarious indeed. The logical place at which to concentrate the defence of the region was Farnham.

An ordinance was passed by Parliament empowering the Committee of the Militia of the City of London to raise forces to go under the command of Sir William Waller (6 September 1643) and another ordinance, associationg the four southern Home Counties together, provided for the raising, recruiting and maintaining of volunteer or impressed foot and horse also under Waller's command (4 November 1643).14 A rendezvous was appointed at Farnham for 1 November, and for the next six weeks the towns and villages adjacent served as an armed camp for over 10,000 soldiers and camp followers with their horses, guns, waggons and baggage. The largest single contingent consisted of a brigade of London Militia, made up three regiments totalling over 4,000 men and the backbone of Waller's foot. Small units of foot recruited from the Southern Associated counties, especially Kent, and a scattering of Londoners, men from the West Country and even from Scotland made up the numbers in regiments recruited by Waller himself, Colonel Sir Arthur Heselrige and other senior officers, many of them Scots or Dutch in origin. The bulk of the horse were from the old Western Association cavalry who had stayed with Waller and included the heavy cuirassier regiment led by Heselrige as their colonel and known as the Lobsters from their body armour and accoutrements.

From mid-December onwards, Waller's army, reduced to about 5,000 men by the homeward departure of the London brigade, campaigned in West Sussex until immobilised by the winter snows. Following the spring campaign, which culminated in the Battle of Cheriton, near Alresford on 29 March 1644, Waller's army regained much of the ground lost after his defeat at Roundway Down in the previous year but inexplicably, in a move which was as unpopular as it was unexpected, he fell back upon Farnham, which was reached by the bulk of his remaining troops by 17 April 1644. The re-muster and refit of his forces took a further month and it was not until 17 May that Waller's Southern Association Army took the field again to embark on the Oxford campaign of the summer of 1644.

It was a ragged, exhausted and starving remnant which, decimated to less than half its original strength of 9,000 or so, by desertion, sickness and defeat in battle, that finally straggled back to Farnham during the latter days of August 1644. Hastily

mustering no more than 3,000 horse and foot, this body resumed the offensive early in September, marching from Farnham in detachments, from 7 September onward, in an attempt to relieve the Earl of Essex's forces who were also in dire straits, surrounded on the Cornish peninsula of Lostwithiel. After the Second Newbury campaign which followed, the organisation of the three Parliamentary field armies of Essex, Manchester and Waller began to disintegrate and regiments were dispersed all over Southern England. From November 1644 until well into April of 1645 various bodies mainly of horse were quartered at Farnham either on temporary garrison duties, remustering or awaiting paying off and dispersal. There must have been very little opposition to the Royalist raiders as they swept through Hampshire reaching Farnham on 9 January 1645 only to retire as quickly as they had come to beat up quarters at Portsmouth and Christchurch. 15

Waller returned to Farnham on 13 January 1645 to set about regrouping a small army with which to continue the offensive in the West Country until the New Model Army of Parliament could take the field. The departure of this force during the first week of March marked the end of the burden of direct support for troops who were not of the garrison. Some foot remained, under the new governors, and thereafter such country troops as were obliged to quarter in the town during the course of their employment against the forays from Basing House and Winchester Castle. 15

It remains only to assess the effect of this occupation upon the fabric of the town and its inhabitants, and of the country round about. Such a complex subject can be given only scant treatment in a communication of this length and sources are limited.

A complicated system of taxation evolved as a result of efforts to raise... horses, arms, money and plate... with which to pay and equip the several field armies of Parliament. Additionally, householders were obliged to quarter troops and to feed them and provide for their mounts; the redemption of the billeting certificates in recompense was often protracted and frequently no payment was forthcoming. Some unfortunate people in areas of disputed territory found themselves pressed by both sides, either with simultaneous demands for money or provisions, or with alternate periods of occupation as the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. Individuals of known religious or political sympathy suffered more than most.

A number of examples of how the civil strife affected the inhabitants of the Hundred and township of Farnham and its fabric might well provide the best illustration. Horses were constantly in demand and many of the warrants issued by the Commissioners for the Western Division of Surrey or by the Commissaries of Waller's army were for dragoon mounts either charged upon specific Hundreds or upon named individuals. Collectors were appointed or, alternatively, a rendezvous was named to which the horses were to be brought and money was accepted in lieu of the animal. Payment was made according to a fixed scale of charges which varied according to the purpose for which the horses were required. In an agricultural economy the loss of horses was of crucial importance and later in the war a limit was placed upon the number of animals which could be requisitioned from any one individual.¹⁷

Oats, hay and other necessities for the cavalry mounts and carts for the baggage

train or artillery were demanded; the Castle garrison acquired bedding by warrant served upon the civilian population and when Waller's army descended upon Farnham the parishes around Godalming, Elstead and Crondall, to name but three, were faced with enormous requisitions for food and other provisions, notably cheese, bread or biscuit and bacon. On at least two occasions bread delivered to the commissary's quarters was not required and the suppliers were forced to re-purchase their own loaves. In fact a complex system of supply existed, the army having a considerable following of individuals who made a living by procuring victuals from the population at large and selling them to the army. The diet was supplemented, certainly while Waller's troops camped at Farnham, by deer poached from Alice Holt Forest, if not also from elsewhere, and one such foraging expedition is recorded as culminating in the capture of at least nine soldiers of one of the London regiments when surprised in a mist by Royalist patrols. 18

At a Council of War, courts-martial proceedings are on record which tell of the robbery of a Farnham miller, Thomas Collier, for which two troopers of Sir Arthur Heselrige's horse were held responsible. Travellers on the road between Alton and Farnham were robbed and the offenders, when identified and caught, were severely punished, sometimes by the ultimate penalty of hanging. A number of hangings were carried out for military offences, especially desertion, occasionally in the Market Place of Farnham, sometimes in the Park in front of the offender's regiment, and a hastily convened court-martial, on the day Waller's army departed in May 1644, ordered the death by hanging of at least three Kentish soldiers, the sentences being carried out possibly in a field which came to be known as Gallows field at Badshot outside the town. On the sentences were sentenced to be known as Gallows field at Badshot outside the town.

Undoubtedly it was the system of taxation by assessment of a person's land, goods or chattels, which broke and impoverished those of Royalist sympathy or at least who did not publicly declare support for Parliament when such as were the inhabitants of Farnham were within the latter's jurisdiction. The Vernon family of Culver Hall in West Street is perhaps the best-known example; worse off were those tamilies from which one or more members were known to be fighting in the King's service or who were Papists. They faced complete confiscation of all their possessions and even imprisonment. The Anglican clergy were not immune and the incumbent of St. Andrew's in Farnham, Paul Clapham, was obliged to follow the example of his Bishop, and literally flee, it is said, to Oxford.²¹ The disruptive effect upon the religious life of the townsfolk can be imagined. No record is to hand which describes the desecration of the parish church in the manner of many another elsewhere in the country but at least one fact is known. It was used to house the several hundreds of common soldiers taken prisoner after the Battle of Alton on 13 December 1643, until they had either changed allegiance and enlisted in the ranks of Waller's army or had left under escort for London and the prisons there, with the homeward-bound City regiments.²²

