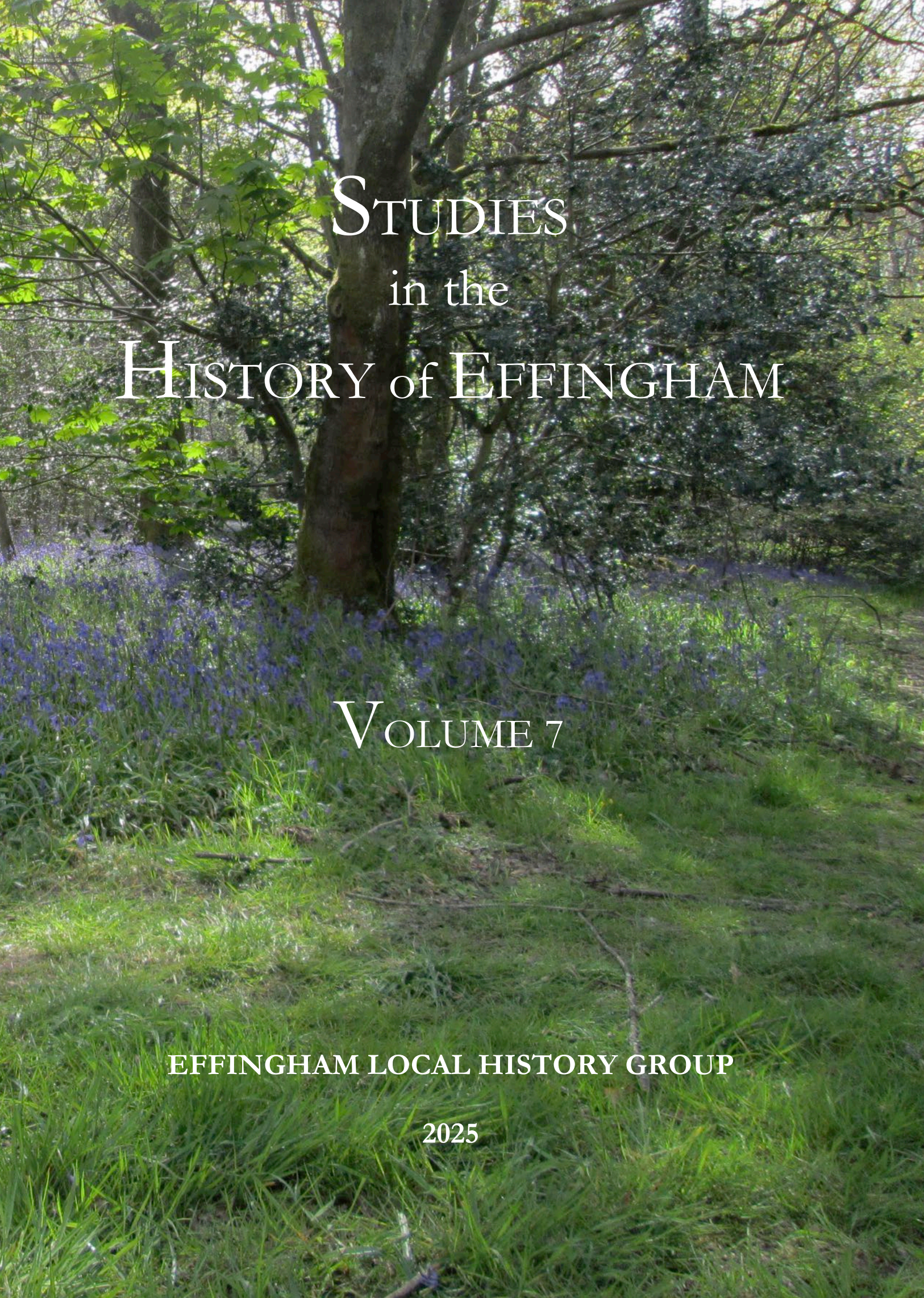


A photograph of a forest floor in spring. A large tree trunk is in the center-left. The ground is covered with green grass and many small blue flowers (bluebells). Sunlight filters through the trees, creating dappled light on the ground.

STUDIES in the HISTORY of EFFINGHAM

VOLUME 7

EFFINGHAM LOCAL HISTORY GROUP

2025

STUDIES
in the
HISTORY of EFFINGHAM



above – Evelyn Diana (née Massy) Tyrwhitt-Drake was born on 25 May 1920. Educated at St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, she became a State Registered Nurse by 1942 and worked as a Queen's Institute nurse between 1943 and 1945. On 13 June 1944 she married Col Barnard Peter Tyrwhitt-Drake. In 1966 they came to live at Walnut Tree Cottage in Effingham. Diana was a key member of the Effingham Women's Institute's History Sub-Committee which for several years assisted Monica O'Connor in compiling *The History of Effingham in Surrey*. After the book had been completed in 1973 Diana helped raise funds towards its printing and distribution. In 1988 she organised the History Exhibition for the village's Armada Day celebration and, with Mary Rice-Oxley, wrote historical material for its brochure. She also wrote about the Earls of Effingham in whom she had a special interest. She died in 1991. The year before, she and others had been attempting to establish a heritage centre for Effingham.

below – Anthony Cockle was born in Kingston in 1925 and was educated there at the Tiffin School. His special hobby was in amateur radio, complementing his career as a chartered electrical engineer with several major companies including Thorn EMI. He married in 1950 to Donalda Marrington and in 1958 they came to live in Effingham at 'Kander', 14 Leewood Way. He joined Effingham Parish Council in 1963 and became its Chairman in 1987, besides serving with distinction on other bodies. He conceived the Armada Day celebration in 1984 and led its planning over four years, but sadly died just a few weeks before the event. Donalda died in 2012.



STUDIES in the HISTORY of EFFINGHAM

Presenting original research and narratives
relating to the village of Effingham
in the County of Surrey, England

VOLUME 7



Effingham Local History Group

2025

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Every reasonable effort has been made to acknowledge the sources of information used. However, if any have inadvertently been overlooked then the editors would be glad to hear from the copyright holders and to make good in future editions any errors or omissions brought to their attention.

Front Cover: bluebells on Ranmore Common, a favourite walking area for Effingham residents.

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PREFACE

This seventh volume of *Studies in the History of Effingham* is the longest one produced so far in the series, containing ten principal articles and four supplementary ones.

Among the former, five articles are newly researched whilst the other five are updated versions of older articles previously residing on the ELHG website.

The first new one presents all the examples we have found so far of clandestine marriages among Effingham residents in the first half of the 18th century, before Hardwicke's 'Marriage Act' of 1754 was enacted with the aim of suppressing the practice. They are drawn from The National Archives. A particularly interesting case was that in which the son of an Effingham vicar clandestinely married the latter's servant girl whom he had made pregnant after bedding her in the vicar's own house.

This is followed by an addition to our series of articles on George Pauling. It presents and then comments upon his own account of an extravagant London show which he helped to instigate and finance. It featured spectacles at Earl's Court and Olympia in which large numbers of black Africans shipped over from the Cape entertained audiences of thousands by acting as savages and showing themselves ready to be mown down in blazes of mock gunfire from heroic white Boers likewise brought over here from Africa.

Appropriately, the next article looks more generally at the many connections between the histories of Effingham and of South Africa. These include: the military service in the Second Boer War of five Effingham men; the interactions of Cecil Rhodes with George Pauling and with a member of the Maxse family of Dunley Hill; and the bullet hole reputedly acquired during the Boer War by an Effingham horse.

Two articles, both taken from our website, describe past Effingham residents who made major contributions to the arts, Anthony Diamantidi and Andrea Malandrinos. Of the two, Diamantidi had much the greater impact on Effingham itself through his acquisition and development of local properties and also through his contributions to village causes and organisations. His association with the arts was especially significant in his support for the Ballets Russes. Malandrinos, on the other hand, was a prolific and highly versatile actor on stage, film and television during more than three decades.

Next comes a challenging study of the conundrum created half a century ago when Monica O'Connor, in the book *The History of Effingham in Surrey*, wrote of a tale she had heard that one of Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* had been composed at the property Slaters Oak on Effingham Common. This seemed improbable but not impossible. The conclusion in this article is that the tale was not true but, more importantly, a credible explanation is offered as to how that tale might have arisen.

The last four principal articles are all to do with village celebrations and other local public events in the first two decades of the 20th century. Three of them are derived from earlier articles on the ELHG website, dealing with the Coronations of 1902 and 1911 and the Peace Celebrations in 1919. The other is a new study of public events that occurred during 1903-1910, drawn from the local newspapers of the period.

There are four supplements, of which two are very brief and serve only to correct minor details in articles in previous volumes. A third one provides finer detail about the history of the Brackenbury's business in Bookham High Street and usefully clarifies the complex changes made to the building in part of which they had (and still have) their premises; additionally, some very nice new photographs of the business have been included. The longest supplement concerns the doings of the Brotherhood of the Essenes, the strange mystical group founded by former Effingham resident Lionel Atherton. Our original exploration of Atherton and our primary article about him seemed to us at the time to contain as much mind-boggling material as one could wish for – but we were mistaken. A resident of Cornwall, Dr Rupert White, who had read that article, brought our attention to new findings about the Brotherhood which have proved quite astonishing and gratifying to research further, despite creating yet more unresolved mysteries to add to the existing pile. Very pleasingly, Dr White joins us as a co-author of this supplement.

So there is a rich panoply of material in this weighty new volume and we hope it will bring pleasure to all our readers.

The Editors

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The Editors invite submissions of original manuscripts to this series of Volumes. These may take the form of research articles, whether long or short, concerning the history of Effingham or of novel collections of relevant material (historic images, for example). The form in which any such submissions, if accepted, appear in the series is at the discretion of the Editorial Board. In all such cases third party copyright must be respected and permissions for use must be obtained by the authors where appropriate.

Enquiries about the series should be directed to Effingham Local History Group either by email as set out on the website (<https://elhg.org.uk/about>) or by writing to

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Clandestine Marriages of Effingham Residents 1667-1754

Researched by BRYAN SHERWOOD and SUSAN MORRIS
and compiled by CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

The practice of clandestine marriage, whereby couples married not in compliance with the laws set down either by the church or by statute, became ever more prevalent during the 18th century. Huge numbers of them were carried out in London, especially in the area of the Fleet prison, mostly officiated by 'ministers' of a disreputable nature and conducted in disorderly venues such as taverns. At least a dozen such marriages were entered into by residents of Effingham and these are the focus of this article.

Introduction

In the 13th century the Church consolidated its view that marriage was a sacrament (a gift from God), thereby to justify it being controlled by the Church. Accordingly, rules were established in Canon Law (ie church law) stipulating the Church's requirements for marriage. The rules evolved over time. Following the religious changes brought about through the Reformation, the rules as set out by the Church of England from the 16th century became crystallised in the canons of 1604. Within this set of about 141 canons, 9 concern marriage (Nos 62, 63, 70 and 99-104) and 4 concern divorce (Nos 105-108). As an example, canon 62 reads as follows:

LXII.

Ministers not to Marry any Persons without Banns or License.

NO Minister upon Pain of Suspension per triennium ipso facto, shall celebrate Matrimony between any Persons, without a Faculty or License granted by some of the Persons in these our Constitutions expressed, except the Banns of Matrimony have been first published three several Sundays or Holy-days in the time of Divine Service, in the Parish Churches or Chapels where the said Parties dwell, according to the Book of Common Prayer. Neither shall any Minister upon the like pain under any Pretence whatsoever, joyn any Persons so Licensed in Marriage at any unseasonable Times, but only between the Hours of Eight and Twelve in the Forenoon, nor in any private Place, but either in the said Churches or Chapels where one of them dwelleth, and likewise in Time of Divine Service: Nor when Banns are thrice asked (and no License in that respect necessary) before the Parents or Governours of the Parties to be married, being under the Age of Twenty and one Years, shall either personally, or by sufficient Testimony, signifie to him their Consents given to the said Marriage.

Many important legal matters (eg legitimacy of offspring, inheritance, etc) hinge upon the question of the *validity* of a marriage as determined by the law. If the legal status of a marriage be challenged, then that status will be determined by the law as it stands at the time the challenge is made, not solely upon whatever status the marriage had initially; this is because new laws may operate retrospectively so as to revise earlier decisions. A marriage is *valid* for any legal purpose when it is *recognised to be so* by every court having jurisdiction in the matter. In general the law presumes a marriage to be valid unless a challenger can satisfy a court that the marriage is *void*, that is, had never validly existed. Also, there have been past occasions when a marriage that was originally void was subsequently rendered valid by later retrospective legislation.

Prior to 1754, the period of interest examined in this article, the question of whether any particular marriage was valid was entirely a matter to be decided by the church (ecclesiastical) courts. Whilst the (civil) courts of common law often had to consider whether some couple were married, the mere fact of the parties having undergone a marriage ceremony was sufficient for them to be presumed married; but any challenge to the *validity* of the marriage remained wholly within the jurisdiction of the church courts to decide.

There is a vital distinction to be drawn, with regard to the requirements of the law, as to what is *mandatory* and what is merely *directory*. In relation to marriage, some of the requirements set out in the canons of 1604 have been mistakenly viewed, by many modern writers of both history and of genealogy, as mandatory when they were actually only directory. As one example among several it is commonly but wrongly often asserted that failure to have the Banns called or to have obtained a Licence prior to a marriage ceremony rendered that marriage invalid; but this is not the case. The excellent guide *Marriage Law for Genealogists* by Professor Rebecca Probert, a leading authority on the marriage laws of England and Wales, explains how such mistakes have arisen and then been widely propagated even to works that one might have regarded as authoritative and trustworthy, resulting in much confusion in the literature of this subject and leading many genealogists astray.

To summarise, during the period (1667-1754) the applicable law was Anglican canon law, as it had been from the start of the 17th century except in a brief period in the 1650s up to 1660 (the year of the Restoration) when civil law applied. The two essential mandatory requirements for a valid marriage were:

1. the ceremony *had to be conducted by an Anglican clergyman*;
2. both parties *had to express their consent to be married to one another*.

A marriage could be challenged if either party lacked the required *capacity* to marry, ie if:

3. the parties were related *within the prohibited degrees* (eg were siblings);
4. either of the parties was *under the age of consent* (12 for girls or 14 for boys);
5. the parties were *of the same sex*;
6. either of the parties was *already married*;
7. either of the parties was *not capable of consummation* at the time they married.

Certain other requirements were merely directory and these included:

8. either Banns had to be called or a Marriage Licence had to be obtained;
9. the marriage had to take place in a church or chapel in the parish of at least one of the couple unless a Marriage Licence had been obtained, for which a fee would be payable;
10. if either one party was aged under 21 years then consent was required of their parents or guardians;
11. the marriage had to be recorded in the Register of the church or chapel where the marriage took place;
12. the marriage ceremony had to be conducted during 'canonical hours', that is, between 8am and noon.

Failure to observe any of the directory requirements did *not* inherently invalidate the marriage. Their purpose was to make clear firmly what the church expected of all marrying couples and to encourage conformity in the ceremony of marriage. When such a requirement was not met the offending party or parties could be brought before a diocesan Correction Court and made subject to penalties.

Prior to 1754 a marriage that failed to comply with all the requirements of canon law was termed *clandestine*. Nevertheless, provided it had been consensual and celebrated by an Anglican clergyman it was still a valid marriage. In some quarters an additional term *irregular* has also been used to classify certain kinds of non-compliant marriage, but this term lacks formal legal meaning and we shall not use it here. The usual meaning of 'clandestine' is of something secret or underhand but is used more loosely in our current context to connote any way in which the marriage service did not meet the church's requirements.

Clandestine marriages became an ever-increasing occurrence:

'Clandestine marriages began to grow in numbers from the middle of the seventeenth century. The authorities attempted to quell this growth by introducing three parliamentary acts between 1694 and 1696 which collectively regulated marriages, introduced marriage taxes and censured and suspended clergy found to be involved. These, however, only applied to marriage centres which came under the jurisdiction (or visitation) of the bishop of the diocese. These acts inadvertently gave a near monopoly to private marriage centres outside the bishop's visitation (e.g. prisons) and to clergymen (many of whom were prisoners) who had been dismissed or were in debt and who had nothing to lose by conducting clandestine, fee-paying marriages.

In 1711, Parliament passed legislation which included an attempt to deal with the problem of such clandestine marriages being conducted in prisons. A clause was included in the act to counter the loss of revenue (from non-payment of stamp duties) caused by clandestine marriages. The clause continued the imposition of fines for any person in 'holy orders' conducting a marriage but also introduced the same fine for any prison keeper who permitted such a marriage at his prison. While this prevented the marriages being performed inside the prisons, it did not prevent them being conducted in other locations in the vicinity of the prisons: e.g. the Liberties (or Rules) of the Fleet, or the Mint (for King's Bench Prison).'

[General Register Office: *Registers of Clandestine Marriages and of Baptisms in the Fleet Prison, King's Bench Prison, the Mint and the May Fair Chapel*, The National Archives: Class RG7]

By 1753 very large numbers of clandestine marriages were taking place, often in disreputable circumstances (as will be discussed presently) and creating difficulties in many areas of life, including the management of estates:

'By the early 18th Century, it was estimated that up to a third of all marriages were irregular or clandestine. In addition, around half of all marriages in London were performed at or around Fleet prison (which equated to around one seventh of all English weddings). Many couples travelled to London to get married.'

[<https://wardfamily.blog/>]

The reasons were various:

'Such ceremonies were often shrouded in secrecy as there were a variety of motives for requiring a clandestine marriage, the primary appeal being reasons of cost, while other reasons included the avoidance of the need to obtain parental consent, requiring a back-dated ceremony to legitimise offspring or attempts to validate claims upon an inheritance, proof of legitimacy or a Will.'

[<https://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/non-conformist-records>]

Aiming to establish order and clarity in the matter, the *civil* judiciary took a radical step towards eliminating clandestine marriages, specifically by the introduction of Lord Hardwicke's 'Marriage Act' (formally, *An Act for the Better Prevention of Clandestine Marriage*, 1753). This Act came into force on 25 March 1754.

Clergymen: income, debt and conducting of clandestine marriages

From the early Middle Ages a system of *primogeniture* had, in general, been adopted by the wealthier landowners. Under this system, on the death of a father his estate would pass to his wife for life, if she were still alive, and then go in total to the eldest son (or daughter if no males survived). This arrangement had a logic as it ensured that the estate was not divided between so many people that it would soon become valueless through fragmentation. However, if the widowed wife were young, it could put off for years the point at which the eldest son might come into the inheritance.

Provided there were sufficient money in the estate, one option was for one son to purchase a commission in the army, which could be done up to the rank of colonel. This practice took root from 1683 during the reign of Charles II and there was a sliding scale of charges for commissions. The lower ranks were obviously cheaper and the more famous foot regiments charged more, reflecting the varying degrees of social prestige between different regiments. The most expensive were amongst the cavalry regiments, but the pay was obviously better.

These commissions were not cheap and amazingly there was no obligation to know anything about military matters. One paid the money, purchased the uniform and spent one's time parading around at social events.

This system was discontinued after the serious losses in 1854 of the Light Brigade under the poor command of the 7th Earl of Cardigan, appointed despite his lack of a suitable military background.

Many younger siblings opted instead to join the officer ranks of the navy or the church to give them an income. Provided they enrolled at a university or training college for a term or two they stood a good chance of becoming an ordained minister. Some might pay a patron to nominate them for a living when a vacancy came up. But many livings were very poorly recompensed (by the Church). Consequently many curates and other clergy who had managed to find a patron sank into debt.

There were several ways by which ministers could seek to improve their financial positions. One way was to become appointed as a domestic chaplain:

'A domestic chaplain was a chaplain attached to a noble household in order to grant the family a degree of self-sufficiency in religion. The chaplain was freed from any obligation to reside in a particular place so could travel with the family, internationally if necessary, and minister to their spiritual needs.'

[<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chaplain>]

The work of domestic chaplains 'was not chronicled in the usual records of the Church since they often operated outside the supervision of the ecclesiastical hierarchy' [*A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840* by William Hamilton Gibson, Leicester University Press, 1997].

Two of Effingham's ministers were among the fortunate few who became domestic chaplains to the nobility. One was Thomas Bonney MA, Rector of Ockham during 1753-64 and vicar of Effingham during c1738-62; he was appointed on 11 March 1753 as domestic chaplain to Peter King, 3rd Baron of Ockham [*Register of Noblemen's Chaplains*, Lambeth Palace Library]. This gave him additional income of £164 per annum – a significant increase. The other was Bonney's successor at Effingham, Henry Warner MA. He served as Rector of Fetcham during 1748-72 and vicar of Effingham during 1762-72 and moreover was appointed on 19 August 1762 as personal chaplain to Mary Keith, Countess of Kintore.

A second way to earn income additional to that obtained from one living was to hold another living concurrently, that is, to be a *pluralist* minister, as was the case with both Bonney and Warner. Another local example was John Chorley Knowles BA, Rector of Fetcham and vicar of Effingham during 1772-93. Yet another was Henry Malthus MA who held both Effingham and Donnington in Sussex. These ministers along with several others would have considered the income from Effingham alone, as for the majority of benefices, inadequate. Some ministers occupied parishes that were contiguous, but otherwise they would find curates, to whom they could pay a percentage of the value of the living, to conduct services for them.

Pluralist positions had to surmount certain legal hurdles:

‘Although pluralism was commonplace in the Church of England, many clergymen were not eligible to hold livings in plurality and certain combinations of offices were forbidden by ecclesiastical law. When a cleric was appointed to a living that could not be held alongside his current position, the latter living was deemed void by cession.’

[<https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/glossary/cession/>]

This circumstance arose with only one of Effingham’s vicars, Thomas Bonney. Apart from holding the posts above in 1762 he also obtained the living as Rector of St Andrew Undershaft with St Mary Axe in London. This it seems was too much for John Thomas, then Bishop of Winchester, who had Bonney’s living at Effingham deemed void by cession.

A third way for a minister to supplement his income was to take on a teaching role for the offspring of a local lord. One Effingham minister, Rev William Farley, tried this but, it seems, not always successfully if his pupil Keppel were to be believed [*Fifty Years of my Life* by George Thomas Keppel, 6th Earl of Albemarle, MacMillan and Co, 1876]. Another ‘minister’, James Lando at the Fleet Prison, is recorded as offering his services to teach Latin and Greek but seems not to have had many clients.

Ironically, the ministers who came off best, if they were lucky, were those who had been committed to one of the big London prisons as debtors. There they could conduct clandestine marriages and many of them became very wealthy.

Notable venues for clandestine marriages

Prominent locations for clandestine marriages were in the vicinity of prisons, since many clergymen who had been unable to make ends meet in their former parishes became committed to these institutions through becoming debtors. These circumstances have produced for us the most fruitful sources of clandestine marriage records. Relatively little record remains of such marriages being occasionally performed elsewhere and therefore we will never know the true extent of the practice.

The Fleet Prison

In London the most significant location for clandestine marriages was the Fleet Prison which claimed to be outside the jurisdiction of the church.

Fleet Prison was chiefly a debtors prison, situated on the east bank of the Fleet River in what is now Farringdon Street, London. The surrounding area, called the ‘Rules of the Fleet’, was bounded by Farringdon Street, Ludgate Hill, the Old Bailey and Fleet Lane, being a dense and infamous warren of narrow alleys and courts. Here debtor prisoners who gave suitable security were able to live outside the prison and, where practicable, to continue their former occupations.

The earliest marriages were performed in the prison chapel, the prison warders taking a share of the profit. In 1711 a statute was enacted to impose fines upon them for doing so, but the effect was only to drive the clandestine marriage trade outside. As a result the ceremonies were performed in the open. Local taverns even made rooms available for visiting Fleet ministers to perform them. Some such taverns employed resident ministers whilst some private houses nearby let out rooms to them.

‘During the 1740s, up to a staggering 6,000 marriages a year were taking place in the Fleet area alone, between 100 clergy working in the Fleet area between 1700 and 1753. It was not merely a marriage centre for criminals and the poor, however: both rich and poor availed themselves of the opportunity to marry quickly or in secret.’

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fleet_marriage]

‘The marriages performed at the Fleet involved all classes from London and the surrounding counties, but mainly catered for artisans, farmers, labourers and craftsmen from the poorer parishes of London, soldiers (including Chelsea Pensioners), and particularly sailors.’

[<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13332>]



Figure 1 A wedding in the Fleet; 17th century print.

The King's Bench Prison

'King's Bench Prison was located on the east side of Borough High Street in Southwark. As with the Fleet, the majority of prisoners were debtors, but relatively few marriages were performed in the Prison itself.' [<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13332>]



Figure 2 The prison yard of the King's Bench Prison in St George's Fields;
© The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The King's Bench Prison operated from the middle ages up to 1880.

It took its name from the King's Bench court of law in which cases of defamation, bankruptcy and other misdemeanours were heard; as such, the prison was often used as a debtor's prison until the practice was abolished in the 1860s. In 1842, it was renamed the Queen's Bench Prison and became the Southwark Convict Prison in 1872.

Although much larger and better appointed than some other London prisons, the new King's Bench still gained a reputation for being dirty, overcrowded and prone to outbreaks of typhus. Debtors had to provide their own bedding, food and drink. Those who could afford it purchased 'Liberty of the Rules' allowing them to live within three square miles of the prison.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King's_Bench_Prison]

The Marshalsea Prison

The Marshalsea (1373-1842) was a notorious prison in Southwark, just south of the River Thames. Although it housed a variety of prisoners – including men accused of crimes at sea and political figures charged with sedition – it became known, in particular, for its incarceration of the poorest of London's debtors. Over half of England's prisoners in the 18th century were in jail because of debt.

Most of the first Marshalsea, as with the second, was taken up by debtors; in 1773 debtors within 12 miles of Westminster could be imprisoned there for a debt of 40 shillings. Jerry White writes that London's poorest debtors were housed in the Marshalsea. Wealthier debtors secured their removal from the Marshalsea by writ of *habeas corpus*, and arranged to be moved to the Fleet or King's Bench, both of which were more comfortable. The prison also held a small number of men being tried at the Old Bailey for crimes at sea.' [<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshalsea>]



Figure 3 The first Marshalsea in the 18th century as depicted in *Old and New London*, Vol. 6, 1878 by Edward Walford; public domain.