The Court Book of the Borough which contains the accounts for the town during this period shows a complete absence of entries for 1643/44 and scant entries for 1645. The accounts for 1646 show, however, a considerable list of items relating to the repair of various buildings about the town and similarly for 1647.²³ In certain instances the damage is attributable to the activities of soldiers, namely vandalism

and plunder. The obvious suspects are the apprentice regiments of London Auxiliaries in the City brigades, notoriously ill-disciplined, or possibly the mutinous Kentish Horse which gave Waller continuous trouble throughout their service in his army. The Castle itself was in disrepair by the end of the First Civil War, bearing the marks of the storming in November 1642 and the breaching of the wall by the eastern entry tower. It was not until the outbreak of the Second Civil War in the spring of 1648 that Parliament ordered the demolition of the Castle to prevent its capture and use by Royalist sympathisers.²⁴

Perhaps the conditions under which the citizens of Farnham endured the military occupation of their town over 300 years ago are best summarised by the words of Sir William Waller himself. In answer to charges laid by the Committee of Both Kingdoms that his staff had issued warrants upon some other Hundreds of the county of Surrey for the victualling of his Farnham quarters, about which the Deputy-Lieutenants had complained, he wrote on 2 September 1644 that ... 'the parts about Farnham are very poorly provided having been exhausted when we lay here last winter ...' 25

- John Rushworth, Historical Collections, vol. ii, p.92 (1659-1701).
 George Wither, Se Defendo, p.10, (1643): B.M. E.37 (35).
 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641... (edited by W.D. Macray in six vols., Oxford, 1888), vol. ii, p.405.
- Letter from George Lord Goring to Charles I, 9 January 1645 quoted in History of the Great Civil War 1642-1649 in four vols. by S.R. Gardiner (1905) - vol. ii, p.113.
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HEDGEROW DATING

Elfrida Manning

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Now that the hedgerows that make so much of the beauty of our English country-side, as well as its ecological structure (notably as a habitat for birds), are fast disappearing, it becomes an urgent task for local historians to record and, if possible, try to date those that remain, in an endeavour to reconstruct the old village field patterns. It is possible to do this by the recently-devised method of counting the number of tree and shrub species found in a hedge. Some may feel sceptical about the possibility of doing this, but experience has shown that the method works with remarkable accuracy.

For the benefit of those who have not yet tried it, one proceeds as follows: take 30 yards of a hedge and walk along it, counting the number of different species it contains; then repeat the process on the other side of the hedge and compare results. If only one or two specimens of a species are found, note this, but do not include them in your calculations. It is important that the two distinct species of hawthorn, laevigata with a rather plain, oval leaf, and monogyna, with a much indented leaf, should be counted separately. Then, for each species found, allow 110 years and add 30 to the total. This should give the age of the hedge with a wide margin of error each way of 200 years. If 10 or more species are scored, one can judge the hedge to be Saxon. If this seems incredible, remember that the hawthorn (OE., haga thorn, 'hedge thorn') is practically immortal, as anyone who has tried to grub one up will appreciate. One usually looks for these very ancient hedges on county or parish boundaries.

Following the Saxon settlement, the chief later periods of enclosure were the following: (1) the 13th century. New land 'grubbed out' or 'assarted' from the forest to feed a growing population; (2) late 15th century and Tudor period. Enclosure of the open common fields for pasture to make sheep walks; (3) the 18th and 19th centuries. Enclosures under Parliamentary Enclosure Act, or done privately, of common pasture and waste land. Hedges of the latest enclosure period normally consist of only one or two species, i.e., hawthorn and one other. Occasionally, however, some landowners would carry out mixed planting of three or four species such as hawthorn, holly, blackthorn and apple. It will be noted that it is much easier to date the earliest and latest hedges than the intermediate ones.

When undertaking a survey of local hedges, it is best to begin with those for which there is some documentary evidence against which results can be checked, and then to attempt the infilling of the others. Evidence is found mainly in the large-scale maps, such as the Enclosure and Tithe Maps kept at the local Council Office, or in the more handy form of 6-inch Ordnance Survey Maps, preferably the older editions. One must

beware of Rocque's map of 1768 which appears to indicate field boundaries, but these are mostly a conventional sign to indicate arable land. The original drawings for the first Ordnance Survey Map (c. 1808) kept at the British Museum, but of which one can get photo-copies, also show some hedges, but in a sketchy and inaccurate manner. They were omitted from the printed version of which the Surrey part was published in 1816. An estate map, if one exists, is a reliable guide. The Ogilby Road Book will show where a hedge existed beside a main road when the adjoining land had been enclosed. There may also be a perambulation of the bounds in a Saxon Charter or some later document.

In our survey of the hedges in the ancient manor and hundred of Farnham, we were also lucky to have very early evidence from the Bishop of Winchester's Pipe Rolls (Hampshire Record Office). In these we found payments for the enclosure of lands from as early as the 13th century. Also, a 10th-century charter gives a perambulation of the bounds, most of which can be identified today.

An interesting exercise is to try to identify the boundaries of the old Manor Farm. At Farnham the Grange was the demesne farm of the Bishop of Winchester attached to the castle. The fields around it called the Castle Fields (still largely in arable cultivation), were apparently carved out of the old common field now known as 'The Hart', from which they are separated by a large hedge bank. A count of shrubs in this hedge produced six species, so taking us back to the 14th century. It was then intriguing to find in the Pipe Rolls several entries between 1359 and 1361 for hiring workmen to enclose and hedge round these fields.

In seeking the older hedges on the map, one notes where other hedges may meet a hedge, but not cross it — just as one identifies older roads from subsidiary ones. We tentatively identified the boundary of the older of Farnham's two deer parks in this way and were pleased to find an extremely old hedge and bank to confirm its antiquity.

An interesting case we examined was the great hedge on the north side of the Hog's Back — now sadly mutilated in the cause of road engineering works. A casual survey produced no less than 13 species, as follows: yew, ash, hawthorn, holly, wayfaring tree, sycamore, holm oak, privet, hazel, rowan, elder, willow, beech. This took us back to at least 670 A.D. which was not so surprising since this hedge represents the southern boundary of the very ancient Windsor Forest. Many years ago, in a letter to the *Times*, the local historian Dr. J.H. Gibson of Aldershot wrote: 'On the north side of the road there is about a mile of hedge that remains almost in its primitive condition. Probably at all times of the year, and not least in the autumn, this is the most beautiful hedge in England. I have never seen its equal . . . Moreover, this hedge was the southern boundary of Windsor Forest and for that reason alone it is worthy of our protection. I hope it will never be cut down.'

Further details of the method of research by hedge-dating will be found in the pamphlet *Hedges and Local History* containing articles by Dr. Max Hooper of the Nature Conservancy, Prof. W.G. Hoskins and others, which is published by the National Council of Social Service.

¹ Also at the Surrey Record Office at Kingston-upon-Thames.

OUTLINE OF A STUDY AT SHERE ON THE IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF VILLAGE HOUSES AND THEIR INHABITANTS FROM ABOUT 1500 TO 1850

Sir Jack Sutherland-Harris

Shere and Gomshall Local History Society

This study started from scrutiny of a Shere Vachery manor book (privately owned) in which are recorded changes in ownership of all properties within that manor for which rents were due to the Lord of the Manor annually and heriots on a change of ownership. These were freeholds as well as copyholds, most being freeholds. The entries come from court rolls starting about 1610; the rolls themselves are deposited by the Bray Estates at the Guildford Muniment Room (hereinafter called G.M.R.), as are some earlier rolls, mainly for 1563—78. The original compilation was made about 1760 and then added to from time to time. The entries go up to enfranchisement, mostly in the late 19th century, or to acquisition by the Lord of the Manor if that occurred earlier; this it did in a number of cases from about 1766 when William Bray began to build up the Bray estate in the village.

The main problem in using this material has been that none of the names of properties are the same as those in use today. To identify them, therefore, it has been necessary to relate the entries to other information indicating the situation of a particular property. Most important for this has been the Shere Tithe Map and apportionment, 1844. But, unusually, the tithe list, while giving names of owners and occupiers of all houses then in existence, does not give house names. So identification depends on comparing ownerships with similar entries in the manor book for this same period where these exist. Some confirmatory evidence has, however, been available from estate maps for the property of William Bray in 1772. for part of his estate in 1829 and for the estate of the late James Hooker who died in 1796 owning the White Horse Inn and other village properties (maps or copies in the G.M.R.); manor rent rolls for various dates from 1649 (G.M.R.), and especially useful as a check has been a rent book of 1823-26 (privately owned). where the village properties are listed in order of their situation; conveyances and other documents deposited by the Bray Estates (G.M.R.) and a few privately owned. There is no similar manor book for Shere Eborum because this manor was sold by the Brays in 1609 and only bought back in 1771. So for houses in the manor it has been necessary to go direct to such court and rent rolls as exist (G.M.R.); these are intermittent, with the earliest in 1464. But 30 out of the 40 old properties in the village were in Shere Vachery.2

The shape of the village and the location of the houses, under their former names, is shown on the plan with the dates of the first court roll entries which in most cases suggest that the house was built about or before that date. Starting with Upper Street, there are six old houses on the north side, with two more on the north side of Gomshall Lane; there are 11 on the south side, with a further block along Gomshall Lane. Those on the north side, from west to east, are 'Old Cottage', formerly known as 'Burdens', a freehold in the manor of Shere Vachery; 'Anchor Cottage' and 'Pilgrim's Garth', formerly known as 'parts of Cottells'; 'West and East Burdens' which were part of another 'Burdens', a copyhold in the manor of Shere Eborum; 'Tudor Cottage', formerly 'Smiths'; and 'Vine Cottages', formerly a farm called 'Rolls', part of which was also for a short time at the end of the 18th century a public house called the 'King's Arms'. The two houses on the north side of Gomshall Lane are 'Seaforth Cottage' and 'Oak Cottage' which were called, respectively, 'Hangman's Croft', which was in Shere Eborum, and 'Hangman's', which was in Shere Vachery. The oldest seem to be the Shere Vachery houses Burdens, Smiths and Rolls. There are 16th-century court roll references to these. The Shere Eborum 'Burdens' is first recorded on its own in 1615 and may have been built then. The Shere Eborum 'Hangman's' is described as newly built in 1632, but the Shere Vachery 'Hangman's' may be rather older. Cottells was a farm south of Shere and the houses formerly called 'part of Cottells' appear to have been built in the 1660s on a field belonging to that farm. A third house and a blacksmith's, also a part of Cottells, was built in the 1660s too, just to the west of these, but was replaced by a newer house, now 'Burrowdown', a hundred years ago; while Shere Garage was built in part of the garden of Anchor Cottage. Finally, at the west end of Upper Street, there was a 17thcentury cottage called 'Allen's' which was the parish house of Shere, in trust for the use of the poor, from 1697 until 1802. It was then exchanged by William Bray for a cottage, now 'Workshop Cottage', in Rectory Lane and became part of the site on which he built Shere Lodge for his son Edward.

The 11 old houses on the south side of Upper Street start at the west end with 'The Cottage', formerly a house called 'Seven Elms', with records from the 17th century. There were then three parts of a property called 'Knaveshurst', now 'Knapp's Cottage' and 'Waitlands', 'Denton', and 'Lime Cottage', with 'Denton' according to the record the earliest part - probably 16th-century, and the others dating from the first half of the 17th century. Next comes 'Denmarke' and the neighbouring offlicence shop with its adjoining house, which were all part of 'Clarks'; the original part was Denmarke built probably in the 16th century, while the shop and its house was the result of the conversion of Clark's malthouse sold off in 1714. The next pair of houses, now 'Beulah Cottage' and 'Bignold', were apparently part of 'Hawkins', which was a large house just to the east, now 'Old Manor Cottages', with a large garden and the most important property in Upper Street in the 18th century. The record suggests that this pair, known as the cooper's house, were built before 1674, when they were sold by the then owner of Hawkins to a cooper of Shere. The Shere Vachery manor book record for 'Hawkins' itself goes back to 1620 when a prominent landowner, James Mabank, sold it to John Crowe, rector of Stoke by, Guildford, who in



TUDOR COTTAGE, UPPER STREET, SHERE (formerly SMITHS)



BODRYN, MIDDLE STREET, SHERE (formerly PALFREMANS)

25 INCHES TO THE MILE

RE VILLAGE IN 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

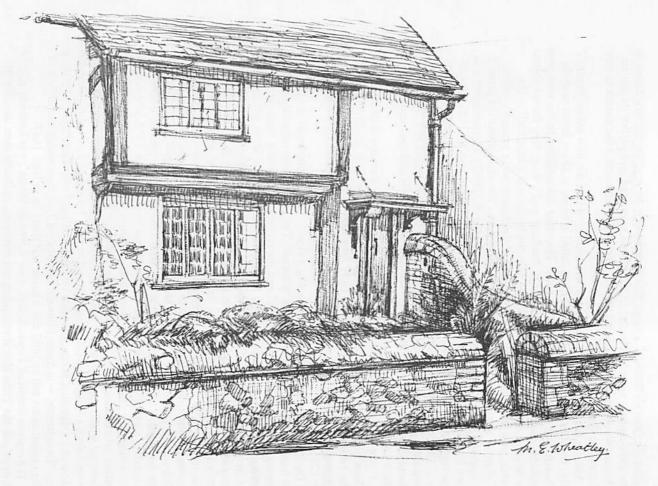
ES N þ SMITHS ROLLS HANGMANS CROFT (SHERE EBORUM) G OMSHALL GIBBLES HANGMANS LFREMANS 1749 (SHERE VACHERY) SHARES SPEERS Queen's Mead 1550 1544 <u>[</u> TO DORKING -□ RbG‡RS Barn 1659 THE QUEEN'S POUND IGH HOUSE 1610: 1797 1541 (Farm house 1 of Shere) STILES CHURCH CRIPPS and MARYSSE GALLANTS Ø1774 HOP GARDEN 1637 TRENGUMORE'S THE ΝEŚ CROFT of HILL RACK CLOSE CHURCH NAVESHURS GOMSHALL

turn sold it in 1630 to Richard Smith, rector of Shere from 1612 to 1651. Eventually, in 1766, William Bray bought it and a few years later made it his own residence in Shere. Parallel Shere Eborum records suggest that 'Hawkins' belonged to the Sayer family in the 16th century, back to 1486, but the Tudor house is no longer there.