The Mint

The Mint was somewhat different:

‘A Charter of 1550 gave the area exemption from the City's control of the manor and created a separate jurisdiction, the Liberty of the Mint. The Mint occupied an area of Southwark, south London, on the west side of Borough High Street, around where Marshalsea Road is now located.’

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberty_of_the_Mint]

It became a haunt of criminals and fugitives:

‘Those who were in danger of being thrown into debtor's prison could, if they were lucky, run to the Mint to hide. Once in the Mint, such debtors risked immediate arrest if they were found outside of it.’

[https://academickids.com/encyclopedia/index.php/The_Mint]

As a result ministers here did not have the same freedoms as those in the Fleet and by the 1740s those marriages which had been performed in the Mint began to be held at the Fleet.

The King's Bench and the Mint, because of their locations, tended to attract a high proportion of couples from Kent and Surrey.



Figure 4 The Mint, Southwark, in 1825; British Library (public domain).

Curzon Chapel in May Fair and Alexander Keith

The Church of England's new Curzon Chapel was built in London's Curzon Street in 1730 and its first incumbent was Alexander Keith. He began to perform marriages without Banns having been called or Licences issued.

‘From the late 1720s, clandestine marriages commenced at May Fair [aka Mayfair (in Westminster)], which eventually became only second to the Fleet in terms of notoriety for such marriages. Initially, May Fair marriages were performed at St George's Chapel, Curzon Street, Mayfair, near Hyde Park Corner

then, from 1744, at a private dwelling house (the 'New' or 'Little Chapel') situated ten yards away from St George's Chapel. Whereas clandestine marriages performed at the Fleet and King's Bench prisons and surrounding areas tended to attract the working classes, the May Fair Chapel was frequently used by professional classes and the aristocracy for marriages, including the Dukes of Cleveland and Hamilton, Lord Stanley, and Lord George Bentinck.'

[<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13332>]

He was in due course ex-communicated by an ecclesiastical court in 1742.

Keith then went to prison and remained there for several years. However, he quickly established his own private chapel very near to his old one on Curzon Street, where he and his curates continued clandestine marriages until 1754, when the Marriage Act 1753 came into effect. At its height, some six thousand marriages a year were taking place at the chapel.

The chapel's business was promoted by frequent advertisements in newspapers, such as this one in the *Daily Post* dated 20 July 1744:

"To prevent mistakes, the little new chapel in May Fair, near Hyde Park corner, is in the corner house, opposite to the city side of the great chapel, and within ten yards of it, and the minister and clerk live in the same corner house where the little chapel is; and the licence on a crown stamp, minister and clerk's fees, together with the certificate, amount to one guinea, as heretofore, at any hour till four in the afternoon. And that it may be the better known, there is a porch at the door like a country church porch."

Keith was finally committed to prison in the Fleet, but this did not stop the marriages and he employed Curates to perform the services. When his wife died in January 1750, Keith combined the announcement of her death in the *Daily Advertiser* with an advertisement for his chapel.'

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keith%27s_Chapel



Figure 5 Certificate for a Fleet marriage; 23 February 1727.

Effingham residents marrying clandestinely

The clandestine marriage records as listed in Appendix I are held in class RG7 at The National Archives. Probably, many others have never reached The National Archives and are either in private collections or have become lost altogether.

The records of marriages of Effingham residents were found by searching *Ancestry's* scans of the records in The National Archives and are shown below. *Ancestry* may have added further marriage records since this article was written. The spellings shown are as they appear in the registers and Effingham residents are named in bold type.

The original register pages we found are shown in Plates 1-35 in Appendix II. Beneath each Plate we give the marriage date, details of the parties, the RG7 piece number, the 'officiating minister(s)' and the details of the file and date range in which the record is contained, all as given by The National Archives. The actual officiating minister for any particular marriage cannot in general be inferred with a high degree of confidence, and the details concerning this beneath the Plates should be treated with caution.

<i>Groom</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Bride</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Plate</i>
Elderfield Thomas	Effingham	1707	Smith Elizabeth	Great Buckham	RG 7/19	1
Pollard Thomas	Petworth	1720	Mascall Sarah	Effingham	RG 7/56	2
Alife [?-unclear]	Essingham?	1724	Chivers Mary?	Dorking	RG 7/62	3
Neals John	Effingham	1727	Cotton Elizabeth	Christ Church, London	RG 7/47	4
Neales John	Effingham	1727	Cotton Elizabeth	Christ Church, London	RG 7/85	5
Neales John	Effingham	1727	Cotton Elizabeth	Christ Church, London	RG 7/91	6
Neales John	Effingham	1727	Cotton Elizabeth	Christ Church, London	RG 7/595	7
Taylour John	Carford	1729	Burgess Mary	Effingham	RG 7/99	8
Sheerin Thomas	Effingham	1735	Merrett Mary	Effingham	RG 7/148	9
Sheerin Thomas	Effingham	1735	Merrett Mary	Effingham	RG 7/421	10
Sheerin Thomas	Effingham	1735	Merrett Mary	Effingham	RG 7/644	11
Godfrey William	St Martin	1737	Kelluck Elizabeth	Effingham	RG 7/139	12
Godfrey William	St Martin	1737	Killuck Elizabeth	Effingham	RG 7/144	13
Godfrey William	St Martin	1737	Killuck Elizabeth	Effingham	RG 7/147	14
Godfrey William	St Martin	1737	Kellick Elizabeth	Effingham	RG 7/159	15
Godfrey William	St Martin	1737	Kellick Elizabeth	Effingham	RG 7/160	16
Walker John	Effingham	1740	Constable Jane	Of Tavern near Blackfriars	RG 7/166	17
Walker John	Effingham	1740	Constable Jane	Of Tavern near Blackfriars	RG 7/724	18
Walker John (again)	Effingham	1752	Alemore Eliz	St Andrews, Holbourn	RG 7/268	19
Port John	Abinger	1741	Hains Jane	Effingham	RG 7/161	20
Port John	Abinger	1741	Hains Jane	Effingham	RG 7/191	21
Port John	Abinger	1741	Hains Jane	Effingham	RG 7/448	22
Port John	Abinger	1741	Hains Jane	Effingham	RG 7/491	23
Howick Henry	Effingham	1743	Hall Ann	Effingham	RG 7/215	24
Airow Thomas	Effingham	1745	Patterson Eliza	Leatherhead	RG 7/150	25
Arrow Thomas	Effingham	1745	Potterton Eliza	Leatherhead	RG 7/220	26
Arrow Thos	Effingham	1745	Potterton Eliza	Leatherhead	RG 7/526	27
Arrow Thos	Effingham	1745	Patterson Elizabeth	Leatherhead	RG 7/660	28
Harrow Joseph	Effingham	1747	Collins Amey	Effingham	RG 7/144	29
Harrow Joseph	Effingham	1747	Collins Amey	Effingham	RG 7/191	30
Harrow Joseph	Effingham	1747	Collins Ame	Effingham	RG 7/236	31
Harrow Joseph	Effingham	1747	Collins Amey	Effingham	RG 7/472	32
Harrow Joseph	Effingham	1747	Collins Amey	Effingham	RG 7/548	33
Taylor John	Compton	1750	Marsh Hannah	Effingham	RG 7/241	34
Puntar John	Effingham	1753	Muggeridge Avis	Effingham	RG 7/15	35

Altogether these entries span 15 distinct marriages (including 2 for Walker), 14 clearly for Effingham people. Similar numbers are found for some nearby villages although many more appear for Cobham.

The ministers

Below are details of some of the better known and more notorious ‘ministers’ who performed marriages for Effingham residents and operated out of the Fleet and King's Bench. The following account of them indicates which Plates show the marriages for which they officiated. Each minister subtitle below includes the date range over which they operated.

John Gaynam, c1709–1740

John Gaynam was one of the earliest, and perhaps the most prolific, performer of marriages near the Fleet. He gave evidence at several trials held at the Old Bailey in the 1730s, as recorded a century later in *The Fleet Registers* by John Southerden Burn [publ Rivingtons, London, 1833]. Extracts from these trials are given in Appendix III. Gaynam may have officiated at the marriage of John Neales and Elizabeth Cotton shown in Plates 4-7.

Walter Wyatt, c1717–1750

Walter Wyatt was also prolific in this activity. He appears on a number of marriage entries from his own registers and notebooks (eg Plates 3, 15, 17, 18, 21 etc) and also in the lists of ministers in other registers (eg Plate 6: Floud, Wagstaffe, Gaynam, Wigmore, Wyatt, Ryder, Meredith, Dare).

He is not known to have resided at the Fleet but was active there and in the area surrounding it.

He is recorded as having earned at least £57 12s. 9d in October 1748 alone for weddings [*The Fleet: its River, Prison and Marriages*, by John Ashton, publ Scribner and Welford, New York, 1888, p348], showing that it was (for him) a very lucrative trade. Besides his activities at the Fleet he also set up in opposition to Mr Keith, the most prominent ‘minister’ at May Fair. Ashton [*ibid*, p350] writes of this as follows:

‘He seems to have attempted to invade Parson Keith's peculiar in May Fair, or it may only be an Advertising ruse on the part of that exceedingly keen practitioner, in order to bring his name prominently before the public. At all events there is an Advertisement dated August 27, 1748:

“The Fleet Parson (who very modestly calls himself Reverend), married at the Fleet, in Mr. Lyl's house, Mrs. Cook's, at the Naked Boy, and for Mr. Wyatt, the Fleet Parson. And to shew that he is now only for Mr. Wyatt, the Fleet Parson's deputy, the said Wyatt told one in May Fair, that he intended to set up in opposition to Mr. Keith, and send goods to furnish the house, and maintains him and the men who ply some days at the Fleet, and at other times at May Fair. But not to speak of the men, if he himself was not a Fleet Parson, he could never stand in Piccadilly, and run after Coaches and foot people in so shameful a manner, and tell them Mr. Keith's house is shut up, and there is no Chapel but theirs; and to other people he says, their Fleet Chapel is Mr. Keith's Chapel, and this he hath said in the hearing of Mr. Keith's clerk, and it is known to most of the people about May Fair, and likewise Mr. Keith appeals to the generality of people about the Fleet and May Fair, for proof of Mr. Reverend's being only Wyatt's, the Fleet parson's deputy.”’

The Naked Boy mentioned above receives mention also in the account of the William Godfrey case recorded in Plates 12-16 and discussed in Appendix IV.

Wyatt evidently desisted soon afterwards [*The Craftsman*, 26 November 1748]:

‘The town being informed in this paper for some months past, of a Fleet Parson that had open'd a chapel in May Fair in order to supplant M. Keith, we think it not improper to acquaint the Public that we shall not trouble them on that score for the future, he having decamp'd on Thursday last, and returned to his own place, the Fleet.’

In his later work *The History of the Fleet Marriages* [publ Longmans, London, 1846], John Southerden Burn asserts that Wyatt's ‘last marriage was on the 3rd March 1749’ and goes on to report of Wyatt that:

‘He died 13th March 1750. By his Will proved at Doctors' Commons, he appoints his brother William guardian to his children; to his son William his study of books and sermons; to his daughter Mary, wife of Thomas Gorden, of Colebrook, five guineas, and his estate at Oxford; and notices his two other children Jemima and Katherine.’

William lived near the Fleet but as far as we know was not involved in Walter's activities.

Daniel Wigmore, 1723–1754

Judging by his handwriting Wigmore may have been an elderly man or perhaps not very sober. A piece in *The Daily Post*, 25 May 26 1738, reported that:

‘Yesterday Daniel Wigmore, one of the parsons noted for marrying people within the Rules of the Fleet, was convicted before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, of selling spirituous liquors contrary to law.’

He is mentioned (Plate 14) in connection with the marriage of William Godfrey.

Alexander Keith

We have only one marriage recorded by Keith (Plate 8), from the May Fair registers in 1729.

John Mottram, 1709–1725

Mottram is mentioned beneath Plate 2 for the marriage of Sarah Mascall to Thomas Pollard. John Southerden Burn [*op. cit.*, 1846] writes of Mottram that:

‘In 1716 he was convicted in the Consistory Court of London for solemnizing clandestine marriages within the Liberty of the Fleet Prison and was suspended from the execution of his ministerial functions for three years. [There is] an account of his conviction in the Court of King’s Bench in the same year, when he was fined £200. In one of his pocket-books he states the arms of the family of Mottram, of Mottram, in the deanery of Macclesfield, to be, “S. a chev. Arg. charged with three roses between three cross crosslets Or.”’

It would seem he was a minister as he appears in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* [compiled by John Venn and his son John Archibald Venn]:

John Mottram

Adm. at a College. pens. at EMMANUEL Sept. 14, 1703. Of Lincolnshire. Turned papist, and afterwards recanted.’

Mottram conducted marriages not in the chapel of the prison, but in a room of the Fleet they called the ‘Lord Mayor’s Chapel’. He was convicted and tried at the Guildhall, London in 1716 for solemnizing two clandestine marriages. An account of the conviction appeared in the *Weekly Journal* of 13 February 1717:

‘John Mottram, Clerk, was tryed for solemnizing clandestine and unlawful marriages in the Fleet Prison, and of keeping fraudulent Registers, whereby it appear’d that he had dated several marriages several years before he enter’d into orders, and that he kept no less than nine several Registers at different houses, which contained many scandalous frauds. It also appeared, that a marriage was antedated because of pregnancy ; and to impose on the ignorant there was written underneath, this scrap of barbarous Latin, “Hi non nupti fuerunt sed obtinuerunt Testimonium propter timorem parentum”, meaning that they were not married but obtained this private Register for fear of their parents. It rather appeared from evidence, that these sham marriages were solemnized in a room in the Fleet they call the Lord Mayor’s Chappel, which was furnished with chairs, cushions, and proper conveniencies, and that a coal-heaver was generally set to ply at the door to recommend all couples that had a mind to be marry’d, to the Prisoner, who would do it cheaper than any body. It farther appear’d, that one of the Registers only contained above 2200 entries which had been made within the last year.’

Burn states that Mottram had left the Fleet by August 1727.

John Floud, 1709–1729

Floud is mentioned, among others, beneath Plate 6 for the marriage of John Neales to Elizabeth Cotton. Burn gives the following brief account of Floud:

‘He died suddenly 31 December 1729, at his lodgings in the liberty of the Fleet. He married both at the King’s Bench Prison and the Mint in 1725, having a back room at the latter place. He appears to have been a man of bad character, and to have been several years a prisoner for debt. There is in one of the Registers a memorandum in Greek characters to a marriage in 1727 “Paid five shillings, and one certificate, brought by Mrs. Blood, Doctor Floud’s mistress.”’

William Dare, 1732–1746

Dare is mentioned beneath many of our Plates. In a few of these it is probable that he was the actual officiator, such as Plate 23 for the marriage of John Port to Jane Hains and Plate 26 for the marriage of Thomas Arrow and Eliza Potterton. Burn writes of him that:

‘He at one time resided at No. 12, Bell Court, Bow Church Yard. He used to marry from 150 to 200 couples per month, and kept a curate to assist him. In one of the Registers is “1723, 14 April, Peter Kulett of St. Brides Fram [frame?] Maker, Mary Ann Paviour Sp: forged by Mr. Dare in 1741, who married [them?] att Smiths att ye same time.” To a marriage by Mr. Dare in 1742 are these witnesses, who were no doubt members of his family “Elizabeth Dare—Anna Catherina Dee—Sussex Dare.”’

Peter Symson, 1731–1754

Symson is mentioned beneath many of our Plates. In one of them (Plate 28) the record of the marriage of John Walker to Eliz Alemore lies in one of his own registers. Others show him among ministers operating from Mr. William Simpson's who kept the King's Arms chapel. Burn writes of him as follows:

‘One of his hand-bills runs thus:

“At the true Chapel at the old red Hand and Mitre, three doors from Fleet Lane and next Door to the White Swan; Marriages are performed by authority by the Reverend Mr. Symson educated at the University of Cambridge, and late Chaplain to the Earl of Rothes. N. B. Without Imposition.”

On a trial in 1751, for Bigamy, Symson was thus examined:

“*Q.* —Why did you marry them without licence ?

Symson —Because somebody would have done it, if I had not. I was ordained in Grosvenor Square Chapel by the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Lincoln. Can't say I am a prisoner in the Fleet. Am 43 years old. Never had a benefice in my life. I have had little petty curacies about 20/. or 30/. per year. I don't do it for lucre or gain.

Court. —You might have exposed your person had you gone on the highway, but you'd do less prejudice to your country a great deal. You are a nuisance to the public ; and the gentlemen of the jury, it is to be hoped, will give but little credit to you.”

It appears by an entry in one of the May Fair Registers, that Symson officiated at May Fair Chapel for Mr. Keith, in consequence of the committal of the latter to the Fleet on his ex-communication. There is a whole Register of May Fair Marriages from 1750 to 1754, “Performed by the Reverend Mr. Peter Symson and Mr. Fran Denevau, for Keith, May Fair.”’

Edward Ashwell, 1734–1743

Ashwell appears in several of our cases, for example in the marriage (Plate 30) of Joseph Harrow and Amey Collins. Burn's rather damning account of Ashwell reads as follows:

‘In the Lansdown [sic – Lansdowne] Manuscripts (841. 61) is a letter giving an account of this person:

“Reverend Sir, June 21, 1725.

There was lately at Southam, in Warwickshire, one Edward Ashwell, who in my absence got possession of our school and preach'd in several churches in this neighbourhood. I take the liberty to inform you, since I hear he is at Kettering, that he is a most notorious rogue and impostor. I have now certificates on my hand of his having two wives alive at this present time, and he was very near marrying the third in this town, but the fear of a prosecution upon the discovery of the flaming and scandalous immoralities of his life forc'd him away from us in a short time. Afterwards, in a village not far from us, he attempted to ravish a woman, but was prevented by a soldier then in the house. I can assure you he is in no orders, though the audacious villain preaches when he can get a pulpit. I have a whole packet of letters by me, all tending to the same character, which I think exceeds for variety of all manner of enormous practices what can be charg'd upon the very scum of mankind. The accounts are from persons of integrity and known reputation.

I prevented his preaching one day at Brawnston, Mr. Somes's parish. It would be a very kind and Christian office to give some information among the clergy, that they may not be impos'd upon by him, particularly to Mr. Heyrick, for I married Mr. Allicock's sister of Loddington.

I know you will pardon this trouble if the fellow be amongst you. I am, Your affectionate brother, W. Hodgson.”

Ashwell had a great deal of business at the Fleet, and was one of the most notorious of the parsons. In one of his pocketbooks is “May 2^d. 1740. C. sine matrimonio Wm. Wallby of Suson in Waltham Abby Parish Husb, and Mary Vale Ditto Sp; Venit nuper ad Dominu [He came late to the Lord]”.

Ashwell died in January 1746, as appears by the following notice of his death in the *General Advertiser*, for the 15th of that month : “On Monday last died in the Rules of the Fleet, Doctor Ashwell, the most noted operator in marriages since the death of the never-to-be forgotten Dr. Gaynam.” ’

James Lando, 1737–1743

Lando appears in only one of our findings (Plate 34). This is what Burn has to say about him:

‘In his advertisements he styled himself ‘late Chaplain to His Majesty’s ship *The Falkland*, and the public are informed that the said Mr. Lando teacheth Latin, French, &c. Three times a Week.” He had a place he called St. John’s Chapel, in Half Moon Court, the first house joining to Ludgate, on Ludgate Hill. *Daily Advertiser*, 1749: “Marriages with a Licence, Certificate and a Crown Stamp, at a Guinea ...”

It appears by the Books at the Admiralty that he was appointed to *The Falkland* on the 29th May 1744, and served on board till the 17th Jan 1746. He does not appear to have been in employ afterwards.’

A rival said of him ‘True it is, the subject, as you say, is invidious and unpopular, but more so, I’ll venture to say, near the banks of a certain Canal west of Fleet Ditch, than on any bank to the eastward of it in England ...’

At the end of one of the Fleet Registers is the following: ‘John Lando, a French Minister, in Church Street, Soho, opposite at a French pastry or nasty cook’s. His Landlord’s name is Jinkstone, a dirty chandler’s shop.’ Which seems curious if he had been serving on a British ship.

The Effingham records

The total number of records found from searching for Effingham was 37. Two were for soldiers in Howard’s Regiment of Foot and these were discarded as they were not Effingham residents. (Note – prior to 1744 there were two regiments each commanded by a Colonel Howard, both being known as Howard’s Regiment. To avoid confusion, the 3rd Regiment of Foot (Thomas Howard) was named the Buff Howards and the 19th Regiment of Foot (Charles Howard) the Green Howards, according to the colours of their regimental facings worn on the collars and cuffs.)

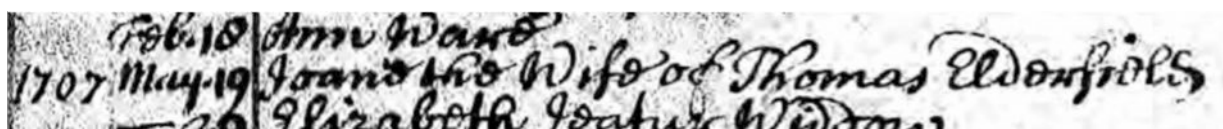
Most of the marriages appear multiple times in the records by having been recorded in, or copied into, various registers or notebooks. The retained 35 records represent at most 15 distinct marriages, but one of these may not be relevant as the groom’s residence is entered as ‘Essingham’. Among the remaining 14, the groom came from Effingham in 9 cases and the bride also in 9 cases; in only 4 cases did both the bride and groom come from Effingham. All the marriages save one were made at the Fleet. All the Effingham grooms were listed as husbandmen save one who was a wheeler and another who was a wheelright.

Notes on the plates

Plate 1

An *Ancestry* record [FHL: Film 307792] suggests that Thomas Elderfield first married a Joane Beldham on 21 September 1671 at Effingham, but the parish register gives the date as 21 September 1675. We do know that Thomas and Joane were in the village soon after this date from the baptism dates of their five known children, all female: Elizabeth on 8 April 1677; Jane on 2 March 1679; Mary on 1 May 1681; Margaret on 9 March 1684 and Hannah on 8 February 1689. Mary was buried on 16 May 1710. All these events took place at St Lawrence church. There are no further references to the girls in the church registers so they must have all have eventually moved away.

On 19 May 1707 Joane was buried at St Lawrence. It seems that in the same year Thomas remarried in London on 4 November to Elizabeth Smith of Great Bookham. The marriage is listed in a notebook showing Walter Wyatt as the officiating minister, but the owner of the notebook is unknown.



On 19 May 1707 Joane the wife of Thomas Elderfield was buried at St Lawrence.

A Thomas Elderfield was buried on 3 August 1711 at St Lawrence, Effingham but we do not know what became of Elizabeth.

Plate 2

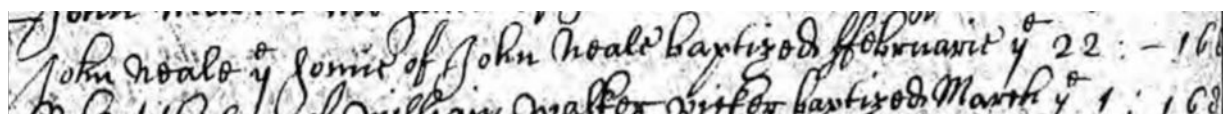
The Thomas Pollard who married Sarah Mascall was possibly the one baptised on 1 Apr 1684 at Petworth, Sussex, the son of a James Pollard. It is not possible to identify Sarah as there were several of the same name and of similar age at this time in Effingham.

Plate 3

We have been unable to clarify this record, but we know of Ayliffes in Effingham from around 1800.

Plates 4 – 7

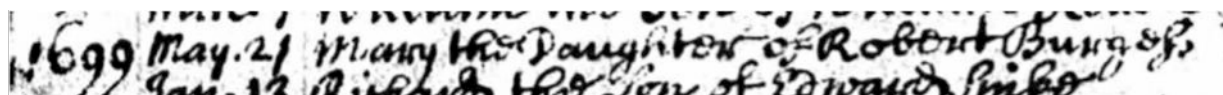
The Neal family has been recorded in Effingham since the 1660s. The only plausible candidate for the widower John Neales (sic) who married Elizabeth Cotton in 1727 is a John (son of John Neale) who had been baptised in Effingham on 22 February 1688. If this was him then he would have been aged about 39 in 1727, possibly explaining why he married in London.



Baptism of John Neale at St Lawrence in 1688.

Plate 8

Members of the Burgess family were quite prevalent in Effingham in the 1700s. For example, a daughter Mary of Robert Burgess was baptised in 1699. However, the bride Mary Burgess in Plate 8 was a widow.



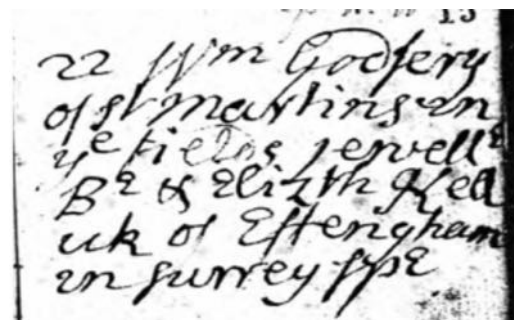
Baptism of a Mary Burgess at St Lawrence in 1699.

We know nothing of the groom John Taylour, labourer and widower. His place of residence 'Carford' probably refers to today's Kirdford in West Sussex which appears on an early map as 'Cardforde'.

Plates 9 – 11

Thomas Sheerin and Mary Merrett gave their residence as Effingham, although neither surname appears in the Parish Register, but a son William of Thomas and Mary *Sherwin* was baptised on 7 March 1736.