The next group in Upper Street, continuing round into Middle Street, were part of Shere Eborum. A large part of this area appears to have been called 'Palfremans'. which later became 'Paul Freeman's'. This consisted mainly of the old house, now the pair called 'Bodryn' and 'Forge Cottage', on the west side of Middle Street, but comprised also the present 'June Garden' in Upper Street and a smaller house in Upper Street between the present Elm Cottage and Manor Cottage but now pulled down. The record for the part that is now Bodryn and Forge Cottage goes back at least to the early 16th century when the Sands family owned it. The sold it in 1544 to John Risbridger, probably the father of the William Risbridger who bought the Manor of Shere Eborum in 1609. Eventually William Bray bought it in 1771 and apparently used it with his family for a year or two before moving into 'Hawkins'. The record for the part that became 'June Garden' starts with a newly built house in 1610 and the name 'June Garden' appears in a 1771 court roll when it was acquired by Henry Hunt whose family owned it for the next 150 years. The neighbouring two properties are 'Elm Cottage' formerly called 'Gibbles', mentioned in a court roll as early as 1503; and 'Manor Cottage', formerly called 'Shares', also mentioned in 1503. William Bray bought these properties too in 1771/2, pulled down the smaller house part of 'Paul Freeman's', and built the big wall from 'Elm Cottage' round to 'Forge Cottage' which is still there today. Further to the south, towards the stream, a barn was built on Hawkins land in 1659, about where the present blacksmith's is.

The only old property on the east side of Middle Street is on the corner with Gomshall Lane, now Cumper's, the Post Office and part of the Forrest Stores. This was called 'Speers' and the records go back to 1550. Later Speers consisted of two houses, a barn, garden, orchard and mead; the second house, built before 1749, is at the east end of the adjoining Gomshall Lane block called 'Bank Terrace Cottages'; the houses now between this and the original Speers, which became a shop in the 18th century, were formerly barns, stables and coachhouses. The Speers property was the whole of the area southwards to the stream, though it contained another old house and barn, called 'Rogers', mentioned in 1576, on the Middle Street frontage nearer the stream, until this passed into separate ownership in 1749; 'Rogers' was pulled down in the middle of the 19th century. John Parkhurst, owner of Speers in 1550, leased for 1,000 years from Sir Edward Bray a mead of Shere Eborum called the Queensmead lying immediately to the east, between Gomshall Lane and the stream.

To the south and across the stream from the Queensmead, adjoining the church-yard, were two properties called 'Petts' and 'The Queen's Pound', where is now the house and garden 'Sayers'. 'Petts' for which the records go back to 1600 was earlier still the 'George' ale house on the Square, but it was pulled down in 1797 by Thomas Weatherhead, a cooper from Wapping who had married a Mary Buchanan of Shere, when he built the present Sayers on the site of an earlier house (built in 1610)



ASH COTTAGE, SHERE

called the Queen's Pound — a name that continued to be used for the new house in the 19th-century records. The site of 'Petts' was converted into part of its garden. Thomas Weatherhead also owned 'Speers' and built a way across the stream to link 'Speers' to the Queen's Pound.

Also on the north side of the Square was another old house, now called 'Pantry's' after its early 20th-century tenant. This is called 'a house in Shere Street near the Church' and the record goes back to 1627. The other old buildings to the west were probably out-buildings, later converted to dwellings and a shop; they do not appear to be recorded separately. Further west near the bridge was a barn built in the 1660s, now pulled down. On the south side of the Square was a property called 'Callants', recorded in the manor book in three parts. The earliest was the present 'Vaughans', for long a baker's shop and named after the family who occupied it as such from c.1850 for nearly 100 years, with a record going back to 1527. The adjoining shop, formerly a blacksmith's, and two houses became a separate property in 1718 and they may have been built shortly before that. The blacksmith's was converted into a grocer's in 1878. The third part, first mentioned in 1774, is now the old house at 3 Percy Villas to the south, in what was West-Street and is now Shere Lane.

To the east of the Church is 'High House'. This was the farm house of Shere in Shere Eborum, leased to William Risbridger by Sir Edward Bray in the middle of the 16th century and sold to him by Lady Jane Bray in 1577 together with the demesne lands of that manor. It was bought back with the manor by William Bray in 1771.

On the west of the Square lies 'The White Horse'. This was formerly 'Cripps' and its land adjoining, on the south, was 'Marysse'. There is an early reference to its having been made a freehold in 1562 and the record of ownership starts in 1622 with a Richard Francis whose family figure prominently in the Shere parish records as churchwardens from 1500. In 1664 it passed to a Morgan Sherlock and his descendants are referred to as 'innholders' in a 1730 conveyance (G.M.R.). The property is described as 'a messuage called by the sign of the White Horse' but also called 'Cripps and Mariss' in a 1797 deed (G.M.R.); Hooker's estate plan of the same time (G.M.R.) shows it as including a hop-garden to the south, where now stand the 'Prince of Wales' (mid-19th century) and the Maltings (shown on the Tithe Map). Adjoining the hop-garden on the south, in what was West Street, was the present 'Juden', formerly 'a part of Catherines' with a first manor book entry in 1616, which seems to confirm the 1622 date to be seen on its chimney, though there are possible earlier references back to 1520. Opposite 'Juden' in West Street is 'Shere Lane Cottage' which appears to have been the former 'Croft of Knaveshurst' first mentioned with a house in a 1704 rent roll and in the 19th century including a butcher's shop and a slaughter house. Between this and 'Gallants' was 'Trenchmores' - the present 'Trenchmore' - in Shere Eborum; lands called Trenchmores are mentioned in the earliest court roll in 1463 and a house was there by at least 1637.

The eastern corner of Lower Street, now 'Lavender House', was formerly part of 'Cripps'; on the Tithe Map it comprises out-buildings, probably then used for the

'White Horse'. The next properties to the west in Lower Street were 'Parts of Stiles'. The oldest part, at one time a public house called the 'White Hart' (1839 court roll) and later a wheelwright's, was the present pair of cottages called 'Willow Cottage' and 'Ash Cottage', inherited by Johanna Sands in 1524 and called 'formerly Henry Styles'. A court roll of 1563 records that a house and two acres here had been granted by a former Lord of the Manor, Richard son of John,² to one William the Carpenter, almost certainly the father of Christine, the anchoress of Shere, who was enclosed in her cell at the church in 1329. The other part of Stiles, to the east, has a date 1705 on it with the initial 'W' over the initials 'I.D.'; it appears in a 1704 rent roll, owned by a John Wild whose death in 1713 is the first manor book entry. His wife was Dorothy and the initials probably record their building this house. The next old house in Lower Street is the 'Old Forge', formerly called 'Smiths' and owned by Lawrence White in 1573; the Old Prison House, as well as the former orchard which lay between them, where Orchard Road now is, was probably part of the property, described by William Bray when he bought it in 1795 as a house, butcher's shop and orchard: there appears to be no separate manor record for the prison house. Then comes 'Hawthorns', where was a house part of 'Hampshires' which appears in rent rolls from 1649, though the present house appears to have been built in 1812 following a fire. Lastly there is the pair of cottages now called 'Dolmont' and 'Wevside', formerly known as 'Wickham's house in Shere' after a John Wickham who was the owner from 1727 to 1771, and with a manor record going back to 1636.

The Shere Vachery manor pound is by the stream on the west of Middle Street. It appears to have been moved to this site in the middle of the 19th century from a similar site on the east side of the street where it is shown on the Tithe Map. But until some time before 1760 it was in the highway at the west end of Upper Street, near 'The Cottage', where it is shown on an Albury manor map of 1701.

Identification of the manor book properties with those existing today has enabled a sequence of ownerships to be established from the 16th or early 17th century, as well as dates before which the houses appear to have been built. Some family ownerships lasted a long time. For instance, prominent in Upper Street were Sayer followed by Mabank for 'Hawkins' and 'Smiths' for over 100 years to 1620, Kelsey for 'Clarks' from before 1635 until 1787 and at 'Rolls' and then 'Knaveshurst' from before 1620 to 1694, Bignold at the Shere Eborum 'Burdens' throughout the period and at 'Gibbles' from 1693 to 1771, Denton at 'Knaveshurst' from 1700 to 1772. These families were mainly yeomen, fustian-weavers and tailors, reflecting the combination of farming and weaving which seems to have accounted for the size of the village in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The parish copy is in Shere Church and the diocesan copy is deposited in the Surrey Record Office, County Hall, Kingston.

The original Shere manor was divided about 1300 following the death of Richard son of John.

SAMUEL VASSALL AND THE WEST SURREY WOOL INDUSTRY

A.L. Crowe

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In 1684 John Aubrey visted Farnham and remarked that a century before there had been a hundred weavers in the town, 'now none'.¹ This poses a teasing question for local historians — why the decay? For national historians there are many possible answers, but the local historian must be specific. One might for example cite a contemporary decay of Southampton. It was decaying, but Farnham woollens went out through London. At least they were doing so in 1587. The increasing taste for worsted was, too, a contemporary fact. 'For the Guildford kersies, let Guildford, Godalming and Farnham, Petersfield, Basing and other towns report: their decays are extant', a Merchant Adventurer wrote rather turgidly in 1614. Winchester weavers alleged in 1618 that too much raw wool was being exported. Other weaving towns got over this quite successfully, however, so why not Farnham?

The reason for the decay of the manufacture of kersies was really a change in taste. Kersie is a woollen cloth, that is, it depends for its tension upon the felting quality of wool. Taste was changing to worsted cloth which depends upon the long staple of the wool. The production of worsted needs long stapled wool, from upland sheep because the more sparse the pasture the more hairy and longer stapled the wool. The southern sheep have little hair and have short stapled wool suitable for woollen cloth. Short stapled wool is prepared for the spinners by a process known as carding, which is women's work. Long stapled wool is prepared by combing, which is heavy work done by men. It was perfectly possible to change over to worsted production if you could organise a supply of the right wool, get it combed and make some modification to the looms. Some districts made this transition, some tried and failed and some apparently made no attempt. To make the change the craftsmen would be stimulated by the failure to sell woollen cloth and they would have to make, or find someone to make, the investment necessary for the change.

Farnham's apparent failure to change seemed to me at first to be the cause of the disappearance of Aubrey's hundred weavers. Re-reading the account of the trade in the Victoria County History to see if there was no other possible explanation for this failure, I was struck with the thought that the life of Vassall might be worth investigating. That he was a Puritan gave reason to hope that he might be in the Dictionary of National Biography. He was, and my attention was there drawn to the Calendars of State Papers. From these sources the structure of the industry became clear and something of Vassall's character emerged. One could get a good enough picture of his activities to throw light upon the organisation of the local industry and the role of capital within it. In fact, the town never attempted to change over to worsteds

because it had found a steady market for woollen cloth sometime after 1614 and this lasted until 1636, when the whole fabric collapsed. Let us now look at the organisation that was destroyed in 1636.

Cloth making was the sacred cow of the English economy from 1295. It was a source of revenue to the Crown and was much regulated by statute. It was protected in a number of ways and was restricted in others. Pieces had to be 18 yards in length and were to be ulnaged — i.e. checked as to length, and stamped. Cloth could only be woven in certain places — corporate towns and places authorised in 1500. Ulnage lists can tell us something about the volume of production at certain moments of time. Most ulnagers lost their lists, if they ever kept any. Many ulnagers sold the stamps — little lead seals — in advance and never looked at the cloth. The Onslows were ulnagers in 1574 and six months' lists survive in the Loseley MSS² for that year. They were measuring the cloths of the clothiers of three authorised towns — Farnham, Guildford and Godalming. They had not only to refuse but to prosecute anyone bringing a piece from, say, Frensham or Aldershot.³ What happened if anyone from Frensham got a Farnham man to carry his piece we do not yet know. It is an important question because it will throw some light on the range of the clothiers' enterprise.

The three towns were a fiscal unit. They were also an economic unit. The cloth they wove was sometimes called a Hampshire Kersey. It was called more accurately a Guildford Kersey. It would seem that these towns, producing the same kind of cloth were not economically part of Hampshire. Woad, distributed from Southampton, seems only to have reached Alton in the north east, although it went to Gloucester in the north west. The cloth went out via London, not via Southampton. The clothiers petitioned the Privy Council in 1587 because Andrew Marche had gone bankrupt and left their cloth on their hands. Marche was a London merchant. They asked that another merchant be found. This was rather like writing to an M.P. today, but Farnham had no M.P. then. If they had had one they would probably, like Winchester, have offered the seat to a man with connections. The clothiers were obscure men without connections in London and the business of government was very much bound up with local affairs. Also they knew that they were part of the sacred cow and it was the business of government to look after them.

Who were these obscure clothiers? Our ancestors in Tudor and Stuart times were very particular about status. There were weavers, shearmen, finishers. The finishers regarded themselves as superior. Clothiers were more superior still, although there is evidence from the City of London that finishers were not tradesmen but 'cloth-makers or burellers' and could be considered clothiers. Sometimes the same man appears in one document as a weaver and in another later on as a clothier. One clothier appears later as a 'gent'. While they were precise about status their society was as snobbish and fluid as ours. What differentiated a man's status was money. A clothier was someone who had ready money. He could supply wool to spinners, who incidentally had little status because they served no apprenticeship; he could supply yarn to weavers and indeed looms as well, cloth to dyers and finishers and so on. We do not know the complicated financial arrangement. It was probably all on some

system of credit, the material passing from hand to hand, but always remaining the property of the clothier, with him or his agent paying out piecework rates all the way along the line when he got his piece of cloth at the end.

In 1574, 15 men brought between them 797 pieces to be ulnaged in six months. This is roughly 15 pieces of 18 yards each, 30 pieces a year. Just over one a fortnight would not be the product of 100 weavers that Aubrey mentions. Joseph Asworth a farmer-weaver near Halifax - could produce five pieces in three weeks working part-time. The ulnage list showed the local sales, the pieces 'brought to market'. The rest was being bought by a London merchant for export. Andrew Marche we have met and he had successors. We only know of one of these and he will suffice. The London merchant was much more important even than the clothiers with whom he or his agents had entered into agreement. He bought the bulk of the output organised by the clothiers and his ready money made the whole enterprise possible. Industrially Guildford, Farnham and Godalming was a factory with a single owner who determined the nature of the product. He had 15 'foremen' who had a financial stake in the enterprise. These 'foremen' were able to boost their earnings because they could raise production to the limit that the merchant could absorb. They took the risk however and contributed their skill in the craft, their taste and their local knowledge as well as financing the production.

About 1614 a new merchant came on the scene. The demand for kersies in that year was, as we have seen, almost gone. He, however, was buying woollen cloth and kept the business going for another 20 years or so. He was Samuel Vassall. He was the son of a Huguenot, Jean Vassall, described as a mariner from Rouen, who came to England some time in the 1570s and engaged in the West Indian trade. He appeared as an expert witness in the Court of Admiralty in 1577 and in 1588 he fitted out and commanded a ship of 140 tons to fight the Armada. This shows him to be a man of wealth, for the town of Southampton was asked for three ships and produced one which found its usefulness as a fire ship. By 1602 he was able to leave his house in Stepney and move to Cockneyhurst, Eastwood, Essex, taking his third wife Judith and the two sons by his second wife, Anne. Two more sons and four daughters were born while he lived there. The eldest son was Samuel, born in 1586, who was to be stimulated to follow in his father's steps in overseas trade in part by family tradition and in part, perhaps, because Samuel Purchas, author of Purchas his Pilgrimes, was vicar of Eastwood. The second son, William (1592-1658), also traded in the West Indies and the Levant and was later to play an important part in the colonisation of Massachusetts. Of Judith's children, nothing is known.