Plates 12 – 16



William was the son of Effingham's incumbent vicar Rev Joseph Godfrey. For a vicar's son to marry clandestinely would have been viewed as scandalous. Elizabeth, we believe, was the second of seven children of Henry and Elizabeth Killick, being baptised in Effingham on 7 May 1716. More details of the marriage of William and Elizabeth are given in Appendix IV.

Plates 17 – 19

We know little of John Walker. Could he be a descendant or relative of William Walker who was vicar of Effingham from 1677 until his death in 1696? We know that he was already a widower when he married the widow Jane Constable from a tavern near Blackfriars in 1740, officiated by Walter Wyatt, although we have no idea how they met.

It seems that Jane died and John returned to the Fleet to marry in 1752 to another widow, Eliz Alemore from St Andrews in the Holbourn district (today's Holborn) of London.

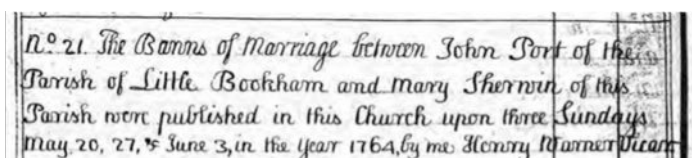
Despite John being recorded as a husbandman of Effingham for both marriages there is no reference to either his family or hers in the St Lawrence register.

Plates 20 – 23

There were, it seems, many members of the Port family in Abinger when John Port married Jane Hains in 1741. They apparently resided later in Little Bookham.

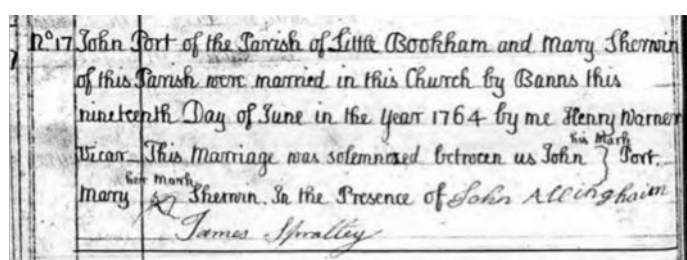
On 19 June 1764 John Port and Mary Sherwin were married at St Lawrence, Effingham by Henry Warner. Mary, born to Thomas and Mary mentioned earlier, had been baptised on 30 May 1740.

Marriage Banns for John Port and Mary Sherwin.



N^o 21. The Banns of Marriage between John Port of the Parish of Little Bookham and Mary Sherwin of this Parish were published in this Church upon three Sundays May 20, 27, & June 3, in the year 1764, by me Henry Warner Vicar.

Marriage of John Port and Mary Sherwin at St Lawrence on 19 June 1764.



N^o 17 John Port of the Parish of Little Bookham and Mary Sherwin of this Parish were married in this Church by Banns this nineteenth Day of June in the year 1764 by me Henry Warner Vicar. This Marriage was solemnized between us John ^{his} Port ^{her} Mary ^{her} Sherwin. In the Presence of John Allingham James Spralley

On 4 May 1788 a John Port was buried at St Nicolas, Great Bookham,

Plate 24

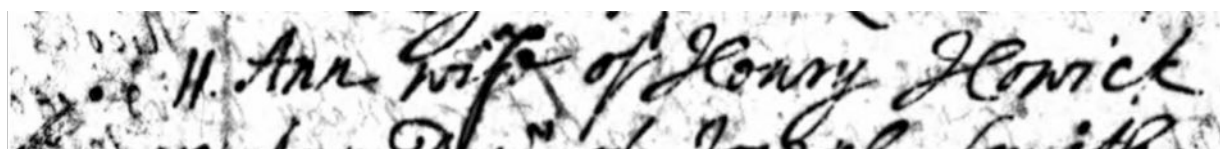
It seems that Henry and Ann Howick later moved to Esher. There is a burial for Ann on 11 January 1769 at St George, Esher, wife of Henry Howick.

Nearly three years later, on 8 December 1771, there is recorded the burial of a Henry Howick, wheelwright, at this same church. St George's is very small and it was later replaced as the parish church by Christ Church in Esher.

Henry left a will, the main beneficiary being his brother William.

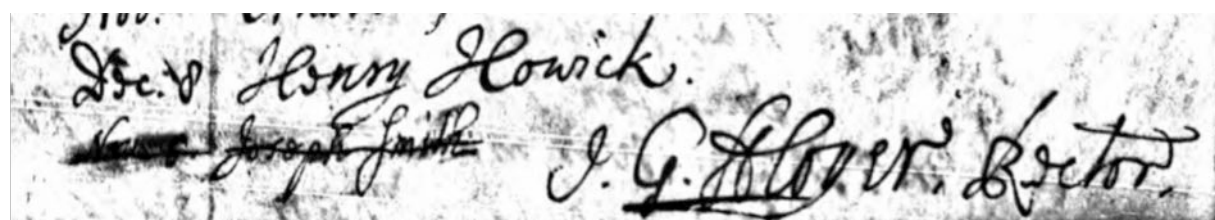


Figure 6 St George's Church, Esher painted by John Hassell.



11. Ann wife of Henry Howick

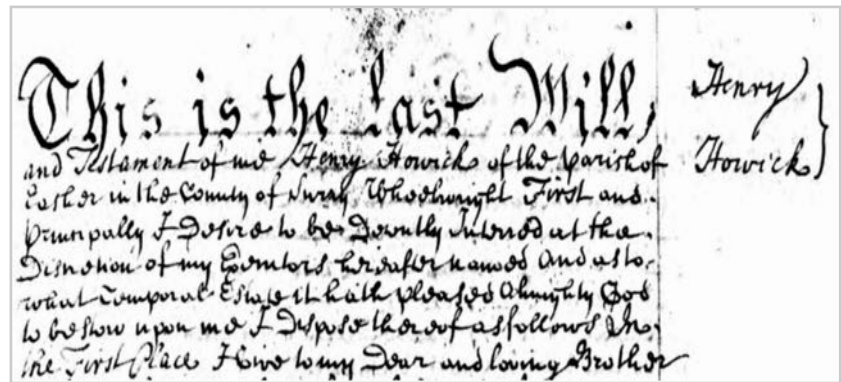
The burial of Ann at Esher.



Dec. 8 Henry Howick.
J. G. Glover, Rector.

The burial of Henry at Esher.

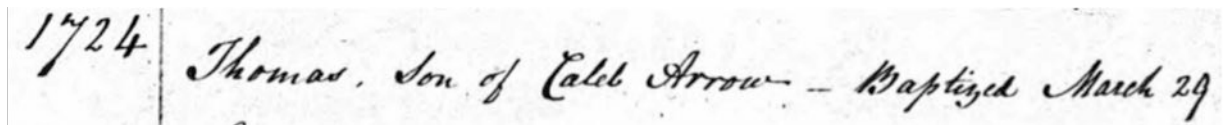
Henry's will.



This is the last Will
and Testament of me Henry Arrow of the parish of
Pashor in the County of Surry, Who thought First and
Principally I desire to be lawfully Interred at the
Discretion of my Executors hereafter named and as to
my temporal Estate it hath pleased Almighty God
to bestow upon me I Dispose thereof as follows In
the first Place I Give to my Dear and loving Brother

Plates 25 – 28

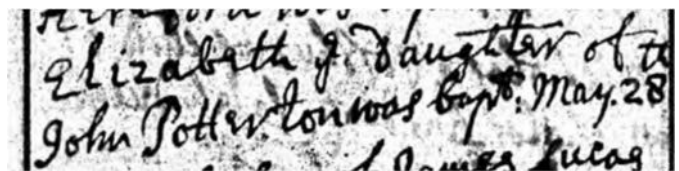
Thomas Arrow may well have been baptised as the son of Caleb Arrow on 29 March 1724 at All Saints, Little Bookham.



1724 | Thomas, Son of Caleb Arrow - Baptized March 29

Baptism of Thomas recorded in the Little Bookham register.

His wife Elizabeth (Eliza) was probably the daughter of John Potterton and baptised on 28 May 1727 at St Mary and St Nicholas, Leatherhead. This would make her 18 years of age at the time of marriage. We do not know why they married in London but perhaps Elizabeth did not have parental consent.

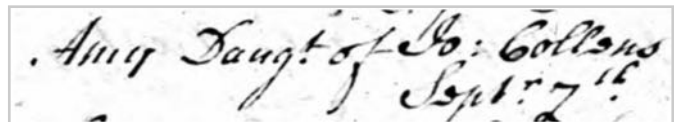


Elizabeth P. Daughter of to
John Potterton was bapt. May 28
Leatherhead

Baptism of Elizabeth Potterton in Leatherhead.

Plates 29 – 33

Amy Collens may have been the daughter of Jo Collens and been baptised on 7 September 1721 at St Andrew in Cobham.



Amy Daught of Jo: Collens
Sept 7

Baptism of Amy Collens in Cobham.

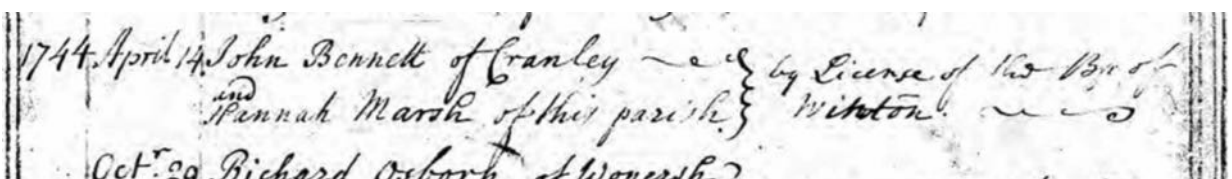
Joseph Harrow/Arrow is described as labourer and husbandman in various entries. He may have been related to the above Thomas Arrow.

After the marriage, Joseph and Amy returned to Effingham and six months later, on 12 April 1748, a son also called Joseph was born to them and baptised at St Lawrence. There followed another six births: Caleb in 1750; Benjamin in 1753; John in 1756; Mary in 1759; William in 1762 and Abraham in 1784, all of them recorded in the St Lawrence register.

Amy died in 1793 and was buried on 3 February that year, at All Saints, Little Bookham. We have not found details of the death of Joseph.

Plate 34

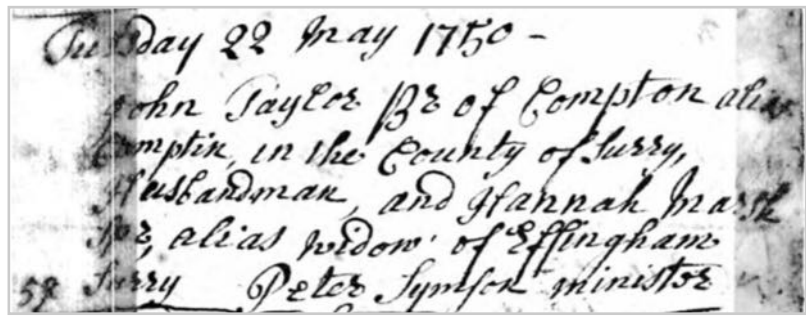
According to the register for St Lawrence, on 14 April 1744 a Hannah Marsh of Effingham married John Bennett a bachelor of Cranley, by licence.



1744. April 14. John Bennett of Cranley & Hannah Marsh of this parish } by License of the Bp of Winton.
Oct 20 Richard Osborn of Wotton

Entry in the register for the marriage of Hannah to John Bennett.

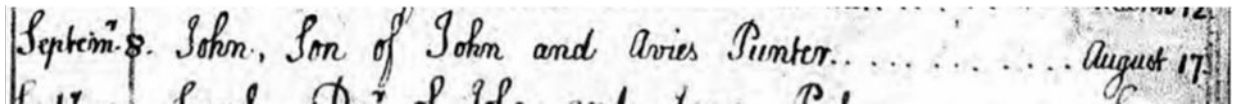
The entry from the notebook of Lando, Symson, Wyatt & Deneveu states, six years later, Peter Symson performed a marriage for a Hannah Marsh, 'spinster alias widow' of Effingham, to a John Taylor a husbandman from Compton, in Surrey. It is not clear whether this was the same Hannah. (See also Plate 8.)



Entry in the notebook of Lando, Symson, Wyatt & Deneveu.

Plate 35

It appears that wheelwright John Puntar and Avis Muggeridge were resident in Effingham, living as a married couple prior to 1753. Avis gave birth to a son also called John on 17 August 1753 with a baptism date of 8 September that year at St Lawrence. The baptism was performed by the newly arrived Henry Warner, curate to the frequently absent pluralist vicar William Bonney.

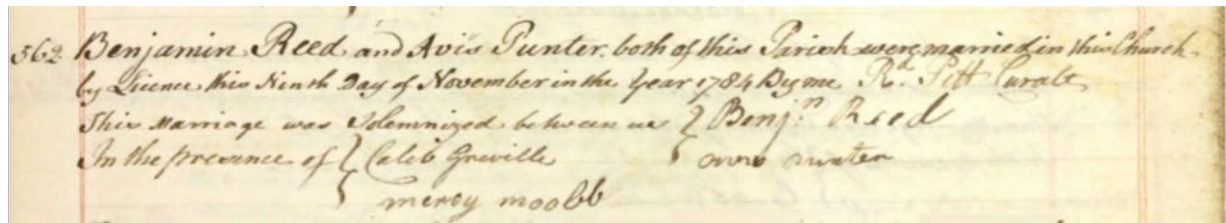


Entry for John's birth at St Lawrence on 17 August 1753.

There is no comment about the baptism in the register and Warner was possibly unaware that the couple were not married.

Evidently, between the birth of baby John and his baptism, John and Avis made a dash to the Fleet and were married there by Peter Symson on 3 September 1753.

John and Avis went on to have another two known children both baptised at St Lawrence. They were Avis born on 2 February, baptised on 11 February 1756, and Mary born on 23 September, baptised 23 October 1758. Some time later the family apparently left the village. The only child we can follow with any certainty is Avis; she married by licence to Benjamin Reed on 9 November 1784 at St George, Hanover Square, Westminster.



Marriage of Avis at St George, Hanover Square in 1784.

Avis died on 10 January 1830, aged 73, and is buried in St Andrew Churchyard, Kingswood.



Figure 7 Grave of Avis in St Andrew Churchyard.

Epilogue

As noted previously, the prevalence of clandestine marriages had risen dramatically by 1753; in the Fleet area alone there could have been as many as a hundred clergymen performing them. Hardwicke's Marriage Act, in the face of some significant opposition, was implemented in order to put an end to them, imposing clear legal requirements for the marriage ceremony. Under pain of annulment, it was required that Banns should be published or a licence obtained; that, in either case, the marriage should be solemnised in church by a recognised clergyman; and that in the case of minors, marriage by licence must be by the consent of parent or guardian; and that at least two witnesses must be present. Jewish and Quaker ceremonies were exempt. Clergymen conducting clandestine marriages after this were liable to transportation. The imposition of this new law meant there was a rush to meet the deadline, and one register shows that on the day prior to the law taking effect, one minister alone conducted over 270 ceremonies. Hardwicke's Act applied only in England and Wales and so clandestine marriages continued happening in Scotland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Since 1837 rules for marriages have gone full circle. By contrast with the early clandestine marriages, civil ceremonies today entirely eliminate the religious element. They do not require the presence of an ordained minister and no reference can be made to God or to any deity, nor to any particular religion or denomination; this is strictly enforced. In England and Wales they may be instituted and performed by a government official (a registrar). Originally restricted to register offices, they may now employ premises such as stately homes, castles, or hotels subject to these having been appropriately registered for this purpose.

As explained in The National Archives' Catalogue, 'the registers of the Fleet were kept, for the most part, by the ministers (or their clerks) who performed the ceremonies, by self-appointed register-keepers, by the landlords of some of the houses where the ceremonies took place, and by persons who appear to have set up record offices at a later date and made copies of registers in the possession of others'. As a result there are usually several copies of each entry in various registers. Those from the original minister's notebook are the most reliable and often the most detailed.

As the Fleet Marriages were performed at a great many houses in the neighbourhood of the Fleet, the proprietors of these houses being frequently the possessors of the registers of marriages performed there, it is impossible to trace all these books. Many were subsequently lost or destroyed and some may still be in private hands. Following Hardwicke's Act the Fleet Registers became saleable articles. We know in about 1783, a Mr. Benjamin Panton purchased a collection of five or six hundred of these books which were said to 'weigh more than a ton'. Mr. Panton died, leaving a Will, whereby he bequeathed these books to his daughter, who, in 1813, disposed of them to Mr. William Cox [John Southerden Burn, *op. cit.*]. Cox seemed to have added to this collection and in 1821, for a sum of £260 6s 6d, the government purchased the collection. These registers containing an estimated 400,000 entries representing over 200,000 weddings are now held at The National Archives.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: copy of an 18th-century print in *Old and New London: a narrative of its history, its people, and its places* by Walter Thornbury, publ Cassell, Petter and Galpin (London), Vol II, 1878, p409

Figure 2: 'View looking across the prison yard of King's Bench Prison, in St George's Fields';
© The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

Figure 3: 'Southwark: High Street' in *Old and New London* by Edward Walford, Vol VI, 1878 (public domain)

Figure 4: 'Liberty of the Mint' by William H Prior, extracted from *Old and New London, Illustrated* by Edward Walford, Vol III; original held and digitised by the British Library (public domain)

Figure 5: from <https://dailybritain.wordpress.com/2017/03/25/25th-march-1754-fleet-marriages>

Figure 6: from Surrey History Centre [SHC Ref: 4348/4/34/2]

Figure 7: *FindaGrave* Memorial ID 115290457, image by Laurence Hennessy

Figure 8: from Surrey History Centre [SHC Ref: EFF/13/40-96]

Figures 9-11: from the registers of St Lawrence Church, Effingham

Plates 1-35: from The National Archives via *Ancestry*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge the advice provided by Professor Rebecca Probert of the Law School, University of Exeter, enabling substantial improvement of this article's introductory material.

FURTHER READING

1. *Fleet & other Irregular Marriage Registers* from *GenGuide*: <https://www.genguide.co.uk>
2. *Rules for Mediaeval Marriage* from *The History Jar*: <https://thehistoryjar.com>
3. *Clandestine marriage in early modern London: when, where and why?* by Gill Newton, in *Continuity and Change*, Vol 29, Issue 2, July 201
4. *Irregular Marriage: Myth and Reality* by Eleanor Gordon, *J. of Social History*, November 2013
5. *The Fleet Registers* by John Southerden Burn, publ Rivingtons, St Paul's Churchyard, 1837
6. *The History of the Fleet Marriages* by John Southerden Burn, publ Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 3rd Edition, 1846
7. *The Fleet: its River, Prison and Marriages* by John Ashton, publ Scribner and Welford, New York, 1888
8. *The Presumptions in Favour of Marriage* by Rebecca Probert, *The Cambridge Law Journal*, Vol 77, No 2, July 2018
9. *Marriage Law for Genealogists: the Definitive Guide* by Rebecca Probert, publ Takeaway (Publishing), 2nd Edition, 2016

APPENDIX I

Clandestine marriage records in The National Archives

RG 7/1-273	Fleet prison register
RG 7/274	Index to piece number 8
RG 7/275	Index to piece number 28, pages 1-50 only
RG 7/276	Section 1 – index to piece number 35
RG 7/277	Index to piece number 42
RG 7/278	Pages 1-196 – index to piece number 116
RG 7/279	Index to piece number 13
RG 7/280	Index to piece number 148
RG 7/281	Index to an unidentified volume of folios
RG 7/282	Partial index to piece number 189 folios 1-34
RG 7/283	Index to piece number 200, pages 1-58
RG 7/284	Index to piece number 218
RG 7/285	Index to an unidentified volume
RG 7/286	Part I – index to an unidentified volume, 1745-1747
RG 7/287	Index to piece number 241 entries 1-590 (1748-1752); piece number 267 entries 584-686 (1752-1753); and part of piece number 15 (Aug 1752 - Mar 1754) entries 592-670
RG 7/288	Index to piece number 255
RG 7/289	Index to piece number 263
RG 7/290	Portions of four indexes to unidentified volumes
RG 7/291	Fleet notebook – Abbott's and Barker's notebook
RG 7/292-386	Fleet notebook – Ashwell's notebook
RG 7/387-402	Fleet notebook – Barrett's notebook
RG 7/403-471	Fleet notebook – Burnford's notebook
RG 7/472-476	Fleet notebook – (Burnford), Newton's notebook
RG 7/477-478	Fleet notebook – Cock's notebook
RG 7/479-548	Fleet notebook – Dare's notebook
RG 7/549-555	Fleet notebook – Dare's notebook - Crawford's account
RG 7/556	Fleet notebook – Floud's and Cuthbert's notebook
RG 7/589-656	Fleet notebook – Gaynam's notebook
RG 7/657-659	Fleet notebook – Gower's notebook
RG 7/660	Fleet notebook – King's Arms register, (marriages at Mr William Simpson's who kept the King's Arms)
RG 7/661	Fleet notebook – Sands's notebook, (marriages performed at Sands)
RG 7/662	Fleet notebook – Shellburn's notebook
RG 7/663	Fleet notebook – Shepherd and Goat register, (marriages at Mr Daniel Stebbings at the 'Shepherd and Goat')
RG 7/664-666	Fleet notebook – possibly Townsend's notebooks
RG 7/667	Fleet notebook – Smith's (the 'Two Sawyers') register
RG 7/668	Fleet notebook – Wigmore's notebook, (marriages at the house of Mr & Mrs Ball)
RG 7/669-676	Fleet notebook – Wigmore's notebook
RG 7/677	Fleet notebook – Wilson's notebook, (marriages performed at the house of J Wilson Jr)
RG 7/679-801	Fleet notebook – Wyatt's notebook
RG 7/802	Fleet notebook – Mottram's notebook
RG 7/817-818	Fleet notebook – unidentified notebook (1 st series)
RG 7/819-824	Fleet notebook – unidentified notebook (2 nd series)
RG 7/825-831	Fleet notebook – miscellaneous notebook
RG 7/832	Fleet notebook – a collection of loose pages from unidentified notebooks
RG 7/833-835	Fleet notebook – miscellaneous notebook

APPENDIX II

The records – Plates 1-35

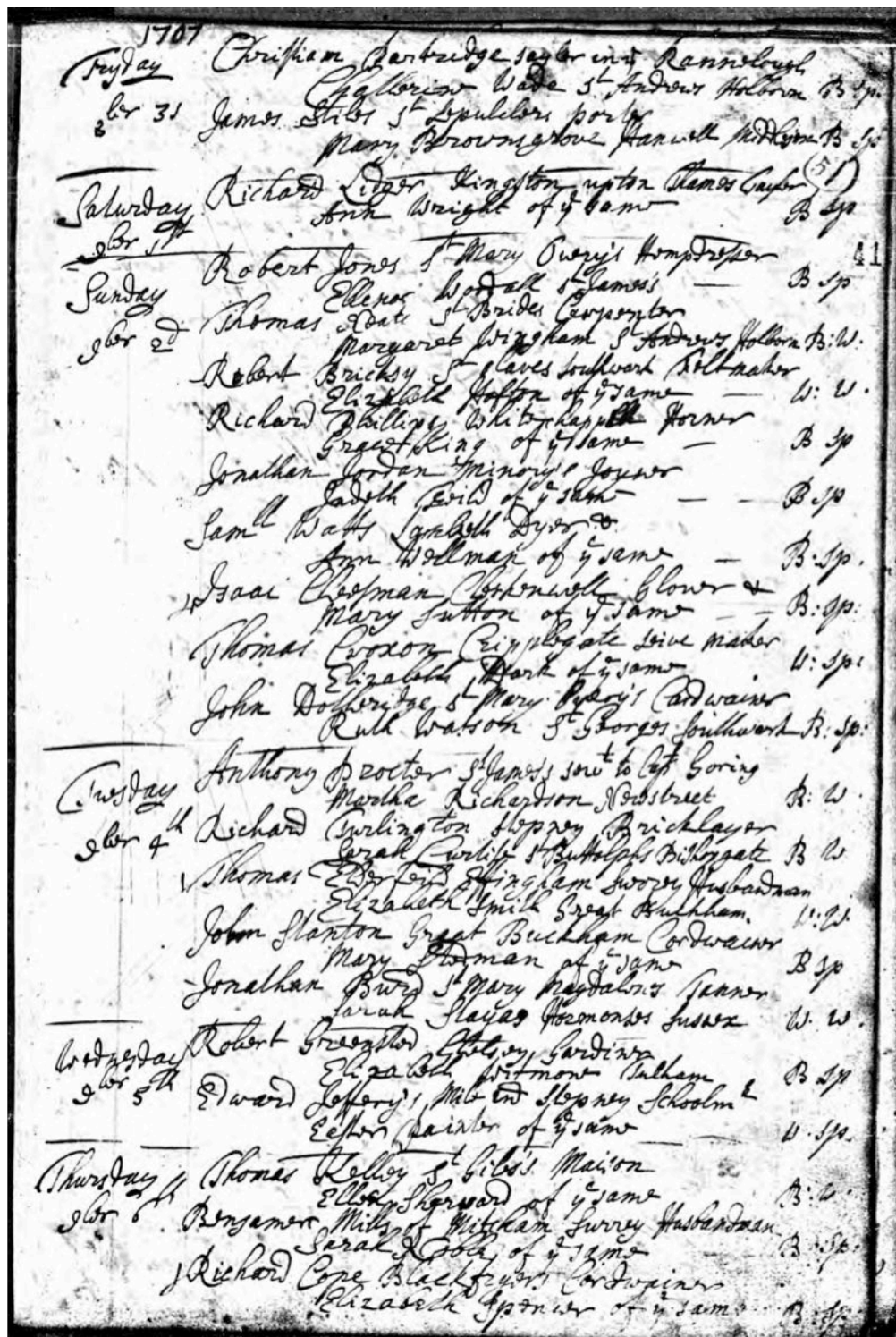


PLATE 1

Thomas Elderfield, husbandman, widower

Marriage Date: 4 November 1707

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Elizabeth Smith

Spouse Residence: Great Buckham, widow

Piece Description: RG 7/19

Officiating Ministers: not named

Fleet register: 1706 Nov – 1709 Dec

Catherine Harford ditto.	B.	Sp.
Humphry Connett Lambeth p th Mariner	B.	Sp.
Mary Padnall ditto.		
Thomas Deswell s ^t Sepulchre's p th Mariner		
Susanna Bagley ditto.	W.	Sp.
Soloman Davis Lambeth p th Mariner	B.	W.
Mary Rooke ditto		
George Solmes s ^t Margt Westm ^d Cooke	B.	Sp.
Elisabeth Winter ditto		
George Chapman s ^t Margt p th Gent.	B.	W.
Anne Pack ditto		
Thomas Henry Shepney p th Gent.	B.	Sp.
Sarah Collins ditto		
George Gibbs Shepney p th Cordwainer.	B.	W.
Mary Wilson ditto		
Richard Johnson Lombard Street Gardiner	B.	Sp.
Mary Price ditto		
Thomas Pollard Petworth p th fupex fellmonger	B.	Sp.
Sarah Mascall Effingham p th		
Reuben Smith s ^t Giles's Gent.	W.	W.
Eleazer Tofts s ^t Martin's Camp.	B.	Sp.
Edward Thayer s ^t Margaret's Lethbury Gent.		
Edw. Thayer ditto		

PLATE 2

Thomas Pollard, fellmonger, bachelor

Marriage Date: 1720

Residence: Petworth, Sussex

Spouse: **Sarah Mascall**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/56

Officiating Minister: Wyatt

Fleet register: Wyatt's register [Mottram's register]: 1720 Mar – 1722 Nov

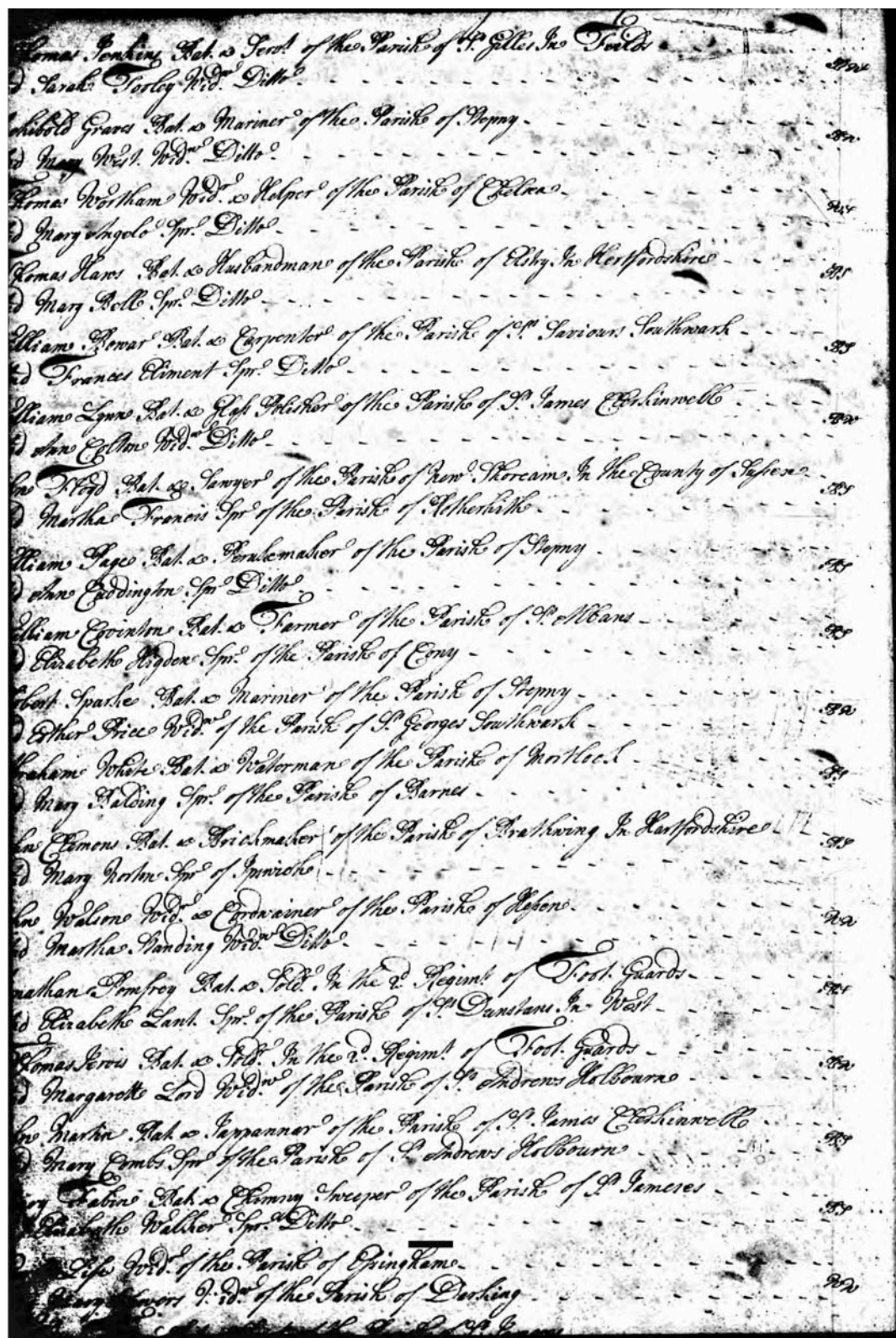


PLATE 3

Alife ?, widower

Marriage Date: Oct 1724

Residence: Essingham [sic]

Spouse: Mary Chivers ?, widow

Spouse Residence: Dorking

Piece Description: RG 7/62

Officiating Ministers: Sindrey, Dare, Ashwell, Wyatt etc

Fleet register: 1721 Sep – 1732 Mar

Lewis Jacant of Spittlesfields Hopsey Gardner
 Mary Vins ditto Sp^{er} Gr
 October 1727
 George Smith of Hopsey Taylor W Scannah
 Burton ditto Sp^{er} Gr
 John Neals of Effingham in Count Surrey
 husbandman. W Elizth Cotton of Christ Church in
 London Sp^{er} Gr
 William Warner of Tickham in Kent hus
 band and mary Bendane Gr B W
 Thomas Wood of St James's Westmin. Sp^{er}
 Jane Elliot ditto Sp^{er} Gr
 John Williams of Koo in Kent Maris
 Mary Mott ditto Sp^{er} Gr
 Thomas Feild of Rupplegate Cordwainer
 Sarah Knight ditto Sp^{er} Gr

PLATE 4

John Neals, husbandman, widower

Marriage Date: 3 Oct 1727

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Elizabeth Cotton, spinster

Spouse Residence: Christ Church, London

Piece Description: RG 7/47

Officiating Ministers: Gaynam, Wagstaffe, Cuthbert and others not named

Fleet register: 1727 Jun – 1728 May

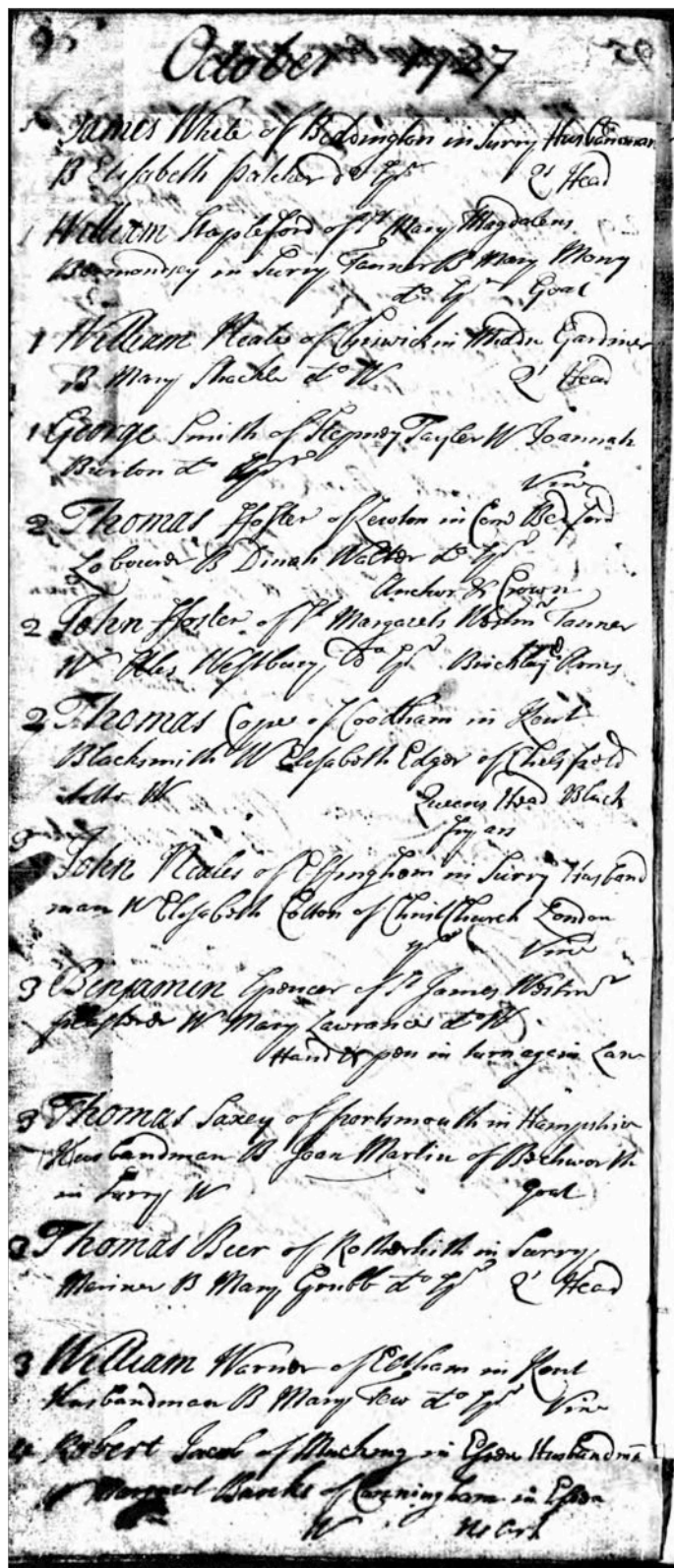


PLATE 5

John Neales, husbandman, widower
 Marriage Date: 3 Oct 1727
 Residence: Effingham
 Spouse: Elizabeth Cotton, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Christ Church, London

Piece Description: RG 7/85
 Officiating Ministers: Starke, Gaynam and others not named
 Fleet register: 1726 Jul – 1729 Jun

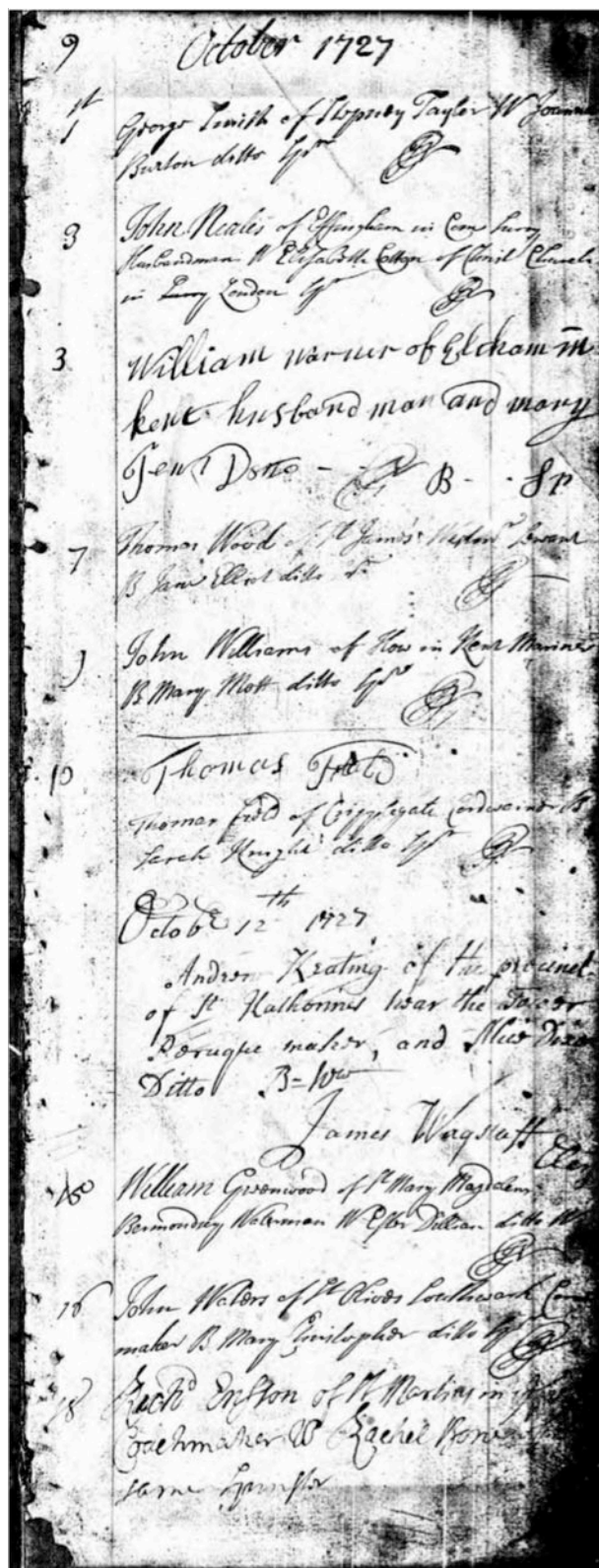


PLATE 6

John Neales, husbandman, widower

Marriage Date: 3 Oct 1727

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Elizabeth Cotton, spinster

Spouse Residence: Christ Church, London

Piece Description: RG 7/91

Officiating Ministers: Floud, Wagstaffe, Gaynam, Wigmore, Wyatt, Ryder, Meredith, Dare

Fleet register: 1727 Jul – 1745 Feb

3 John Neales of Effingham²¹
 in Com Perry Husbandman W
 Elizabeth Cotton M^r Church
 London 3rd Oct 1727
 3 Benjamin Spencer of
 St James's Work's Station
 W Mary Levrance D^r 1727
 Turn again
 3 Thomas Lacey of Portsmouth
 in Hampshire W Mary
 Joan Martin of Bodmin
 W 1727

PLATE 7

John Neales, husbandman, widower
 Marriage Date: 3 Oct 1727
 Residence: Effingham
 Spouse: Elizabeth Cotton, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Christ Church, London

Piece Description: RG 7/595
 Officiating Minister: not named
 Fleet notebooks: Gaynam's notebook: 1727 Sep – 1727 Oct

11.	Robert Higginson of S. ^t Andrews Holborn Baker and Sarah Dudds of S. ^t - - - - -	B. S.
11	John Taylour of Carford in Sussex. Labourer and Mary Burgess of Effingham in Surrey	W. W.
11	Norton Harrop of S. ^t Mary White chappel Cipemaker and martha Pinkard of S. ^t - - - - -	B. W.
12	Humphry Brown of S. ^t Dunstan Stepney mariner and Mary Pairpoint of S. ^t Dunstan in West	B. S.
12	Samuel Vanderphell of S. ^t Andrews Holborn Tapstry worker and Elizabeth Clapp of S. ^t - - - - -	W. W.

PLATE 8

John Taylour, labourer, widower
 Marriage Date: 11 Oct 1729
 Residence: Carford (now Kirdford), West Sussex
 Spouse: **Mary Burgess**, widow
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/99
 Officiating Minister: Alexander Keith
 Fleet register: May Fair register: 1729 Mar – 1731 May

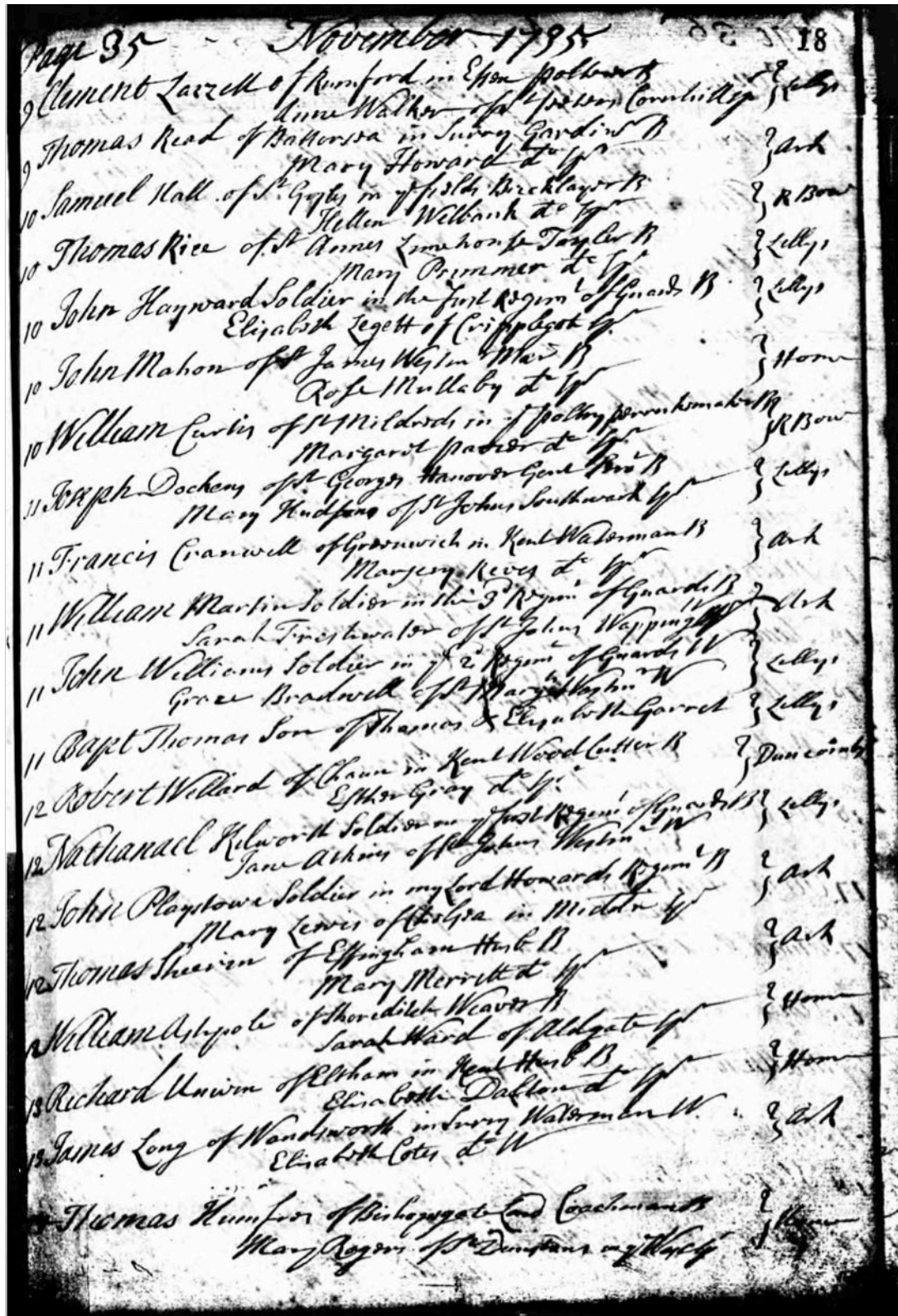


PLATE 9

Thomas Sheerin, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 12 Nov 1735

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Mary Merrett**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/148

Officiating Minister: Gaynam

Fleet register number 5: Gaynam's register: 1735 Jun – 1738 Jul

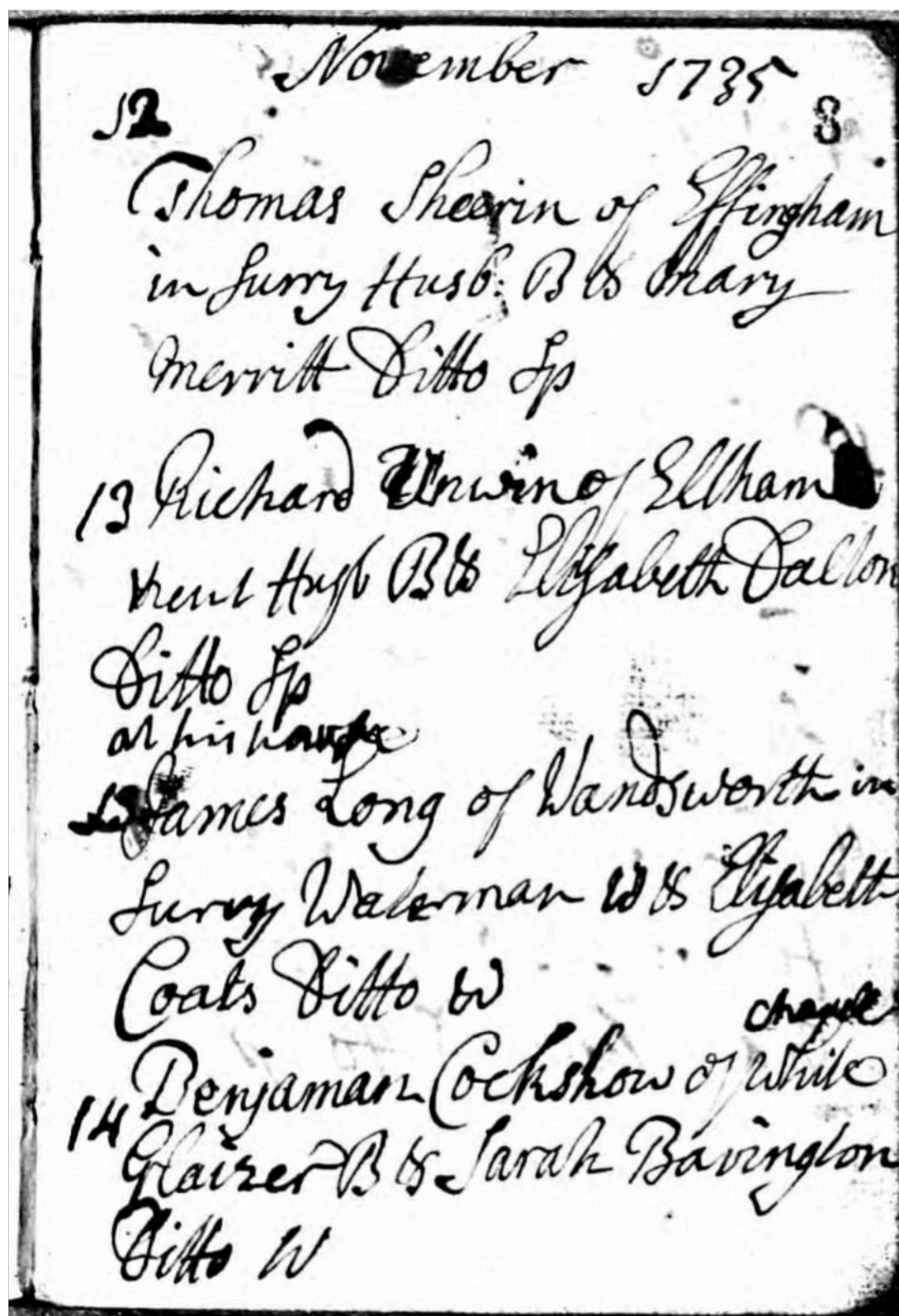


PLATE 10

Thomas Sheerin, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 12 Nov 1735

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Mary Merrett**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/421

Officiating Minister: not named

Fleet notebooks: Burnford's notebook: 1735 Oct – 1736 Mar

12 Robt Willard of Effingham
 in Kent Wood Cutter B. Effingham
 to ff 5 Duncumb
 42 Nathaniel Kelworth Soldier in
 of first Regim of Guards B. Jane
 Atkins. of St Johns Wood W
 12 John Play, lower Soldier in
 of Lord Howards Regim B. Mary
 Lewis of Chelsea in Middlesex
 12 Thomas Sheerin of
 Effingham Husband B. Mary
 Merritt to ff Ask
 12 Wm Ashpole of St Leonards
 Shoddish Warren B. Sarah
 Ward of Aldgate W

PLATE 11

Thomas Sheerin, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 12 Nov 1735

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Mary Merrett**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/644

Officiating Minister: not named

Fleet notebooks: Gaynam's notebook: 1735 Nov – 1735 Dec

July 21st 1737²⁵
 Rich^d Morris of
 Acton in Mid^d Wic^t
 & Eliz^a Banks widow
 To W. W.
 21st Christopher Stevenson
 Upholsterer of St. James
 Westminster Batch^r & Mary
 Fleming ditto widow
 To W. W. 15
 22 Wm Godfery
 of St Martin in
 the field Jewell^r
 B^r & Eliz^a Kelluck
 of Effingham
 in Surrey sp^r
 23^d Jas^s Ashwell brew
 ers serv^t of St. George
 Bloomsbury wid^r &
 Francis Saunders sp^r
 To W. W.