By 1614 Samuel was quite a rich man. He traded in America, the West Indies, Guinea and Dalmatia — modern Yugoslavia. He owned shares in ships, and with his younger brother was to own a twentieth of Massachusetts. He had an outlet for woollens in the infant colony of Virginia and in Yugoslavia, and he had return cargoes of tobacco from Virginia and currants from the Balkans. He was a Puritan and a cantankerous man. He was bitterly opposed to the Stuarts and a convinced Parliamentarian. When Charles I levied tonnage and poundage, i.e. import duty, without consent of Parliament, Vassall refused to pay. His cargoes were siezed. He

claimed that he lost in all £15,000, an enormous sum for those days, and his Surrey clients were in peril. He seems to have gone on buying between 1628 and 1630 in spite of his losses. In 1630 he received an offer for a cargo of tobacco which had been seized and was in a government warehouse. He went down with his servants at night and knocked off the lock and liberated the cargo and sold it. For this he was imprisoned. While he was in prison his business was at a standstill and he bought no more Surrey cloth.

In November 1629 15 clothiers petitioned the Privy Council either for the government to buy their cloth or to find another financier. In this petition they allege that 1,400 souls depend upon them. This number is made up, of course, of the families of all the workers in the industry — carders, spinners, weavers, dyers, fullers and so on. That is about 280 households depending on the wool industry, bearing in mind that spinners and carders would probably have several people earning in the household. The Privy Council instructed local J.P.s to issue a 'brief': that is an order for collections to be taken in churches for this purpose. The Justices estimated that there were 1,100 people hit by this crisis in the trade. In 1630 William Elliott, J.P. reported that 3,000 souls in Surrey were 'in distress'.

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Vassall apparently paid his tax and came out of prison for he was conducting his shipping business and recruiting settlers for Virginia in April 1630. He was also concerned in the negotiation for the Charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company. William Vassall was a signatory of the Cambridge Declaration which bound shareholders to emigrate to the colony and he himself abided by this and went. Samuel sold out and turned his attention to Carolina. He probably had more sense than William, who, as a Presbyterian, soon quarrelled with his associates in Massachusetts and returned — he was known as 'a salamander' which was 17th-century slang for a troublemaker.

When he came out of prison Samuel Vassall began again to buy Surrey cloth. He was also in partnership with Lord Berkeley, William Browell, Hugh L'Ancy and Peter de Lignes, for the purpose of floating a company to colonise Carolina. This was not a Puritan enterprise like Massachusetts, but had a religious basis. Carolina had been used by Huguenot privateers. Hugh L'Ancy and Peter de Lignes were probably, like Vassall, of Huguenot origin, and it was planned to take colonists from La Rochelle. Vassall's interest was religious, but he was also anxious to invest in land in the New World and, disappointed in Massachusetts, he looked elsewhere. He also wanted to use his ships. Overseas companies, whether trading or colonising, did not own but chartered ships and directors who were ship-owners gained both from the charter and from company profits.⁴ This enterprise landed him in more trouble. In 1634 he chartered to the Company his ship Mayflower to take over supplies. saltworkers and craftsmen from Plymouth and La Rochelle, and, also, the governor of the new colony. The vessel commanded by a partner in the ship - not in the company - made a landfall in Virginia, probably a mistake since before the invention of the chronometer it was impossible to calculate latitude. He should have hugged the shore southwards, but pleading instructions from Vassall, the captain, Peter Andrews, deposited his human cargo and went about his business. They had

presumably agreed to a limit on the time they could devote to the Carolina business. As a result Vassall was sued for breach of contract both by his associates in the Carolina Company and the Crown since he had left a King's representative to winter for some months away from his territory.

He now struck, as we would say, a bad patch. The Government accused him of subverting his Majesty's subjects, apparently making speeches with another business partner, Morrice Thompson, described as 'a zealot'. Vassall's books were seized by the Privy Council, and he was shown to be reading Presbyterian theology and politics. Finally his outlet for wool was closed, and the Privy Council, when it received another petition from Surrey asked him for an explanation. The relations of the Privy Council with Puritan business men like Vassall were peculiar. It probably hated him and it had, as we would say, 'enough on him to put him away for a long time'. He broke the law, he broke contracts and he was politically subversive. On the other hand. governments had virtually no means of anticipating revenue and one obvious way of getting credit was to employ contractors, no matter how undesirable, who could wait for their money without going bankrupt and being unable to go on. The contractors, too, had to go on because they would never get any money if the business of the government could not be carried on. Vassall and the Council were tied together therefore by economic necessity. The Council, therefore, began to press him to do something about his Surrey clients and sent him their petition for his comments. In 1637 he replied at some length, telling a very interesting story. For 20 years - from 1616 to 1636 - he had been selling this cloth to Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) and had been the sole English merchant trading there. He had presumably taken a certain amount since 1630. This may explain the delay in sending him the petition. However, business had been declining and in 1636 the Regusans ceased buying completely. Vassall, therefore, instructed his agents in Ragusa to take the cloth to Belgrade 'and other places in Hungary'. When they attempted to do this, however, the Ragusans who presumably monopolised the trade with the hinterland, seized his bales and drove his agents from the trade. Vassall had decided to pull completely out of Dalmatia and this was the only vent for the cloth, so he would take no more.

The end of this enterprise really meant very little to Vassall. It was only one of many. At various times we find him in partnerships. We have touched on his American and West Indies interests. He was also concerned in the Guinea trade. He was associated with Mr. Frith, 'Linen draper of Cornhill and Company' and with Samuel Williams and Company and with Peter Andrews. It may be guessed that he was again mainly concerned with providing snips. He was very rich. By 1656 he was owed, he reckoned, £20,202, a vast sum for that time, for his 'sufferings' and advances to the Government. He owned land in Jamaica and Carolina as well as in this country. In the 17th century the way to accumulate money of this order was by shipping, as the career of such a well-known figure as Sir Josiah Child shows. Shipping was a great gamble, hence the elaborate partnerships, but with luck paid off since the owners not only received charter money but free freight for their own cargo.

Vassall lived on until 1667. He became MP for the City of London in the Short

Parliament of 1639 and in the Long Parliament of 1640. He became a Commissioner for Plantations — i.e. an Under Secretary for the Colonies — in 1642, and also undertook shipping jobs for the Parliaments. He remained a Presbyterian and made peace with Charles II. In the lists he is described as a clothier or clothworker. The latter term was probably technical and referred to his Livery Company. From the Clothworkers Company craftsmen were excluded and it consisted of traders and finishers. Finishing was looked at probably as a craft in one sense and in another sense as the function of a modern job master in the cotton industry.

The end of this wool trade posed a problem for Surrey. Godalming and Farnham solved it in different ways. A small worsted production seems to have been begun in Godalming and later a flourishing stocking industry grew up. Farnham began a new life. The paternal Stuarts and the Commonwealth hoped to prevent the growth of London and so refused to allow any more food markets within 40 miles of the City. The incompetence of the Stuarts led to loss of control of the Channel. Corn could not be sold for London within 40 miles and it could not be brought by sea from, say, Chichester or Southampton. An established market on a good land route on the 40 mile boundary was Farnham, and it became a great Corn Market and people lost interest in wool. There was also a growing hop cultivation. Prosperity revived and the appearance of a wool town was lost in the appearance of a market town, and that is why Aubrey found no weavers. Vassall's role in this was to continue buying woollen cloth and to keep the industry going long after home demand had declined; thus he prevented change until for the most part it was no longer necessary.