PLATE 12

William Godfery [sic], jeweller, bachelor

Marriage Date: 22 July 1737

Residence: St Martin-in-the-field

Spouse: **Elizabeth Kelluck**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/139

Officiating Ministers: Walker, Wigmore, Wyatt, Shellburn, Gaynam, Ashwell, Ryder

Fleet register: 1734 Nov – 1738 Oct

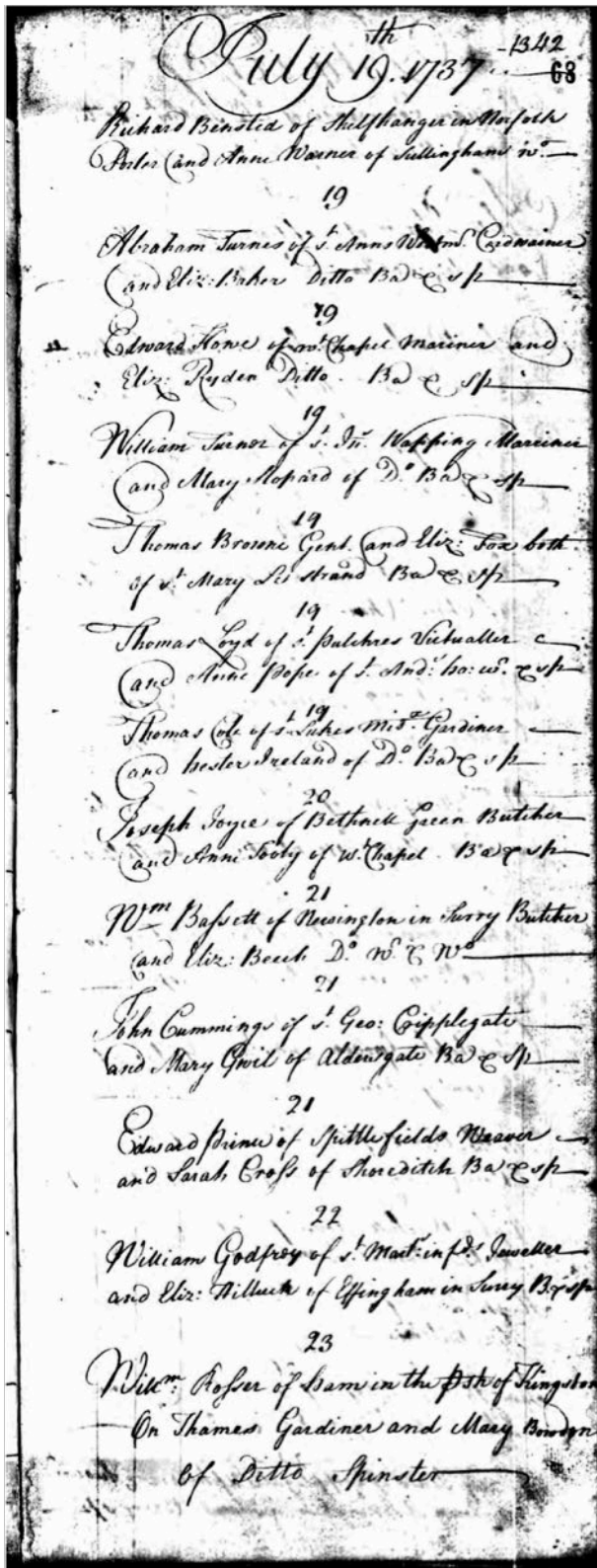


PLATE 13

William Godfrey, jeweller, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 22 July 1737
 Residence: St Martin-in-the-field
 Spouse: **Elizabeth Killuck**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/144
 Officiating Ministers: Symson, Dare, Gaynam, Shellburn
 Fleet register: 1735 Apr – 1738 Nov

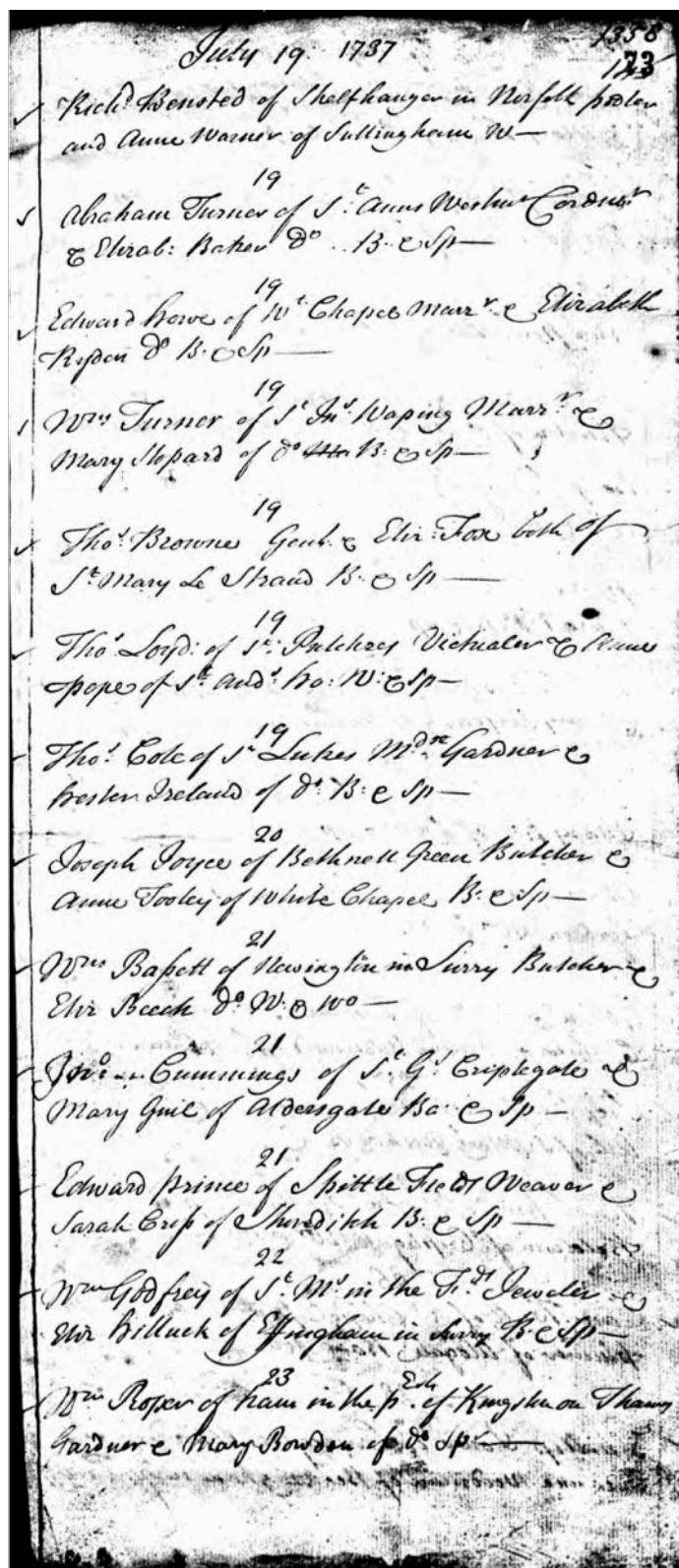


PLATE 14

William Godfrey, jeweler [sic], bachelor

Marriage Date: 22 Jul 1737

Residence: St Martin-in-the-field

Spouse: **Elizabeth Killuck**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/147

Officiating Ministers: Wigmore and others not named

Fleet register: 1735 Jun – 1738 Nov

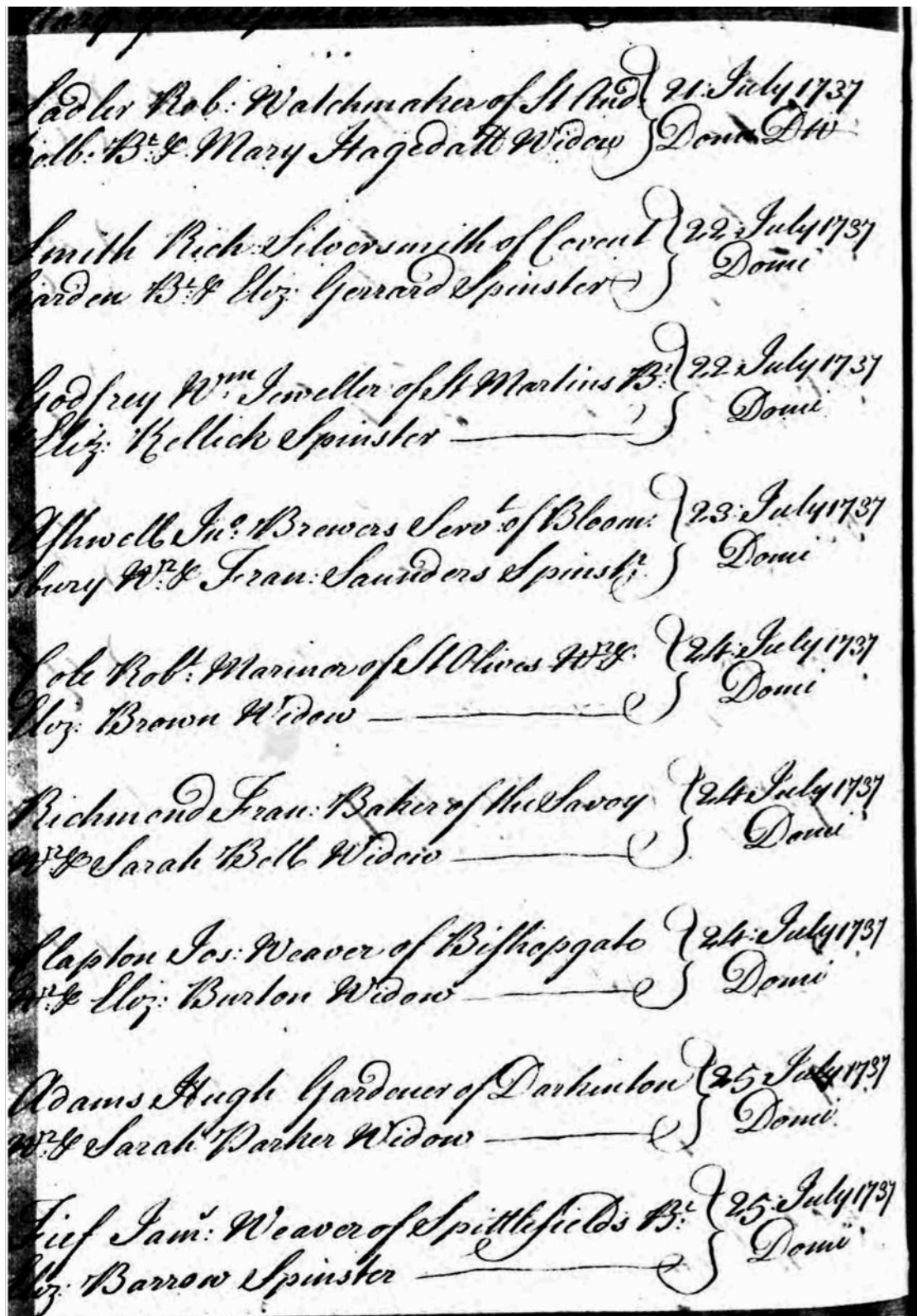


PLATE 15

William Godfrey, jeweller, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 22 Jul 1737
 Residence: St Martin's, London
 Spouse: **Elizabeth Kellick**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/159
 Officiating Minister: Wyatt
 Fleet register: Wyatt's register: 1736 Sep – 1739 Feb

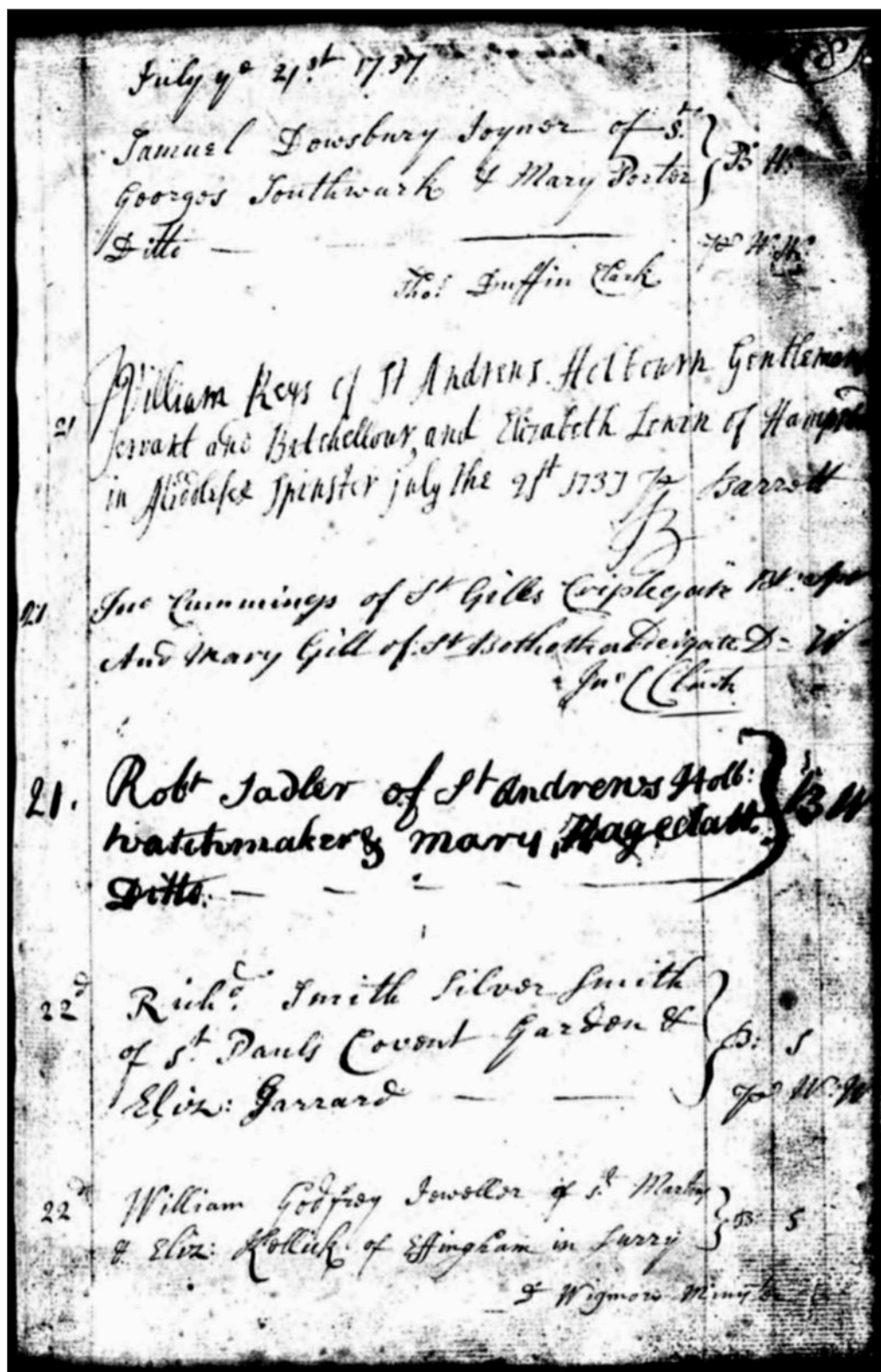


PLATE 16

William Godfrey, jeweller, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 22 Jul 1737
 Residence: St Martin's, London
 Spouse: **Elizabeth Kellick**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/160
 Officiating Ministers: Wyatt, Ryder, Ashwell, Dare, Wigmore, Hanson, Tarrant
 Fleet register: 1736 Sep - 1739 Feb

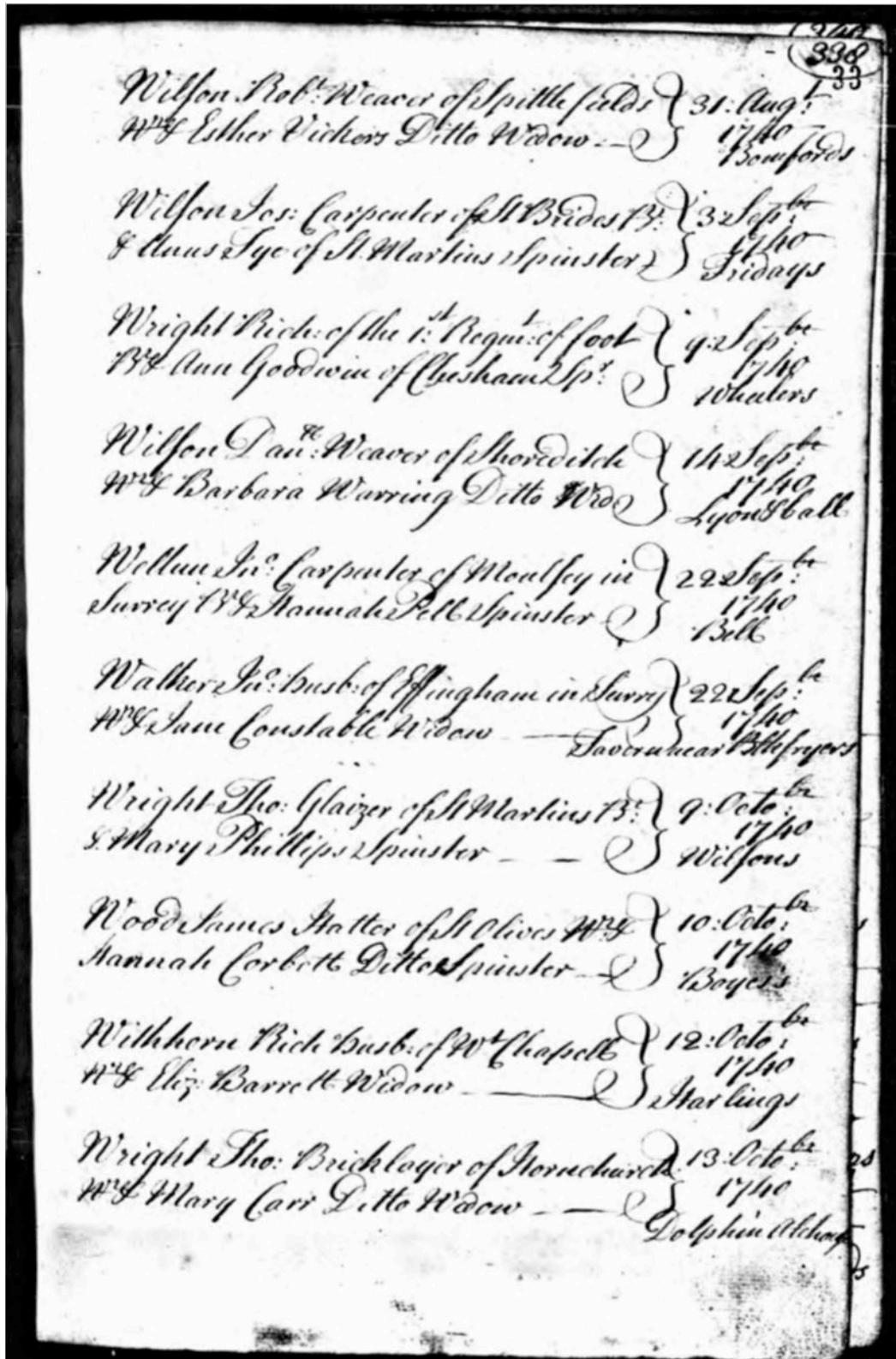


PLATE 17

Jno Walker, husbandman, widower

Marriage Date: 22 Sep 1740

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Jane Constable, widow

Spouse Residence: of Tavern [near] Blackfryers [sic]

Piece Description: RG 7/166

Officiating Minister: Wyatt

Fleet register: Wyatt's register: 1737 Mar – 1741 Nov

19th 4th 22 5
 Jⁿ^o. Luck. Husb: of
 Chestnut in Hertford
 -shire Wid: & Eliz.
 Hoskott Da^{pp}
 at y^e Adam & Edd
 22^d Jⁿ^o. Wollun Carpenter
 -for of Moulsey in Surrey
 & Hannah Poll sp
 at y^e Bell
 22 Jⁿ^o. Walker Husb. of
 Effingham in Surrey
 & Jane Constable widow
 at y^e Tavern near Black
 fryers

PLATE 18

Jno Walker, husbandman, widower

Marriage Date: 22 Sep 1740

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Jane Constable, widow

Spouse Residence: Of Tavern near Blackfryers [sic]

Piece Description: RG 7/724

Officiating Minister: Wyatt

Fleet notebooks: Wyatt's notebook: 1740 Sep – 1740 Oct

November 1st 1752 - 47²⁴
 John Walker widower Husband
 of Effingham Surrey Eliz
 Almore widow of St Andrews
 Holbourn P. Symson
 1st Thomas Robinson Br and
 Butcher of St Pauls Shadwell
 Eliz. Shadbourn spr Ditto
 P. Symson
 3^d Edward Jones Br and an apothecary
 of St Clements Lane, Jane Bowen
 spr Ditto Peter Symson
 3^d John Wheeler Br and a Justice of St.
 Holm of Peters near St. Alans West of London
 Eliz. Atkins spr Ditto
 4th John Basse Br, and a Merchant
 of St Georges Southwark, and
 Ann Strelon spr Ditto
 4th Thomas Clark Br and weaver
 of St Lukes, Eliz. Selan spr
 of St Botolph Bishopgate P. Symson

PLATE 19

John Walker, husbandman, widower
 Marriage Date: 1752
 Residence: Effingham
 Spouse: Eliz Almore, widow
 Spouse Residence: St Andrew's Holbourn

Piece Description: RG 7/268
 Officiating Ministers: Symson, Deneveu
 Fleet register: Symson's register number 2: 1752 Jul – 1754 Mar

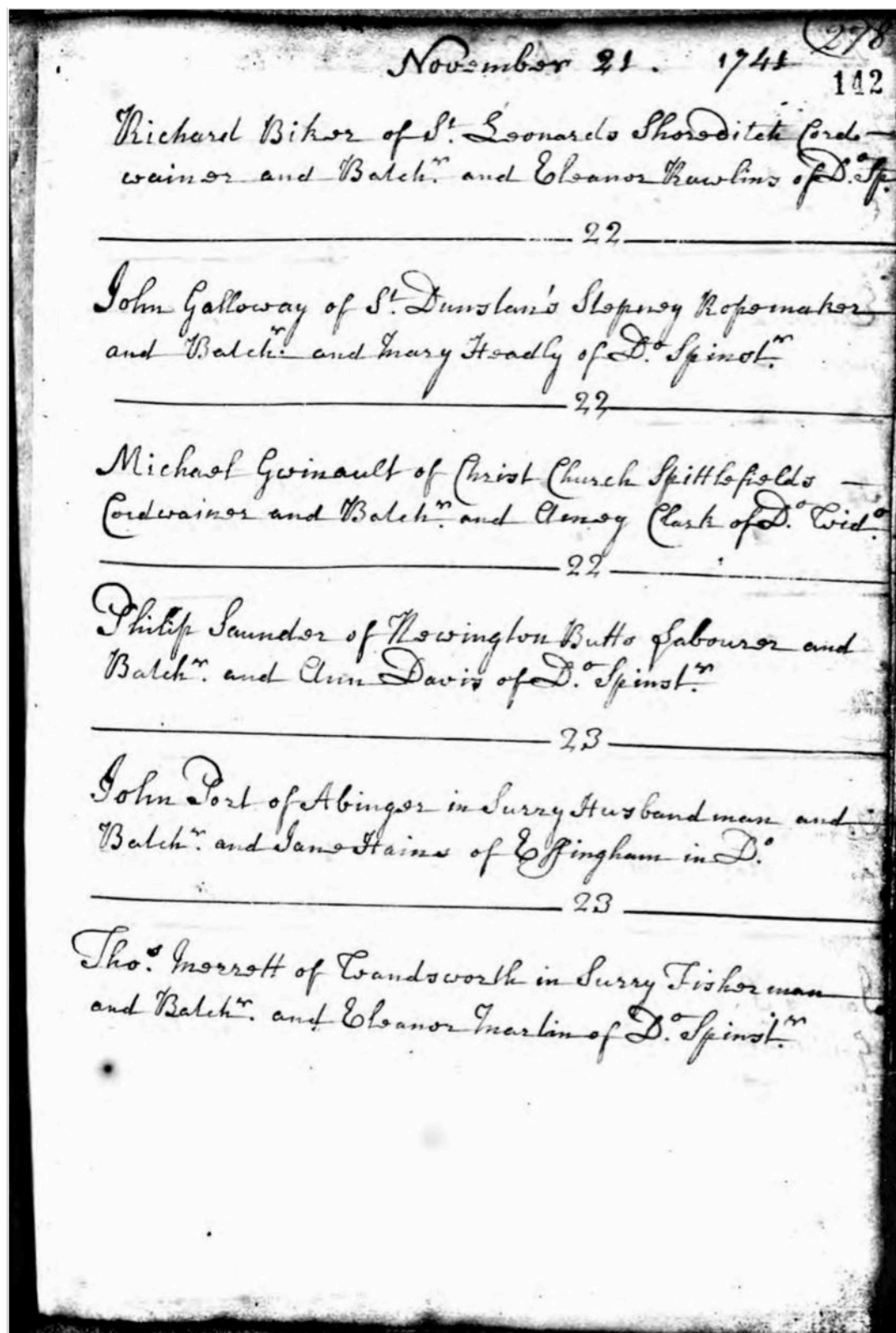


PLATE 20

John Port, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 23 Nov 1741

Residence: Abinger

Spouse: **Jane Hains** [spinster?]

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/161

Officiating Ministers: Dare, Sindrey, Wyatt, Wigmore, etc

Fleet register: Dare's register number 1: 1736 Nov – 1742 Aug

NOVEMBER 1741			28
18 Joseph Bull of The Grain of Littlebury at Woolwich	ask:	Esther King of Greenwich Sp:	24 B: 8
19 William Smith of Algate port Marriner	ask:	Rebecca York ditto Sp:	B: 8
20 Robert Newman of General Honewood Troop of Dragoons	ask:	Elisabeth Cole of Ingerston in Essex Sp:	B: 8
23 John Port of Abinger in Surrey Husbandman	Dare:	Jane Hains of Effingham Sp:	B: 8
25 John Turse of Andover in Hants Cordwain	Wyatt	Mary Waters ditto Sp:	B: 8
27 Andrew Tolgerson of Deptford in Kent Marriner	Wyatt	Susannah Riley ditto Sp:	W: 8
27 Thomas Benham of St Cathrins by the Tower Marr:	Wyatt	Elisabeth Cole ditto W:	B: 8
28 Thomas Colwell of Broomley in Kent Husb:	ask:	Elisabeth ditto Sp: Saxeby omitted & name by oversight	B: 8
28 Edward Lepish of Scarborough in Yorkshires Marriner	ask	Isabella Robinson ditto of St Georges of East	B: 8 W:
29 John Dean of the 3 Troop of Horse Guard	Wyatt	Elizor Duchers of St Georges Hants Sp:	B: 8
DECEMBER 1741			
1 Thomas Webb of Hogsdon in Hartfordshire Cordwain	ask:	Ann Webb ditto W: She did not Change her name	
2 John Weston of East mawlin in Kent Gent: Parh:	ask	Ann Hand ditto Sp	B: 8
5 John King of St Pauls Covent Garden Carpenter	ask:	Diana Nicholson ditto Sp:	B: 8
7 Nathaniel Borham of Letton in Essex Potter	ask:	Sarah Dors of Harlow Sp:	B: 8

PLATE 21

John Port, husbandman, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 23 Nov 1741
 Residence: Abinger
 Spouse: **Jane Hains**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/191

Officiating Ministers: Ashwell, Wyatt, Wigmore, Tarrant, Crawford, Dare
 Fleet register: Wyatt's register [Burnford's register]: 1740 Sep – 1747 Dec

novbr 1741

23 John Port of abinger
in Lurrey Husb B & Jane
Hains of Flingham Sp
of Fare
one under ~~the~~ Ashwell & was
one of town hill 24

27 Andrew Tolgorson of -
Deptford mar'd W & Susannah
Riley Bitts Sp: Wyatt
JH: B: m Coash 1:6

25 John Nurse of andover in
Hants Cordwainr B & Mary
Waters Bitts Sp
Wyatt & all

PLATE 22

John Port, husbandman, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 23 Nov 1741
 Residence: Abinger
 Spouse: **Jane Hains**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/448
 Officiating Minister: not named
 Fleet notebooks: Burnford's notebook: 1741 Oct – 1741 Dec

Nov^r. 23. 1741
 John Port of Abinger in Surrey
 Husbandman & Bachelor Jane Hains of
 Effingham in Kent. - - - Bm: -
 6/8
 23. Thomas Merrett of Wandsworth¹⁴
 in Surrey Fisherman & Bachelor and Oliver
 Martin of St. Spinster Shepherd & Bachelor
 6/8
 19
 28 John Threlkilling of St. Mary
 Over's Lighterman & Bachelor and Elizabeth
 Lambing of St. Martin's and his
 Colidge & his wife Fleet Bank
 6/8
 23 Edward Davis of St. Dunstons
 Stepney Cordwainer & Bachelor and
 Magdalen Jopson of St. Sp^r
 m/8
 -:15:6

PLATE 23

John Port, husbandman, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 23 Nov 1741
 Residence: Abinger
 Spouse: **Jane Hains** [spinster?]
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/491
 Officiating Minister: not named
 Fleet notebooks: Dare's notebook: 1741 Nov – 1741 Dec



PLATE 24

Henry Howick, wheeler, bachelor

Marriage Date: 21 Feb 1743

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Ann Hall**, widow

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/215

Officiating Minister: Dare

Fleet register: Dare's register number 3: 1743 Feb – 1744 Feb

1745
 May 5 William Barnes of Hanefield, Midd. Batch & Mary Harbore of Chiswick, Spinst
 July 10 James Jones of St. Lukes Mench. Batch & Ann Stevenson of St. Sepulchres, Widow
 15 Robert Day of St. Clements Dares, Batch & Jane, Porter of Mary le Strand, Spin
 16 John Griffiths of St. Mary Lambeth, Boat Builder Batch & Sarah Page, Widow
 20 Abraham Hooper of St. Giles in the fields, Button Maker Batch & Mary Anson of Bartholomew, Spin
 28 James Carr, Waterhouse, Plumtree, in Kent, Farmer & Widow & Ann Shamble, Spin
 Aug 7 Richard Garland of St. Giles in the fields, Farmer Widow & Bridget, Durwin, Widow
 11 Michael Wharton, Mariner Batch & Mary Scott, Spins
 18 John Woolley of St. Lukes Smith, Batch & Mary Gascoin, Widow
 26 John Simson, of St. Lukes Midd. Weaver Batch & Jane, Cutler Spinst
 26 John Jems of St. Lukes Weaver Batch & Jane, Cutler of St. James's Cesterwell, Widow
 27 Thomas Shaw of St. Olave, Southwark, Hatt, Dyer Batch & Mary Fleming of Micham, in Surrey Widow
 Sept 17 John Wilmore of Barken, by the Tower Smith & Batch & Margaret Thompson of St. Stephens Coleman Street, Widow
 23 Thomas Airo of Effingham, in Surrey Batch & Eliza Patterson of Leatherhead, Widow
 Oct 5 Enoch Shutt, Gen. Batch & Ann, of King'sington, Midd. Spinst

PLATE 25

Thomas Airo, farmer, bachelor

Marriage Date: 23 Sep 1745

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Eliza Patterson, widow [but in Plates 26-28 entered as Potterton, spinster]

Spouse Residence: Leatherhead

Piece Description: RG 7/150

Officiating Ministers: Wyatt, Wigmore, Shellburn, Ryder, Dare, Crawford, Symson, etc

Fleet register: King's Arms register: 1735 Nov – 1750 Dec

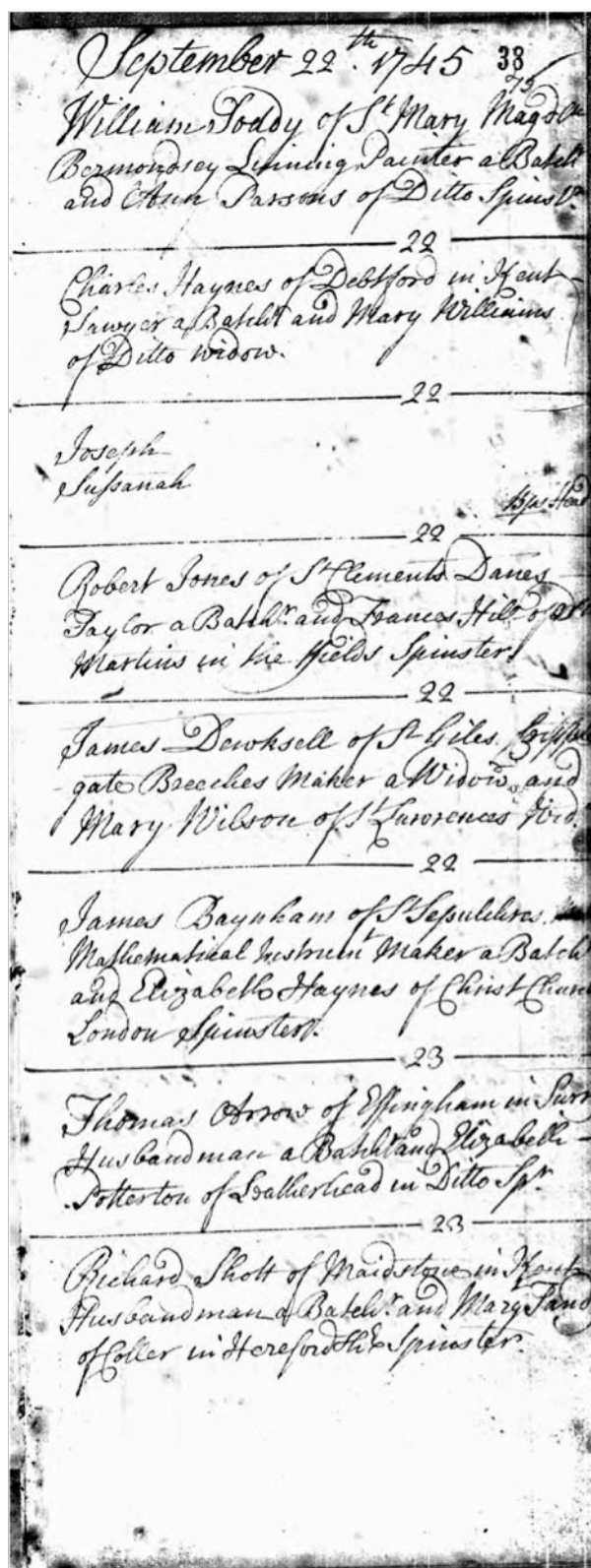


PLATE 26

Thomas Arrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 23 Sep 1745

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Eliza Potterton, spinster

Spouse Residence: Leatherhead

Piece Description: RG 7/220

Officiating Minister: Dare

Fleet register: Dare's register number 4: 1745 Mar – 1746 Jun

Sep^r: 23th 1745
 Thos Arrow of Effingham in Surry
 Husbandman a B^{ch} and Eliz Potterton
 of Leatherhead in D^{or}set^r ... Sign: son
 9/18
 23 Richd Shott of Maidstone in
 Kent Husbandman a B^{ch} &
 Mary Jandy of Coler in Hantsford
 sh^r p^r ... - - - Sign: -
 9/18
 23 Nath: Collard of St Giles in the
 fields Lordwainers a B^{ch} & Ann
 Huxey of D^{or} widow. Bates
 9/18 See Feb^r: 25. 1744
 24 Isaac Cambel of St Giles Crisp
 -legate Lordwainers a B^{ch} &
 Eliz Py mile of D^{or}set^r - wood
 4/1 - - - com
 - 9m: 8

PLATE 27

Thos Arrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 23 Sep 1745

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Eliza Potterton, spinster

Spouse Residence: Leatherhead

Piece Description: RG 7/526

Officiating Minister: not named

Fleet notebooks: Dare's notebook: 1745 Sep

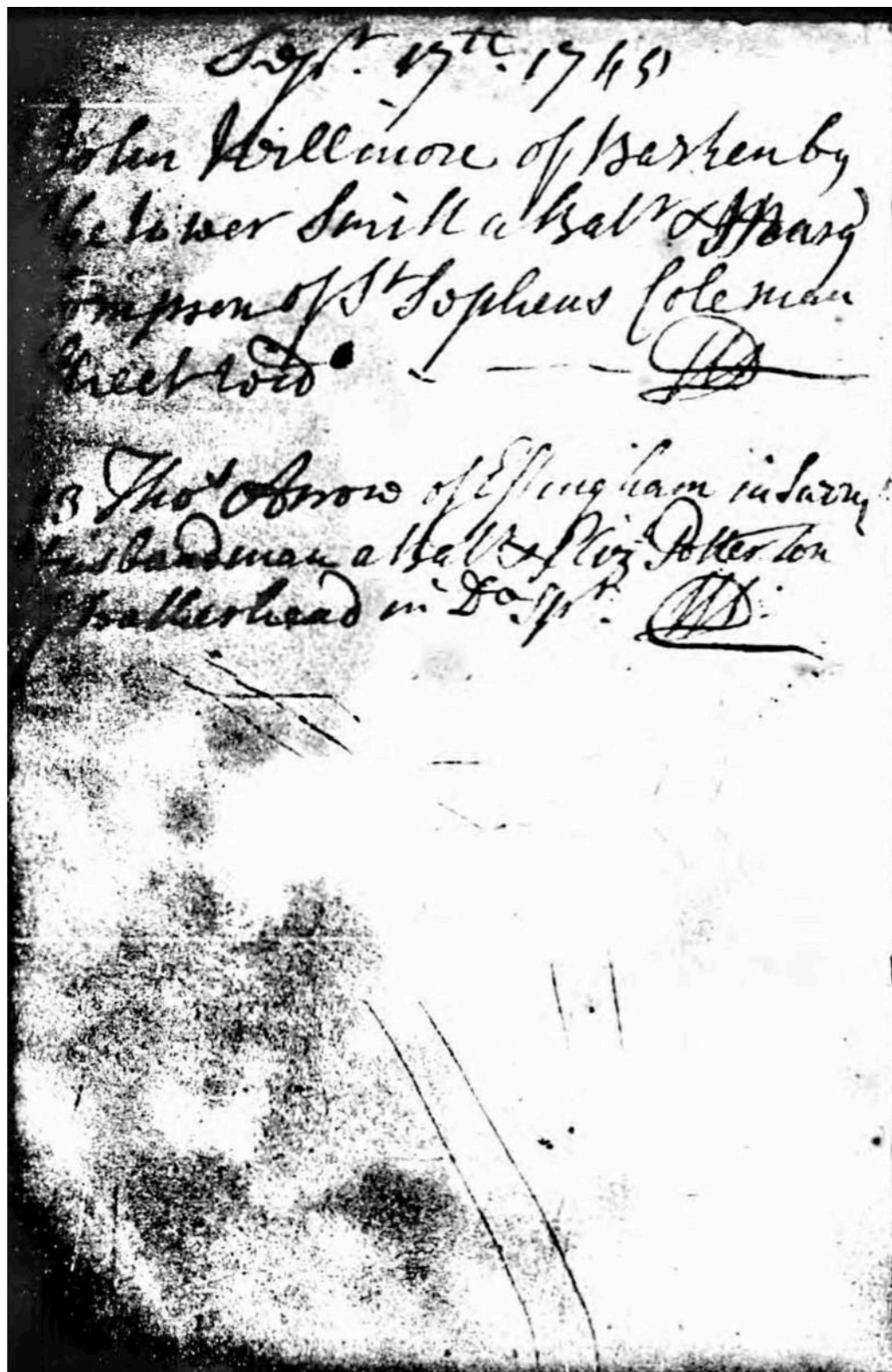


PLATE 28

Thos Arrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 23 Sep 1745

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: Eliz Potterton, spinster

Spouse Residence: Leatherhead

Piece Description: RG 7/660

Officiating Ministers: Dare, Wyatt, Symson, Deneveu

Fleet register: King's Arms register (marriages at Mr William Simpson's): 1741 Jun – 1749 Jul

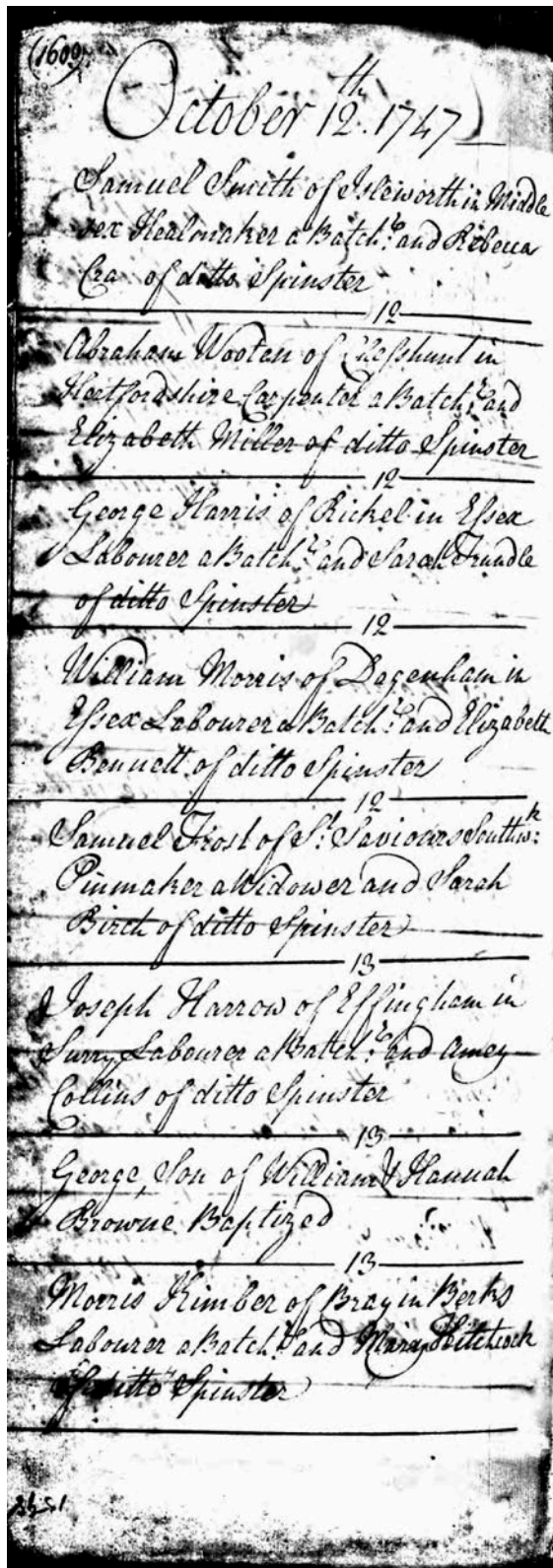


PLATE 29

Joseph Harrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 13 Oct 1747

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Amey Collins**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/144

Officiating Ministers: Dare, Tarrant, Symson, Deneveu

Fleet register: Dare's register: 1747 Sep – 1750 Sep

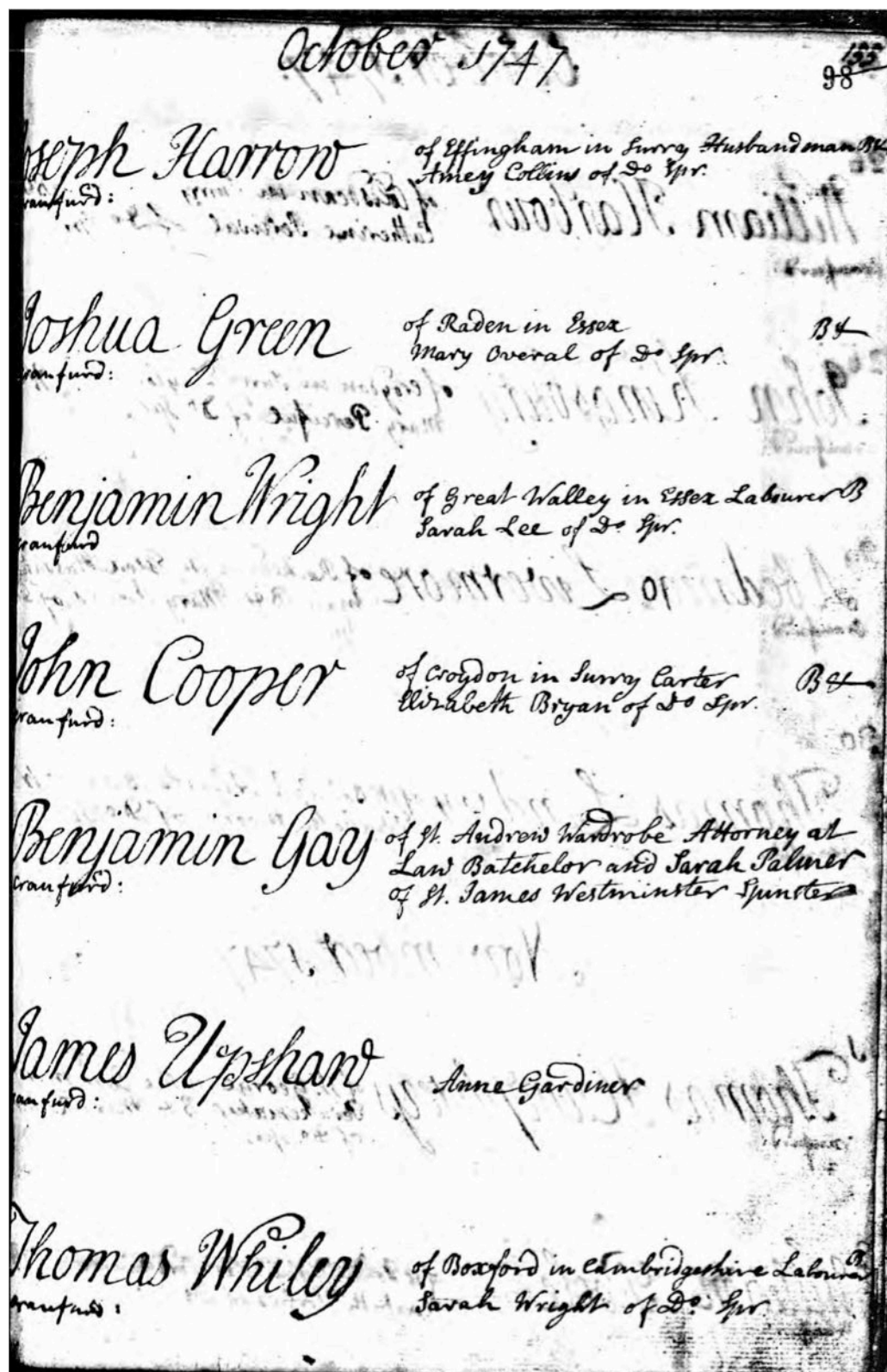


PLATE 30

Joseph Harrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: Oct 1747

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Amey Collins**, spinster

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/191

Officiating Ministers: Ashwell, Wyatt, Wigmore, Tarrant, Crawford, Dare

Fleet register: Wyatt's register [Burnford's register]: 1740 Sep – 1747 Dec

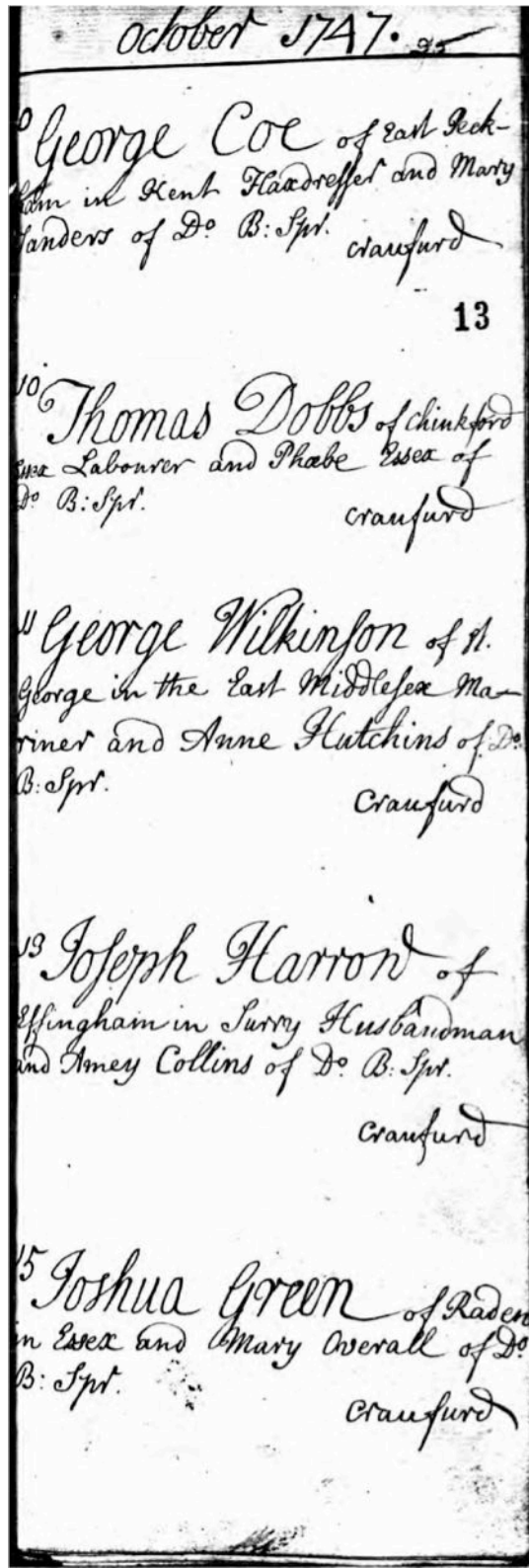


PLATE 31

Joseph Harrow, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 13 Oct 1747

Residence: Effingham

Spouse: **Amey Collins**, spinster

Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/236

Officiating Ministers: Tarrant, [?] Townsend, Crawford

Fleet register: [Newton's register]: 1747 Jul – 1748 Oct

Oct. 12th 1747
 Wm Morris of Dagulrae
 Ephe Lab^r 13th Eliz Bennet
 of D^o Sp^r - - - - - til 6: -
 4/- ✓
 12: Saml Gos of St Paul Surry
 Pin 9 nates wth Sarah Birch
 of D^o Sp^r - - - - - Bates 4
 m/o ✓
 13. Joseph Harrow of Effing-
 ham: Surry, Lab^r & Amey
 Collins of D^o Sp^r Bm 13:-
 o/o ✓
 13 George son of Wm Han-
 nah Brown Baptized
 by Sam Bullock & Gaford
 Wm Bullock witnesses
 m/- ✓

PLATE 33

Joseph Harrow, labourer, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 13 Oct 1747
 Residence: Effingham
 Spouse: Amey Collins, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Essingham

Piece Description: RG 7/548
 Officiating Minister: not named
 Fleet notebooks: Dare's notebook: 1747 Oct – 1747 Nov