- ¹ The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey (1696), iv, 97.
- ² Historical MSS. Commission Report, vii App. 11627.
- ³ Richard and Simon Harding of Frensham were so fined in 1561: VCH, xi, 344.
- ⁴ Robert Quynby buried in the chancel of the parish church.
- A good account of a shipping partnership is in *The Papers of Thomas Bowry*, ed. R.C. Temple, Hackluyt Society 1927.
 - Generally the information has been gleaned in the Victoria County History of Surrey, vol. ii, The Dictionary of National Biography and the Calendars of State Papers, Colonial 1574-1660 and Domestic 1629-59.

LOCAL HISTORY FROM FIRE INSURANCE RECORDS

Rowland G.M. Baker

Esher Local History Society

A valuable but seldom used source of local history exists in the records of the old fire insurance offices. In the last few years a number of these collections have been deposited in public muniment rooms, notably the Guildhall Library in the City of London. Besides which most of the larger insurance companies now have their own archivists or librarians, dedicated people, only too willing to be of practical assistance to those bent on research.¹

The honour of being the first person to organise an effective fire insurance scheme is usually accorded to Dr. Nicholas Barbon, or Barebone, the son of the well-known Puritan Praisegod Barebone. Barbon is reputed to have set up an office for this purpose in 1667 to cater for the owners of properties which were being rebuilt after the disastrous Great Fire of London in the previous year. The evidence, however, for this one man office is extremely tenuous.² A more positively documented venture was floated by Barbon and others in 1680 by the formation of 'The Fire Office'. This is regarded as the first modern fire insurance company. The rates were sixpence in the pound rent for brick built houses and 12 pence for timber. The risk covered was expressed as 'Burnt down, demolished, or otherwise damnified by reason of fire'. The emblem of the Fire Office was a 'Phoenix in a flame', and in 1705, after a number of other companies had been formed, the office was officially renamed 'The Phenix'. This should not be confused with 'The Phoenix' company, which was not started until 1782. Other companies soon followed and many proposals for promoting fire insurances were put forward. Some of these flourished and some did not. The Phenix itself expired about 1712.

In the early days the companies confined their activities to the City of London and its immediate neighbourhood. As they became more solidly established, the field was pushed further and further out from London. By 1719 the Hand-in-Hand was insuring as far out as Kingston upon Thames and shortly after the Sun announced that it had dropped all limitations and proposed to effect insurances all over Great Britain. The country business was usually handled by local agents. One can see the result where a vigorous and active man took over a district by a proliferation of fire-marks of one particular company in some areas. Likewise the reverse could be the case where a lax or inefficient agent operated. In the 18th century it was reported to the Sun Office that many people in Surrey 'which would Insure, do not know how to get it done & many that are Insur'd drop them not knowing how to pay their money to the Office.'

In the 17th century there existed no properly organised civic brigades for fighting fires. If a house caught fire the only method known for dowsing it was by means of

buckets of water brought from the nearest river or pond. This was generally ineffective, and, with the jumble of tightly-packed highly-combustible dwellings that existed in most towns at that time, conflagrations were extremely common. To prevent their spread it was the custom to blow up or pull down adjacent houses which had not yet caught fire in order to form a break to isolate and confine the blaze. As this was never entertained until the fire had taken a good hold and even then not until a magistrate or some other person with authority could be found to take the responsibility, much damage was caused before the conflagration could be restrained.

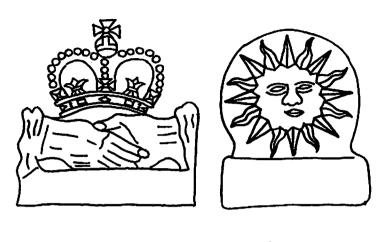
The Great Fire in 1666 drew attention to the general inadequacy of fire fighting arrangements. An Act was passed in 1668 which required municipal authorities to provide certain equipment for extinguishing fires, but made no provision for their use, and its effect was limited to London. In view of what the City had already suffered the requirements of this Act were almost farcical. The insurance companies placed so little reliance on these limited facilities that the Fire Office, soon after its inception, inaugurated its own brigade of properly trained 'firemen'. They were to stand in readiness to engage any fire which occured on property insured by the company and to prevent a fire from spreading to such property. By this means they hoped to reduce their loss and encourage new subscribers. The rest of the insurance companies soon followed their example. Before long all the prominent offices were running their own fire services. Most of the men were recruited from the Thames watermen.

The insurance companies could not, of course, individually keep a fire brigade in every town and village throughout the country. In the rural areas they tended each to contribute in proportion to their business to whosoever would run a fire-fighting service in that area, whether it be another company, a voluntary body, or the civic authorities. Thus the Sun Office made the following contributions towards the maintenance of a brigade at Guildford:

28 March 1805	£10 10s.	Towards repair of the engine.
9 March 1815	£15	Towards an engine house.
30 November 1826	£5	Towards fire plugs.
25 November 1830	£5	Towards the purchase of an engine.
17 November 1836	£10	Towards hose.
23 February 1843		Towards repair of the engine.

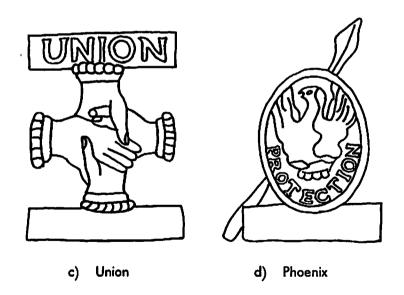
To furnish a ready and simple means of identity, 'in order that the houses of those persons insured may be known by the said firemen', each company issued its policy holders with a distinguishing mark or plaque, which was fixed in a prominent position on the front of the building, 'Which Mark is to be number'd with the Number of the Subscribers Policy, and there to remain so long as the Subscribers continue to pay their Quarteridges'. Each insuring company was identified on its mark with its own particular emblem which was embossed upon it. These plaques may sometimes still be seen on old houses, and are very useful to local historians in establishing the company with whom the property was insured.

The plaques fall, broadly speaking, into two types. The earlier ones were mostly cast in lead and generally had a number corresponding to the number of the



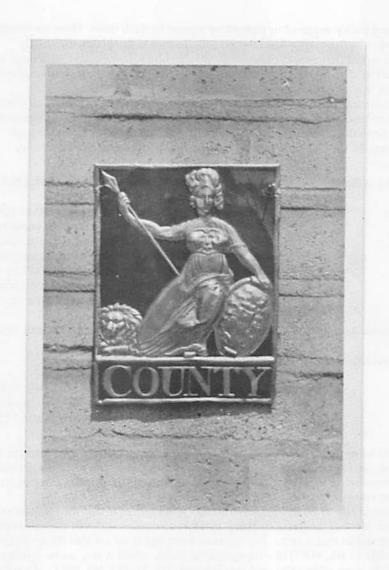
a) Hand-In-Hand

b) Sun



Some examples of fire-marks.

The policy number appeared in the bottom panel.