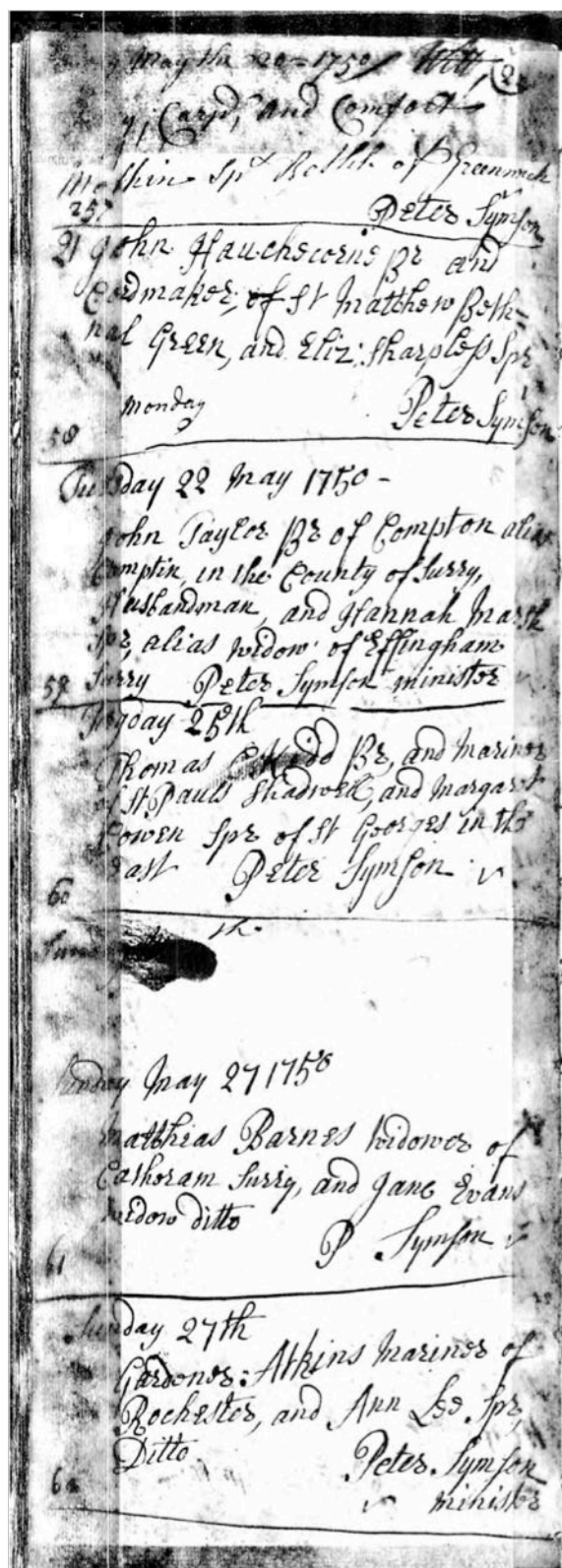


PLATE 34

John Taylor, husbandman, bachelor

Marriage Date: 22 May 1750

Residence: Compton alias Comptin, Surrey

Spouse: **Hannah Marsh**, spinster alias widow

Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/241

Officiating Ministers: Lando, Symson, Wyatt, Deneveu

Fleet register: 1748 Sep – 1752 Aug

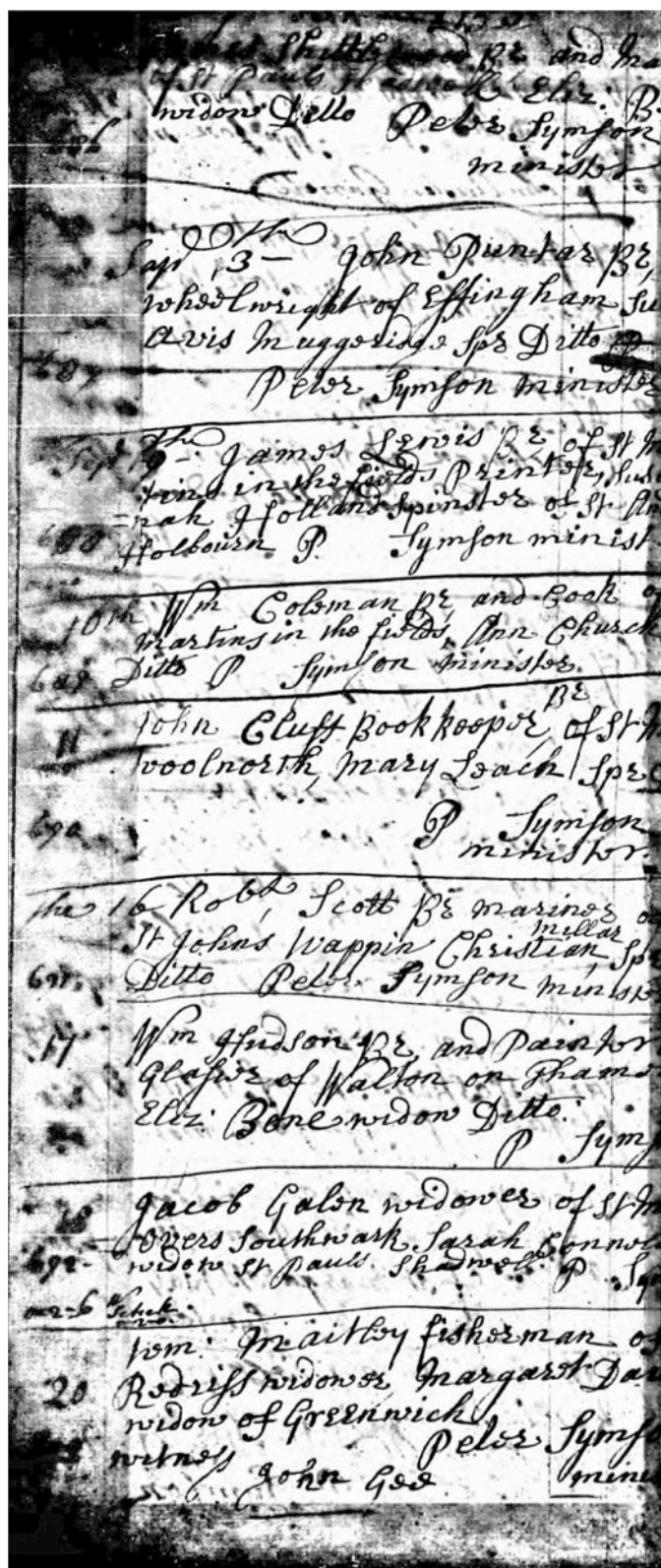


PLATE 35

John Puntar, wheelwright, bachelor
 Marriage Date: 3 September 1753
 Residence: Effingham
 Spouse: **Avis Muggerridge**, spinster
 Spouse Residence: Effingham

Piece Description: RG 7/15
 Officiating Ministers: Symson, Townsend, Nodes, Bearfield
 Fleet register: 1752 Aug – 1754 Mar

APPENDIX III

John Gaynam in The Fleet Registers, Chapter III, pp25-26

¹ This man, famed for the number of his marriages, and unrivalled for notoriety of character, appears to have been styled "Doctor Gaynam." The following evidence given at the Old Bailey on the trial of Robert Hussey in 1733 for bigamy, will give some idea of his character and pretensions.

Dr. Gainham. The 9th of September 1733, I married a couple at the Rainbow Coffee House the corner of Fleet Ditch, and entered the marriage in my register, as fair a register as any church in England can produce. I shewed it last night to the foreman of the jury, and my Lord Mayor's Clerk, at the London Punch House.

Counsel.—Are you not ashamed to come and own a clandestine marriage in the face of a Court of Justice?

Dr. Gainham.—(bowing) *Vide meliora, deteriora sequor.*

Q.—You are on your oath, I ask you whether you never enter marriages in that book when there's no marriage at all?

Gainham.—I never did in my life. I page my book so, that it cannot be altered.

From the trial of Edmund Dangerfield, for bigamy, in 1736.

Dr. Gainham.—I don't know the prisoner. I did marry a man and woman of these names. Here, this is a true register: "Edmd. Dangerfield of St. Mary Newington Butts, Batchelor, to Arabella Fast." When I marry at any house I always set it down, for I carry one of the books in my pocket, and when I go home I put it in my great book.

Court.—Do you never make any alteration?

Gainham.—Never, my Lord. These two were married at Mrs. Ball's, at the Hand and Pen, by the Fleet Prison, and my name is to her book.

Counsel.—"Tis strange you should not remember the prisoner.

Gainham.—Can I remember persons? I have married 2000 since that time.

The prisoner's defence.—"Arabella Fast said to me, 'There is a minister, (naming his name) who often lies with me, and if you'll say you are my husband we may get some money out of him.' I took a room for her, within a fortnight after; she told me the parson was come to London and now was the time to make him our prize; 'Come into our room (says she) about 10 o'clock at night'—I did, and found Arabella and he a-bed. 'Hey! (says I,) how came you a-bed with my spouse?' 'Sir, (says he,) I only lay with her to keep my back warm.' In the morning the gentleman said, 'I must make you a present if you can produce a certificate.' I knew not what to say. 'Sir, (says Arabella) we were married at the Fleet,' and says she to me, 'For a crown I can get a certificate from the Fleet.' I gave her a crown, and in half an hour she brings me a certificate."—The Prisoner was acquitted.

It is believed that it was Gaynam who was named "The Bishop of Hell," a notice of which appellation was taken at the trial of Ruth Woodward, in 1737, for bigamy.

John Hall.—I saw her married at the Fleet to Robert Holmes; 'twas at the Hand and Pen, a barber's shop.

Counsel.—And is it not a wedding-shop too?

Hall.—Yes. I don't know the parson's name, but 'twas a man that once belonged to Creed Church—a very lusty, jolly man.

Counsel.—Because there's a complaint lodged in a proper court, against a Fleet parson, whom they call The Bishop of Hell.

In one of the pocket-books used by the Fleet Clergymen is the following.

Sept. 16, 1728, "Witness that they (Hutchis and Brown) saw Walter Chandler strike John Gaynam, Clergyman, with a stick, several blows."

APPENDIX IV

*The clandestine marriage of William Godfrey and Elizabeth Killick in 1737***William Godfrey's background**

From 1724 to 1738 the Vicar at Effingham was Rev Joseph Godfrey. We know little about him, but he may have come late into holy orders (see *Some Account of the Post Reformation Clerics at St Lawrence Church, Effingham*, Bryan Sherwood and Susan Morris, 2023, pp87-91). He married on 1 November 1711 at the church of St Peter and St Paul, Godalming to Elizabeth Toft. Their son William was born in the following year, being baptised at Godalming on 24 October 1712 [FHL: Film No 814231].

Elizabeth Killick's background

Elizabeth's father Henry (Junior) Killick, the son of Henry Killick and Ann, was baptised on 2 February 1688/89 at Effingham. Following his marriage in 1711, when the baptisms of his children began to be recorded, he was named 'Henry Junior' in the registers, but after the death of his father in 1719 the register entries revert to just 'Henry'. He is believed to have married firstly to Elizabeth Lull, on 16 December 1711 at St Peter's in Woking; the register records him as being 'of Merrow'. We have no documentary evidence to substantiate whether he was living there just prior to the marriage.

Henry and his wife Elizabeth were living in Effingham when all their seven children were baptised. Of these, only three appear to have survived into adulthood: William baptised in 1713 who married and stayed in Effingham, Elizabeth baptised on 7 May 1716, and possibly Martha baptised on 12 October 1721 who may have gone to Great Bookham, remaining unmarried. Henry's wife Elizabeth died five months after the birth of her final child, also named Henry. She was buried on 14 March 1723/24, leaving three children under the age of 10-11 including Elizabeth.

The clandestine marriage

By 1736 when she was 20, Elizabeth Killick's parents Henry and Elizabeth were dead. Evidently she was working for Rev Joseph Godfrey at Effingham vicarage as a 'yearly hired servant'. Rev Godfrey's son William had become an apprentice jeweller in London. A romance started, resulting in the birth of an illegitimate child named Elizabeth in December; she was born at an alehouse called *The Bell and Goat* in Bull Inn Court, The Strand, London.

Two of the Justices of the Peace for the county of Surrey had ordered the child to be removed from the parish of Effingham. Elizabeth was unmarried with a child and thus 'likely to become' a charge on the parish where she was living. The Poor Law Guardians were charged with finding out who the father was, and this they did. Elizabeth made a statement on oath to them on 19 July 1737:

‘The Examination of Elizabeth Killick singlewoman taken on Oath this nineteenth Day of July in the year of our Lord 1737.

Who upon Oath saith she is about twenty one years of age that she was born at Effingham in the County of Surry [sic] and was a yearly hired servant to the Reverend Mr Joseph Godfrey Minister of Effingham aforesaid about two years and a quarter and that she left that service about seven months ago. And this Examination her Voluntary Oath further saith that Elizabeth Killick aged about six months removed from Effingham aforesaid by an order under the Hands and Seals of two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Surry is a Bastard and is likely to become chargeable to the parish of St Martin in the aforesaid and was born of her body in December last at one Thomas Davis's who keeps an alehouse being the Sign of the Bell and Goat in Bull Inn Court in the Strand in the parish of St Martin in the Fields in the said Liberty of Westminster and that one William Godfrey son of the said Joseph Godfrey who was an apprentice to one Mr Bishop a jeweller in York Buildings in the parish of St Martin aforesaid had several times the carnal knowledge of her body in the bed where she lay at the said Mr Godfrey's house at Effingham aforesaid at one of which times he begat on her body the said female bastard child and she further on her Oath saith that he the said William Godfrey is the true and only father thereof and no man else.

Sworn the day and year above written before ... Fraser

The mark of Elizabeth Killick'

Since the father was thus named, he was probably compelled to marry Elizabeth. Both partners were of age, so that could not cause an impediment. Doubtless this was intensely difficult for a Vicar's son. They were married clandestinely three days later at the Fleet on 22 July 1737, as shown by the records in Plates 12-16. One can only imagine the gossip in the village swirling around the Godfrey and Killick families.

Westm^r toq
Wit. . }
36

The Examination of Elizabeth Killick & Ingleborne
taken on Oath this nineteen th Day of July
in the year of our Lord 1737.

Who upon her Oath saith She is about Twenty one years
of age that She was born at Effingham in the County of Surrey
and was a yearly hired servant to the Reverend Mr. Joseph
Godfrey Minister of Effingham aforesaid about two years and
a Quarter and that She left that Service about seven Months
ago. And this Examinant on her Voluntary Oath further
saith that Elizabeth Killick aged about Six Months removed
from Effingham aforesaid by an Order under the Hands &
Seals of two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County
of Surrey is a Bastard and was born of her Body in
December last at one Thomas Davis's who keeps an
Alehouse being the Sign of the Bell and Goat in
Bull Inn Court in the Strand in the Parish of St
Martin in the fields in the said Liberty of Westm^r and
that one William Godfrey Son of the said Joseph Godfrey
who was an Apprentice to one Mr. Bishop a Jeweller in
York Buildings in the Parish of St Martin aforesaid had
several Times the full and Knowledge of her Body in the
Bed where she lay at the said Mr. Joseph Godfrey's House
at Effingham aforesaid at one of which Times he begot on
her Body the said female bastard Child and she further
on her Oath saith that he the said William Godfrey is
the true and only Father thereof and no man else.

Sworn the Day and Year
above written Before

Elizabeth Killick

M. T. W. S.

Godfrey is since
married to her

Figure 8 The Settlement Examination of Elizabeth Killick; 19 July 1737.

Tragically, there was a very sad follow up. In the very next year William died aged only 25 and 3 months and was buried at Effingham on 19 January 1738. At the time of his son's burial Rev Godfrey wrote a particularly poignant entry in the register, more lengthy than usual. 'Cuius animo Deo propitius esto – God be merciful to his soul'. One hopes William had not harmed himself. Rev Godfrey himself died only a few months after his son, being buried on 4 July. His widow, Elizabeth, stayed in Effingham and was buried in August 1752. There are no extant gravestones for the Vicar, his wife or his son.

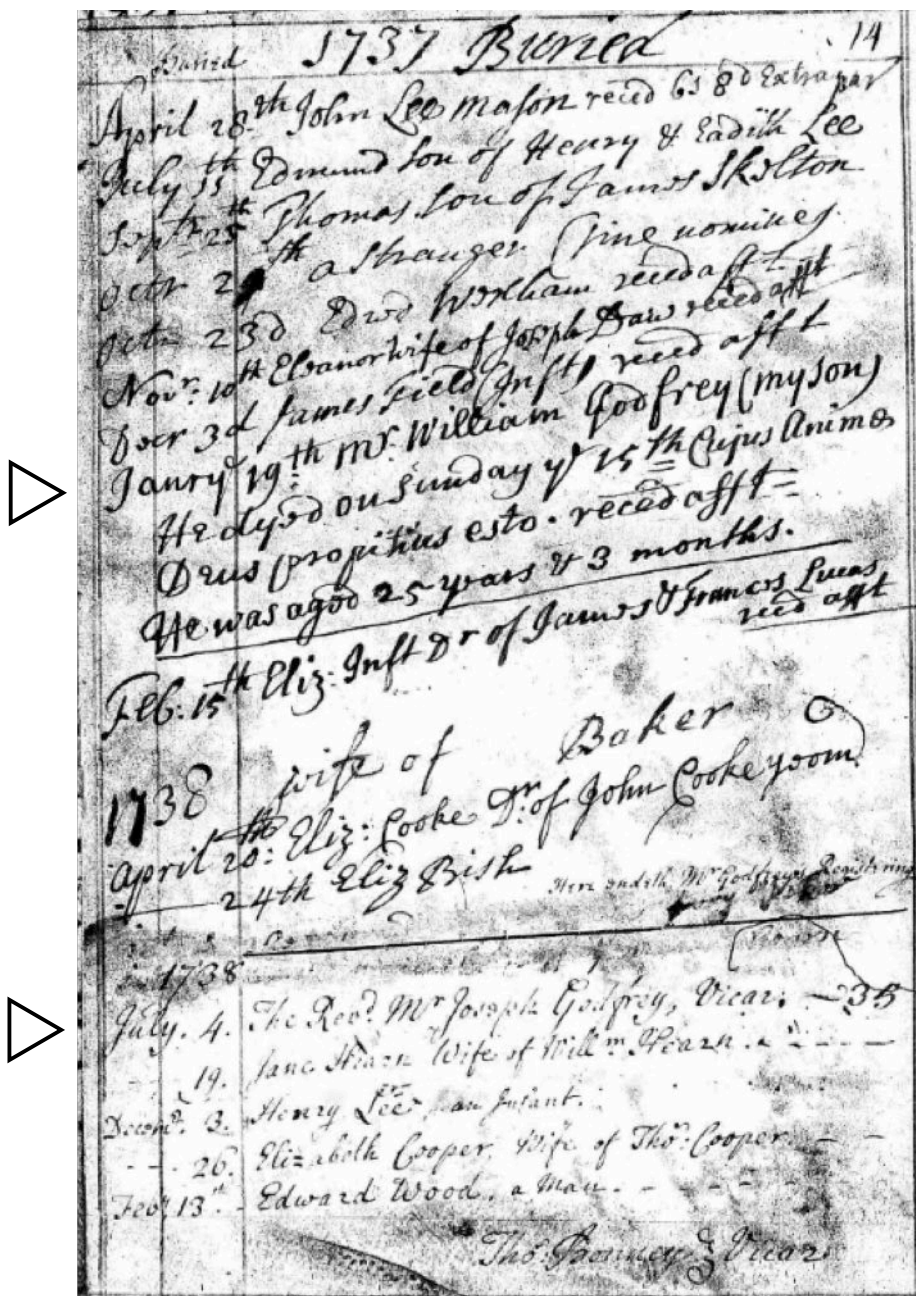


Figure 9 Burials of William Godfrey and his father Rev Joseph Godfrey.

What happened to Elizabeth and her daughter (if they survived), are not known. It is recorded that an Elizabeth Godfrey of Yoel (Ewell) married a Charles Ockly of Ossel (Horsell) husbandman at the Fleet on 30 September 1739.

Marriages at The Naked Boy

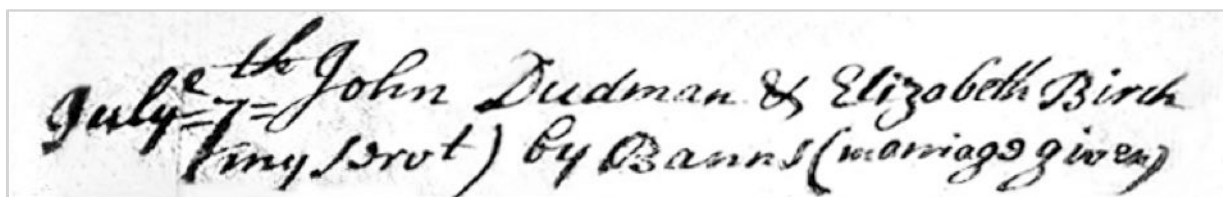
The Naked Boy inn, near the Strand's Fleet Bridge, was one of the venues at which clandestine marriages were conducted. Amazingly, we know that Rev Godfrey had some contact with a place of that name in the Strand – perhaps he went to London in happier times to visit William being an apprentice. This is from Monica O'Connor's *The History of Effingham in Surrey* about the Memorandum book [SHC Ref: BKL/18/1a]:

'There is also a verbatim transcript of a seedsman's catalogue of seeds and plants "sold by Will Lucas at the Naked Boy near Strand bridge, London" probably written by Mr Miller's successor, Mr Joseph Godfrey.'

Today, a 'Naked Boy Court' is off College Hill, near Cannon Street.

An earlier servant problem for Reverend Godfrey

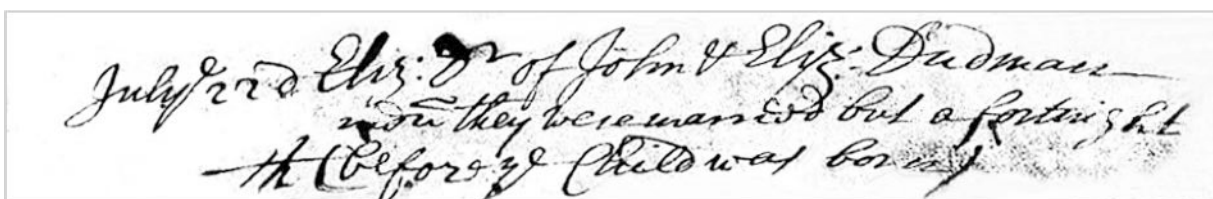
It is plausible that Rev Godfrey's servant Elizabeth Killick had taken up the position vacated by an earlier servant of his, Elizabeth Birch. Miss Birch had married (after Banns) at St Lawrence, Effingham on 7 July 1734 to John Dudman; in the register Rev Godfrey qualified her name with the note '(my servt)'.



July 7th John Dudman & Elizabeth Birch
(my servt) by Banns (marriage given)

Figure 10 St Lawrence register entry for the marriage on 7 July 1734 of Elizabeth Birch and John Dudman.

It may have been an embarrassment to him that she was almost full term in pregnancy at that time, giving birth shortly afterwards to a baby girl Elizabeth, baptised on 22 July. In the baptism entry Rev Godfrey added a short memorandum to the parents' names 'they were married but a fortnight before y^e child was born'.



July 22nd Eliz: D^{ch} of John & Eliz: Dudman
- who they were married but a fortnight
- before y^e child was born

Figure 11 St Lawrence register entry for the baptism on 22 July 1734 of Elizabeth Dudman.

'Africa in London' – George Pauling's Extravaganza of 1899

(THE LATE) GEORGE CRAIG SAUNDERS PAULING

followed by commentary by CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER and MICHAEL EDWARD AGIUS

In the posthumously-published autobiography 'The Chronicles of a Contractor' by George Craig Saunders Pauling, Chapter 50 bears the title 'Africa in London'. This relates how he and others staged a long-running show 'Savage South Africa' in London, its participants including a large number of Africans brought from South Africa for this purpose. Pauling's chapter, describing how the show came into being and how it fared, is reproduced verbatim at the start of this article. The remainder of the article is a commentary providing more detail and insights about the event and in this the reader will encounter quoted material, especially from newspapers, employing language that would today be deplored for its racist nature.

AFRICA IN LONDON

One of these outside schemes, in which I took a large interest, was the running of an entertainment in London which was called 'Savage South Africa.' The fundamental idea of this show was to bring Rhodesia to the active notice of the British public. About twelve months before the commencement of the Boer War Dr. Rutherford Harris had suggested to me the formation of a syndicate with the object of sending to England, under the charge of my old friend Mr. Frank Fillis, of Fillis's Circus, some Rhodesian and Dutch white men, who should take with them a number of Matabele and other South African natives, specimens of Rhodesian game, and various other attractions. The syndicate was formed and its object received the approval of Lord Grey and the Chartered Company. Lord Grey joined the board and I was appointed chairman. We chartered a 'Castle' steamer and loaded it in Cape Town with about fifty white men and a hundred and fifty native warriors, together with some women and children; all the paraphernalia for their huts and domestic life; about eighty Basuto ponies and some Cape horses; and the actual coach which had been attacked by the Mashonas in their rebellion while it was on its way from Mazoe to Salisbury. We had intended to include trek oxen in the outfit but were informed that these would not be allowed to land in England. We had several South African bucks, a lion, and a number of other beasts making up a small menagerie.

All arrived safely in London and, an agreement having been entered into with Mr. Imre Kiralfy, we opened at Earl's Court. One of our great attractions was the Kafir [this is Pauling's preferred spelling, rather than Kaffir] kraal, where the natives were to be seen practically in their savage state and where the conditions of their domestic life were reproduced as faithfully as the surroundings would permit. This attraction attained great popularity, and it frequently happened that in one day as many as sixteen thousand people paid sixpence each to view the kraal. Some prurient people commenced an agitation against the exhibition of the kraal on the ground that the sight of lusty savages, scantily attired, tended to demoralize the good people of London. Other allegations which, if not unfounded, were greatly exaggerated, were made as to undesirable occurrences when the savages were allowed outside the exhibition. As a matter of fact we made it a rule not to allow any Kafirs outside the exhibition unless they were accompanied by some of our white staff. Questions were, however, asked in the Houses of Parliament and the newspapers were full of references to the kraal. For a time the agitation had an effect, the very reverse of what its promoters desired. It gave us a magnificent advertisement with the result that tremendous crowds were anxious to visit the entertainment. By and by, however, the exaggerations of the agitators began to have their effect. Lord Grey, together with other prominent people connected with the Chartered Company, resigned from the Board, and Dr. Harris and I were left to carry on the show. Our original syndicate had put up, I think, about £60,000, and it became increasingly evident that if we remained at Earl's Court we should soon get on the wrong side of the financial stream. We accordingly took an early opportunity of terminating our agreement with Mr. Kiralfy, and succeeded in hiring Olympia on more advantageous terms. By the time the show was transferred to Olympia the Boer War had broken out and the outlook was very glum. People had no heart to patronize places of amusement and we realized, when it was too late, that our proper course would have been to close down the entertainment and to repatriate all the people we had brought to England. During the progress of the exhibition I had become satisfied that a change of management would be desirable, so I got a great friend of mine, Mr. Edwin Cleary, who had had considerable experience as an impresario, to run the show at Olympia. The arena there was so huge that it gave us a splendid opportunity for putting up some remarkable scenes. One of these was the native attack on the Mazoe coach. Two of the white men on the coach, as well as some of the

natives, had been at the real attack. It was a very realistic piece of work. Natives, more than half hid among the long grass, threw assegais, and fired rifles; the white men lying on top of the coach returned the fire, blank of course, and the driver whipped up his horses, the whole thing being magnificently done.