"County" fire-plate, originally fixed to no. 466 Walton Road, West Molesey.

insurance policy engraved or painted on a panel beneath them. These are usually referred to as fire-marks. The later plaques, known as fire-plates, are chiefly pressed out of thin copper-plate, or tinned sheet-iron. Some plates were made out of cast-iron. The fire-plates were often highly-coloured, for these were employed more by way of advertisement than anything else.

Each fire insurance company kept a register of the policies it issued and it is the bound volumes of these policy registers from the 18th and early 19th centuries which form the basis of the records of most practical use and interest to local historians. In the Guildhall Library have been deposited the following policy registers:—

Hand-in-Hand

150 volumes covering the years 1696 to 1865. (Ref. No. MS. 8674/1-150).

Sun

- 733 volumes of the 'Town Department' 1710 to 1862 (MS. 11,936/1-733). This series is far from complete, there being about 62 volumes missing, the gaps being listed in the numerical concordance in the catalogues.
- 527 volumes of the 'Country Department' 1793 to 1863 (MS. 11,937/1-527). Unfortunately the earlier volumes of this series are missing, the earliest extant entry being policy number 618401.

London Assurance

 7 volumes for sporadic years between 1722 and 1884 (MS. 8747/1-4 and 8747A/1-3).

Royal Exchange

- 7 volumes 1753 to 1759 (MS. 7252/1-7).
- 98 volumes 1773 to 1833 (MS. 7253/1-98).
- 37 volumes 'London Series' 1803 to 1853 (MS. 7254/ 1-37). This series also has a number of years missing.
- 31 volumes 'Supplementary Agents Series' (MS. 7255/ 1-31) for the period 1809 to 1870.

It will be seen then that there are over 1,500 volumes of registers existing in the Library, each containing many hundreds of entries. There are, therefore, literally millions of references to various properties throughout the country, ranging from humble cottages and farmsteads to mighty mansions.

The great pity as far as the local historian is concerned is that the registers are not indexed. Most of the 'Hand-in-Hand' volumes contain an index of the names of the insurers within that volume. For the same company there are also three volumes (MS. 8682 to MS. 8684) of a topographical index, which is very useful but only covers the years after 1806; and two volumes (MS. 8660 & MS. 8681) of a nominal index.

Unfortunately this lack of indexing means that unless the researcher knows beforehand the number of the policy and the company with which it was held, either by finding an original policy or by the evidence of a fire-mark still in situ, to find any particular property he must be prepared for a long, hard, methodical slog through many registers. A very daunting prospect. He must be prepared to spend long hours looking through registers and find nothing. But Oh! joy of joys when

his painstaking is rewarded by discovering details of a house or its owner which he perhaps will never find from any other source.

What, therefore, will be the reward of the successful researcher? What sort of information is he likely to find? Most companies insured for one year, and entered the details of the insured property in the register on the occasion when the first premium was paid, thereafter renewing the policy each year without further entry in the register unless some alteration was made. The Hand-in-Hand, however, had the practice of renewing their policies every seven years and re-entering them in the register every time, but still using the original number. This means that the entries in this company's volumes are not in strict numerical sequence. Nevertheless there are six volumes (MS. 8678/1-6) of a numerical index to show in which registers each policy appears.

This system, which at first seems rather complicated but to which the searcher soon becomes accustomed, has the distinct advantage for the historian that in most cases the development of a property can be traced over a space of several years, even a century or more, showing its various owners, its occupiers, the additions, rebuildings, and alterations in value, which have taken place during that time. Each entry gives the name, address and occupation of the insurer, who is usually the owner of the property, a description of the building, its occupier, insured value, and the class of risk, i.e. brick, timber, thatch, etc., or if it was particularly hazardous for some reason because, for instance, of a certain trade carried on there. Some companies also give the dimensions of each building, the number of storeys, attics, etc., and the outbuildings and the uses to which they are put, breaking down the full insured value for each item. Besides real estate some companies also insured the goods contained therein, not only household equipment but books, wearing apparel, plate, china, and all sorts of merchandise as well. The total insured value of such items is listed, and they give a good indication of the standing of the occupant.

To prevent fraud (it was not unknown for people to transfer a fire-mark from one building to another which had been damaged by fire) it was paramount that a detailed description of the location of the property be entered into the register, remembering that no formal addresses by way of numbered streets were then known. Location was therefore usually made by reference to some prominent building nearby, such as 'on the north side of the street being the fourth house westward from the parish church', or 'being a corner house next to the sign of the Swan'. This not only pin-points the exact location of the property, which few other classes of record do, but also gives valuable references to other buildings besides those actually insured. As examples of the places mentioned in the registers I quote below a few of the several hundred Surrey references I have so far abstracted:

Local trades

- Barnes and Mortlake Watermen's Plying Place
 - Carshalton Paper Mill Lane
 - Croydon Colliers Corner
 - East Molesey Tanyard
- Godalming Woolstapler With this insurance it had to be warranted that 'there be no Stove for drying wool nor any German or Pipe Stove'.

Structory 198 110hof The State of Com Store Seam 9.1772 a flower of Charles on Seam 9.1772 his Campbel Charles for Just 18,000_-

Extract from the policy register of the Hand-In-Hand Society issued to Robert Lord Clive for Claremont.

- Merton - Copper Mills

Houses Betchworth — Broome

Esher — Claremont

- Kingston - Westfield Lodge Leatherhead – Norbury Park

- West Horsley - Horsley Place

Famous people - Lord Clive

- Lord Lewisham

- William Wilberforce

Inns Bagshot — Rose and Crown

> - Barnes - Pyed Bull - Epsom - Spread Eagle Guildford — Blue Anchor

- Kingston - Lyon and Lambe

- Richmond - London Coffee House

 Banstead — Cannon Farm **Farms**

> - Cobham - Pond Tail Farm - Fetcham - Home Farm

- Limpsfield - Black Robens Farm

Nutfield — Hanisons Farm

Streets and - Chertsey - Little Brewhouse Lane Bridges

- Kingston - Cart Rump Bridge

- Merton - Turnpike - Mitcham - The Bridge

 Richmond – Ormonde Row - Thames Ditton - Hoe Lane

- Walton-on-Thames - Back Lane

The Guildhall Library is just behind the Guildhall in Basinghall Street, E.C.2. The keeper of manuscripts, Dr. A.E.J. Hollaender and his staff are most obliging to students wishing to research.

For authorities to the introduction to this paper and for a more detailed examination of fire insurance and fire-marks see the author's paper Fire Insurance Wall Plagues, published by the Walton and Weybridge Local History Society, priced 15p.

SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COUNCIL

Chairman: Kenneth Gravett, M.Sc. (Eng.), F.S.A.

The Surrey Local History Council exists to foster an interest in the history of Surrey by encouraging local history societies within the county, by the organisation of a one-day Symposium on Local History at Dorking and an Annual General Meeting which includes a visit to a place of historical interest and, also by cooperating with other bodies in order to discover the past and to maintain the heritage of Surrey in history, in architecture and in landscape.

Annual Subscription to the Council for local history societies £1.05. Enquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Lt. Colonel G.F. Kup, O.B.E., Jenner House, 2 Jenner Road, Guildford.

Membership on the part of local history societies or of individuals will help the Council to express with authority the importance of local history in the county.



Brickworks, Hambledon



Gravel Hill, Leatherhead



Stocks and Whipping Post Alford



Old Boarden Bridge, Godalming



Nicholas Woolmer's Cottage Blechingley



Old Crane, Guildford Wharf Guildford