Another outstanding feature of the exhibition consisted of a representation of the last stand of Major Wilson and his little band of heroes who were outnumbered and killed on the banks of the Shangani River in December 1893. This scene was most realistically reproduced. Not only did the white men know the business thoroughly, but the natives infused into their attacks such a force of enthusiasm that there were times when several of the adversaries had narrow escapes from being wounded by their assegais.

While the show was in progress news reached England concerning the armoured trains which the British were employing on the South Africa railways against the Boers. We applied the idea to the show and I arranged for a locomotive, and a truck, filled up with sheet iron to resemble as closely as possible the armoured trains actually in use, to be sent from one of our English contracts to Olympia. In the truck we placed a maxim gun with several white men, some of whom were to work the gun and the others to fire the rifles with which they had been armed. We laid about a hundred and fifty feet of railway track and made a huge proscenium on the side of the building opposite to the auditorium. All of a sudden the whistle of the train sounded shrilly in the distance, and it was evident that the train was approaching from among the South African scenery which had been very faithfully portrayed along, and in front of, the whole length of one side of the building. Presently the engine came in sight and, with gradually increasing speed, reached the open where, according to plan, it was attacked by the enemy, some of whom were genuine Boers, but the majority had been engaged as supers in London. By the time the engine appeared the noise of the firing of the maxim gun and the rifles had become intense and the whole scene was excessively thrilling. Before the train reached the other side of the proscenium it had attained such a speed that the most strenuous efforts had to be used by applying brakes both to the locomotive and to the truck, in order to prevent the end of the building from being knocked out. But the whole scheme was carried out with such consistent efficiency that we never had an accident.

Another of our star attractions was a great hunting scene. Two Dutchmen, armed with rifles, and obviously out for big game, appeared in the arena. For a brief period they kept the attention of the audience by adopting the usual tactics of the hunters. Presently a lion, which had been secretly uncaged, could be seen making its way among the long grass. Night after night he played his part with almost human intelligence. Seemingly the monarch of his surroundings, he surveyed the scene with that indifferent composure which is characteristic of his kind under normal conditions. Roaring now and then, as the applause of the people appeared to gratify or annoy him, he commenced to climb a pathway among the scenic rocks. Just as he reached the summit and was about to disappear behind a boulder, the Boers fired, the lion was shot dead, and his body fell into that part of the arena where he had first appeared. At least, so it appeared to the public, who paid to be deceived and were recompensed accordingly. It would have been difficult to define adequately at the time how the scene was arranged, but the war has found us an apt description in the word 'camouflage.' Cleary had arranged the scene very cleverly. A ring round the lion's neck was connected by a wire to the lion's cage, which was secreted behind the boulder at the summit of the scenery. Both the ring and the wire had been painted so as to be indistinguishable by the audience. The lion was fed but once a day, and his feeding had been arranged to synchronize with the conclusion of the performance. Being hungry by the time his 'turn' arrived, his one object was to reach his food with the least possible delay, and with Cleary's training he never made a mistake. Simultaneously with the shooting and the lion's disappearance behind the boulder a stuffed counterpart kept ready for the purpose fell from the summit, and the excellence of the effect was reflected in the acclamations of the public.

It is a melancholy indication of the spirit of these times that all this splendid show failed to attract large audiences. People were too much down in the dumps. While the historic sieges of Kimberley and Mafeking were in progress, few people were disposed to seek enjoyment. Consequently, after a time, the syndicate, having fulfilled its obligations to repatriate the people imported from Africa, was wound up at considerable loss to its promoters and to those who had supported them.

Mr. Fillis took over a part of the show and resumed his business as a travelling circus proprietor, while the fertile mind of Cleary had also evolved another scheme. It was to take over a section of the wreck with which to assist him in opening a show in Paris. At that time the Paris Exhibition, including one of the first automobile displays, was about to be inaugurated, and I warned Cleary that he would be sure to lose our money by seeking to run a show which would not be patronized, because I foresaw that all who went to Paris would spend their money at the big exhibition. However, my friend thought differently and in my folly I agreed to join him. We both lost our money, but were to some extent repaid by many amusing episodes which had better remain unrelated.

COMMENTARY

Dramatis Personae

George Pauling, civil engineer and contractor, played a major role in the development of southern Africa's railways in the 19th and early 20th centuries, besides undertaking major engineering projects of various kinds in other parts of the world. His chapter *Africa in London* begins by his reference to 'outside schemes' mentioned in his previous chapter. He seemed very ready to venture money on projects which at first sight look as if they were beyond Pauling & Co's main business of civil engineering – examples include hotel business, gold mining, newspaper printing and ice-making. Perhaps it was sometimes his personal money that he risked, not the company's.

In the chapter, he refers to several key persons and organisations and we begin this commentary by providing an introduction to these.

Dr (Frederick) Rutherfoord Harris

Pauling writes that it was Harris who suggested to him the idea of the show. Harris had been born in 1856 in Mangalore, Madras where his father, George Anstruther Harris, served as a judge of the Supreme Court. Frederick had been sent to England for his education and the 1871 Census finds him, as 'Frederick' aged 14, residing as a pupil at a grammar school in Church Street, Leatherhead. This institution had been opened in 1845 by the educationalist Joseph Payne and occupied the Georgian house known today as The Mansion. Initially the school was referred to as the Mansion Grammar School [*Morning Herald (London)*, 19 March 1845] but by the 1850s and thereafter as the Leatherhead Grammar School [*The Sussex Express*, 6 June 1857]. After leaving the Leatherhead school Harris entered Edinburgh University to study medicine, matriculating there in 1874 and gaining his LRCS (Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons) in 1879. By the time of the 1881 Census he was working as a surgeon's assistant and boarding in the household of surgeon Thomas Hutchinson in Basset Road, Camborne in Cornwall. Camborne was a huge mining area so perhaps he gained expertise in the sort of injuries typically experienced by miners. Soon after this he emigrated to South Africa.



Figure 1 Rutherfoord Harris c1903-05.

A detailed account of Harris's many years in Africa is given in the article *Rhodes and the Doctors (6): Frederick Rutherfoord Harris* by J Charles Shee, MD MRCP [*The Central African Journal of Medicine*, Vol 9, No 11, November 1963]. This relates that Harris emigrated to Kimberley, another mining area, in 1882, practising medicine there and becoming closely acquainted early on with Cecil Rhodes and Dr Leander Starr Jameson. Probably getting his fingers burned through dabbling in diamond or gold speculation, he had run into financial difficulties by about 1887, but his fortunes revived in 1889 when he was offered by Rhodes the new position of secretary to the British South Africa Company (the 'Chartered Company', as Pauling's chapter refers to it). He served as MP for Dulwich for three years from 1903.

The British South Africa Company (BSAC)

The company had been incorporated in October 1888. Rhodes was one of the first directors on its board, functioning as the managing director for its business dealings in South Africa. Most of the board's members remained based in England. It was Rhodes who was to steer the process by which the company was awarded a Royal Charter in December 1889.

The company's origin lay in the lust for gold that had arisen after the discovery of that metal in the Transvaal, the territory lying north of the Vaal river and south of the Limpopo river. The gold had been found in 1886 on the ridge known as Witwatersrand (the 'Rand'). Moreover, excited speculation had arisen that gold might be found further north, beyond the Limpopo, in the land occupied by the Ndebele (or Matabele) native population, part of today's Zimbabwe. These warlike people were ruled by their king, Lobengula, who defended their land with a ferocious army of 15,000 warriors, greatly feared by tribes such as the Shona living in neighbouring regions. Lobengula applied strict control over the entry of white people, in tiny numbers, into his land and was notoriously ruthless in resisting white expansionism. Both Rhodes and Kruger (President of the Transvaal) were keen to gain access to this land and exploit its

gold, but this would mean coming to terms with Lobengula. In October 1888 Rhodes, through intermediaries, secured from Lobengula a concession granting the British the right to search there for minerals. The deal included formal acknowledgement of Lobengula as the King of both Matabeleland and Mashonaland, as well as agreeing to supply him with £100 per month, 1,000 modern rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition, notwithstanding that the sale of guns to Africans outside the Cape Colony breached international law.

Rhodes' ambitions, however, went far beyond the exploitation of gold. As noted on one of the websites about the British Empire [<https://www.britishempire.me.uk/index.html>]:

'He had had for several years the idea of creating a chartered company which would be based on the East India Company and be responsible for the administration of such territories as the government made the company responsible for.

Rhodes' ideas for a chartered company though met with resistance not just from Lobengula, who now realised that he had been misled by Rhodes, but also by many different groups supporting the position of native peoples. At the beginning of 1889 Lobengula sent representatives to London to petition for Rhodes to have his idea for a private company rejected by the government. The arrival of Lobengula's representatives in London in February caused a sensation in London.

Rhodes, once he had arrived in London, brought all the charm he had to bear on the British establishment picking off the South Africa Committee one by one. Lord Grey accepted a tranche of shares and a position on the board of the proposed company whilst RW Thompson, secretary of the London Missionary Society was promised official backing in his work in Matabeleland. [William Thomas] Stead eventually agreed to accept £2,000 to settle a debt he had with the promise of an additional gift of £20,000 to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the magazine he edited. Rhodes already had the support of the Irish MPs in Parliament because of a previous commitment to give Parnell the sum of £5,000 with a second instalment of £5,000 to come at a later date.

Salisbury, the Prime Minister, eventually concluded that to grant the charter was the cheapest way of extending British influence in that part of the world. On 10 July the cabinet approved the creation of the company and Rhodes returned to South Africa. The formal grant came from Victoria in October later in the year and gave the company powers akin to that of a government.

Whereas the Rudd Concession gave no more than the rights to mine metals and minerals, the charter gave the British South Africa Company (BSAC) the power to build roads, railways, telegraphs, establish banking, award land grants, negotiate treaties, make laws, raise a company police force and promote immigration. The company was backed by funds amounting to £700,000 with all Rhodes' supporters in South Africa having shares. The shares were not offered to the public but to friends at par cost.'

Initially the company focused on making money from the minerals of Mashonaland, aiming to raise enough to fund subsequent colonisation of other parts of southern Africa. The charter empowered it to enter into treaties with African rulers, subject to the British government's approval, by which it would acquire new territory and control the manner in which that territory was administered and exploited.

Bearing much similarity to the British East India Company, the BSAC had its own private army of paramilitaries, later evolving into a body more akin to a police force, which it used to subjugate and govern the indigenous peoples in the lands it acquired and whose resources it effectively plundered in the so-called 'Scramble for Africa' that had begun in the mid-1880s. As noted in *Wikipedia*: 'The BSAC either ended the powers of traditional rulers through warfare or eroded them by encouraging its own officials to take most of them over'. The BSAC was also the prime mover in the construction of Africa's early railways, in most cases employing Pauling as their contractor. Following the debacle of the 'Jameson Raid' begun in late-1895 and continued into 1896, the serious enquiries that followed it led to Rhodes (and some other directors) being removed from the board of the BSAC in mid-1896 but, as he was a major holder of shares in the company, he retained a dominating influence over its operations until his death in 1902.

Lord Grey

Albert Henry George Grey, educated at Harrow and Cambridge, had become a Liberal MP in 1880. During the 1880s he had led an active parliamentary life and given strong support to women's suffrage as well as to proportional representation. In 1889, ie when he was heir apparent but before he had inherited the earldom, he was invited by Rhodes to become a significant shareholder in the BSAC and to join him on its first board of directors. He became the 4th Earl Grey in 1894.

Grey's role on the BSAC board was to act as a conduit between Rhodes in South Africa and the government in Britain. He was seemingly the only one among the London-based BSAC directors to have had any prior knowledge of the impending (December 1895) Jameson Raid. As already noted,

the embarrassment and humiliation arising from the abortive raid had led to a major enquiry. Many revelations and recriminations were aired, especially in relation to the conduct of the BSAC. Some of the excoriating parliamentary critique made of the company and its directors in the aftermath can be read in the lengthy exchanges recorded in *Hansard*, such as those seen in the debate held on 6 May 1898 [*Hansard*: House of Commons Debates, 6 May 1898, Vol 57, cc538-652]. Although the raid had led to several board resignations, Lord Grey somehow survived and continued as a director for some years until 1904, when he became appointed as Canada's Governor General.

Pauling states that, upon receiving from Harris the idea of the show, he obtained the approval of the BSAC for setting up a syndicate to back the show and manage the various steps necessary to getting it underway. Presumably he sought that permission in order to lubricate the wheels that would need to turn in order that appropriate South African resources, including black Africans, could be procured and shipped over to Britain. In particular he obtained approval from Lord Grey, a board member and share-holder. He states unequivocally that Grey became a board member and shareholder of the separate syndicate formed to run the show. Grey himself later directly contradicted this. He admitted to have taken some shares but claimed to have had nothing to do with the directors.

Frank Fillis

The directing of the show was to be undertaken by South Africa's renowned circus proprietor 'Frank' (Francis Edward) Fillis whom Pauling describes as 'my old friend'. In fact, the two had known each other for about fifteen years, as will be explained later. Fillis is the main character in this story and so we shall expend some pages describing him and his family background.

Frank had been born in Lambeth on 13 July 1857 to parents Thomas and Esther, for whom no marriage registration has been found. Thomas, born on 30 August 1830 to parents Thomas and Ann, had been baptised on 9 January 1831 at Christ Church in Marylebone, the register giving his parents' address as Earl Street East (in Holborn) and his father's occupation as clerk. He has not been found in the 1841 or 1851 Censuses. In the 1861 Census, however, he and his 'wife' Esther were living in the St George Tombland parish in Norwich, his occupation given as 'equestrian jester'; Frank was the only child living with them.

The family's structure and movements are difficult to ascertain fully or precisely. Many members were employed in theatrical and circus spectacles or similar forms of entertainment. This was particularly so of Frank's father Thomas and also of his uncle James Fillis. Thomas was in Cardiff in December 1862, having worked for three months as a circus clown for Mr Antonio Quaglieni, proprietor of the Sardinian Circus. He gave some testimony in a court case at the time which occupied many column inches in the Cardiff newspapers, concerning the legality or otherwise of a pantomime act that Quaglieni had staged for the circus in a building allegedly lacking an appropriate licence. By June 1863 Thomas had become Quaglieni's acting manager.

Some insight into Frank's early years might be expected from an autobiography he wrote in his later life. Bearing the title *Life and Adventures of Frank E. Fillis*, it was published by Stafford & Co Ltd of London in 1901. Original copies of the book are now virtually impossible to find on the open market. In any case, its content is of limited value in the writing of an accurate history of Frank's life. A similar charge can be made also of Pauling's own (posthumously published) autobiography *The Chronicles of a Contractor* in which he admits that his ordering of the text's material is not strictly chronological and had been written without



Figure 2 Lord Grey, no later than 1904.



Figure 3 Frank Fillis, late 19thC.

the benefit of detailed diaries or memoranda. However, whereas ascertaining the correct order of events and particular dates from reliable sources is largely possible in Pauling's case, the same is not true for Fillis, whose text is almost completely devoid of dates or indications of the durations of the many events, visits and tours he describes. Still, the reading of it is very absorbing since, like Pauling, Fillis can tell a good yarn; but good yarns alone do not make history.

Fortunately, for our purposes, a far superior account of Frank's life is given in the biography *Frank Fillis: die verhaal van 'n sirkuslegende* [publ F]G Publikasies, 2002] written in Afrikaans by Professor Floris Van der Merwe of the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. In 2007 this work (other than its footnotes) was translated into English, as *Frank Fillis: the Story of a Circus Legend*, by Ilse Evertse and a digital copy of this has been kindly provided to ELHG by Professor Van der Merwe. His book, which is well researched and richly illustrated, has eight chapters of which Chapter 2 presents the complete verbatim text of Frank's autobiography, itself structured as twelve chapters. This text had to be recovered by Van der Merwe from a photocopy held in Johannesburg's Harold Strange Library, as no original copy of Frank's book could be traced; the photographs in the photocopy could not, however, be usefully recovered. We are fortunate, then, that by the slimmest of margins, we are able to provide here a reasonably confident account of Frank's role in the *Savage South Africa* project and of the background that equipped him to pursue it. This account is drawn mostly from Van der Merwe's book, Pauling's book, newspaper articles, *Ancestry* and the writings of other authors.

At the age of six Frank lost his mother Esther, as noted in a short newspaper notice: 'Mrs Esther Fillis, wife of Mr Thomas Fillis (Clown), died last Wednesday at Cardiff. She was only in her 30th year, and leaves four children to mourn her loss.' [*The Sun (London)*, 2 January 1864]. Frank wrote that he had only a vague recollection of her and that very soon after her death he had been sent to a farm in Wales to be raised and schooled. It was at this farm that he learned to ride horses.

Subsequently, according to his narrative, Frank was sent from this farm to Dublin where he met his father. They both then travelled to Glasgow where Thomas left Frank in the charge of a man having a troupe of performing dogs. Thomas, described variously as a Shakespearian clown or equestrian, clearly moved around a great deal during his career, as evidenced in the frequent mentions of him in the national newspapers. In April 1865, for example, he was performing with Quaglieni's circus in Plymouth [*Western Morning News*, 6 April 1865] and a year later in Belfast [*The Banner of Ulster*, 10 April 1866]. Soon after this he was in Glasgow where he placed an advertisement describing himself as a 'principal talking clown', stating that he was now, 'having fulfilled a four year's engagement with Signor Quaglieni's Italian Cirque, at liberty.' [*The Era*, 8 July 1866]. In the following year he was performing at Manchester's London Hall under the direction of the American circus equestrian Thomas McCollum [*The Manchester Courier*, 4 May 1867]. McCollum, in partnership with William Charman, soon afterwards moved his show to a new venue, the Royal Amphitheatre in Holborn, London where Thomas again performed his clown act for them [*The Morning Advertiser*, 27 May 1867].

Around early 1868 two partners David Hutchinson and his son-in-law Joseph Taylor established a new circus business, styled as 'Hutchinson & Tayleure's', and toured the country extensively. Later that year they secured a site licence for a circus in Wind Street, Swansea where they opened on 9 November, with Thomas as their manager. Advertisements for their show there featured Thomas as 'the popular jester and Swansea's favourite' [*The Cambria Daily Leader*, 21 December 1868]. Several months later he was still performing there 'having quite recovered from his late severe indisposition' [*The Cambria Daily Leader*, 19 March 1869]. In March the shows included 'a representation of Turpin's memorable ride to York'.

During 1870 Thomas appeared at many venues across the country: Leicester in February with the circus of Messrs Sanger; Sheffield in March with Quaglieni; Chester in April, again with Quaglieni; Chester in June, but now with the circus of Pablo Fanque & Samwell; and Knott Mill, Manchester in late November 1870 with Pablo Fanque. The latter instance may correspond to the occasion mentioned in Frank's book where he recalled that, after his time in Glasgow, he was next sent to Manchester and was met there by Thomas at the Knott Mill Fair, where he watched Thomas performing 'for the last time' a sketch *Dick Turpin's Ride to York*. Frank would have been aged 13 at this time. A fortnight later Thomas was in Belfast performing with Batty's Model Circus. He also placed an advertisement stating that he would 'be happy to hear from Equestrian Managers' and describing himself as 'Jester to the Prince of Wales' [*The Era*, 11 December 1870].

The 1871 Census finds Thomas living at 7, Queen's Buildings in Cheltenham, described as an equestrian with birthplace Holborn. He gave his age as '35' although he was actually nearly 40. With him was a young 'wife' Harriet, aged '23' and born in Chester, together with a child Annie 'Fillis' aged '2' and also born in Chester. There appears to be no evidence that Thomas and Harriet had married. She was actually Harriet (née) Bott, born to parents Joseph (a wheelwright) and Ann in 1848 [GRO Ref: Gt Boughton 19 48, 1848

(Q3)]. On 10 December 1868 at 9, Claremont Walk, Chester she had given birth out of wedlock to Annie whose birth certificate contains no mention of the father, although Thomas subsequently acknowledged that he was the father.

During the early 1870s Thomas continued to move around a good deal undertaking engagements with different circuses. In April 1871 he was working for Bell's Circus in Cheltenham and later that year he was in Bristol with McCollum's Circus on a six month contract. Throughout most of 1872 he performed with Cooke's Royal Circus in Manchester, Chester and Liverpool and in November, upon ending his contract, was presented by that company, in Liverpool, with 'a silver lever watch and massive gold chain' [*The Era*, 3 November 1872]. In 1873 he became the acting manager of Hutchinson & Tayleure's in Cardiff and remained with them through 1874 and 1875. In April 1875 his little daughter Annie – who in August the year before had performed dancing and acrobatic skills at Cardiff's Victoria Concert Room – also performed at this venue, playing a prominent part in a *Cinderella* act [*The Cardiff Times*, 10 April 1875]. Frank was also appearing there as a 'trick and bar act rider' together with 'Miss Annie Fillis, the Infant Wonder'. At this time the family was living at 54, Wood Street in Cardiff's newly-built Temperance Town, an area of streets immediately north of the main railway station; it had been designed to have no outlets for the sale of alcohol.

It is likely that by now Thomas was seriously unwell. Although still performing in the early months of 1876 he was suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, from which he died on 16 June at his home, this now being 19, Eisteddfod Street (which intersected with Wood Street). His death certificate [GRO Ref: Cardiff 11a 182, 1876 (June)] states his age accurately as 45 and names Harriet as the widow and informant, present at the death. Remarkably, there is hardly any mention of his death in the newspapers – we have found only a single brief report of it which states that he died after a long illness and left a widow and 'a small family'; he was buried on Tuesday 22 June at Cardiff's New Cemetery (today known as Cathays Cemetery) [*The Era*, 25 June 1876]. He evidently left no Will.

When his father died Frank was just a month short of 19 and was already an accomplished circus equestrian performer. In his book he remarks that his years (in the 1860s) with the dog troupe trainer in Glasgow had been miserable ones and that he had been much mistreated:

'At last my father got to hear of this treatment, and I was taken away, and placed in the care of another master, who treated me with the utmost kindness; in fact, both he and his good wife were like father and mother to me. I made rapid progress in the profession, and at the age of 17 was considered clever, and commanded my own salary.'

Frank's new and kind master was, in fact, Joseph Taylor, the proprietor of Hutchinson & Tayleure's with whom Thomas had long been associated. The 1871 Census finds Frank as a 'scholar' aged '14' (but actually 13) boarding at 40, Scott Street in St Mary, Cardiff in the home of Joseph and his equestrian 'wife' Harriet, daughter of Joseph's circus business partner and equestrian David Hutchinson. (However, there does not seem to be a registered marriage of Joseph to Harriet.) In late 1871, when he was indeed 14, Frank was performing at their circus as a gymnast [*The Western Mail*, 15 November 1871.]

Frank continued performing at Cardiff with Hutchinson & Tayleure's up to 1875. An article in March of that year mentioned that he was about to make his 'first appearance after his severe accident' [*The Cardiff Times*, 6 March 1875]. This accident happened in 1874 and was doubtless the one recalled in Frank's book:

'An unfortunate accident occurred about this time. My leg was smashed just above the ankle-bone and the sinews of the ankle severed, and it was thought that I would be a cripple for life. I was six or seven months disabled, and it has always left a peculiar gait in my walking, but made no difference in my profession. In fact, I forged to the front after the accident better than ever, and soon became at the head of my profession.'

Later in 1875 he became engaged with Powell & Clarke's Paragon Circus in Belfast, remaining with them for about two years. During that time he married, to Elizabeth Jane (née) Carr on 6 January 1877. Their wedding took place at St Anne's Church of Ireland, otherwise known as Belfast Cathedral. The entry in the marriage register describes Frank as an equestrian and likewise his father Thomas. Her father was named as Charles Bell Carr, a customs officer. One of the witnesses was Frank's step-mother Harriet.

By April 1878 Frank had ceased working with the Paragon Circus and had returned to England.

He worked for a while with Charlie Keith's circus in Dewsbury, Yorkshire [*The Dewsbury Chronicle*, 6 April 1878] but by late 1878 he had entered a contract with Cooke's Royal Circus based in Scotland, appearing with them at Edinburgh [*The Edinburgh Evening News*, 3 December 1878]. Also by this time he and Elizabeth had become parents. Their first child Charles Henry had been born on 20 August at their home

47, Sefton Street in Southport. His birth certificate [GRO Ref: Ormskirk 8b 789, 1878 (Q3)] describes his father, who was the informant, as an equestrian. He was baptised at Christ Church in Southport on 29 September, the baptism register likewise describing Frank as an equestrian. Sadly this child died not long afterwards [GRO Ref: Newcastle T. 10b 46, 1879 (Q1)] and was buried in the Old Jesmond Cemetery, Newcastle upon Tyne. It is not known why his death and burial took place in that part of the country.

Charles Henry rested there without disturbance for nearly a hundred years. In the mid-1960s a plan was drawn up to widen Jesmond Road, entailing an encroachment upon part of the cemetery:

'In 1971 work began on the removal of the graves, 'with the utmost reverence' by the London Necropolis Company. Public access was not allowed. All soil was sifted for remains which were then re-coffined and reburied. The work on the Jesmond Road border took several months. At a later date more exhumations took place on the Sandyford Road and in the South West area. Eventually the whole bypass scheme collapsed because of legal difficulties and when the project was resurrected nearly 30 years later the 'dualling' of Jesmond Road and the widening of Sandyford Road never took place.'
[<https://www.geni.com/projects/Jesmond-Old-Cemetery-Burials/29648>]

Newcastle Council's Parks and Cemeteries Department holds a record that on 7 October 1971 the remains of Charles Henry and five others from a particular plot were recovered and reinterred in a different plot.

The baby's death must have been a heavy loss to the parents but for Frank the show had to go on. Just three weeks previously at Cooke's circus in Edinburgh he had 'astonished the audience by leaping through a hoop of 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter while his steed was at full gallop' [*The Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 February 1879]. Just two months after losing his first child he was with Cooke's in Aberdeen where he would 'accomplish the extraordinary and clever feat of leaping through three drums while the horse is galloping at full speed' [*The Herald and Weekly Free Press*, 10 May 1879]. He continued performing with Cooke's in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee up to at least June 1880.

In Frank's book he states that

'In the year 1879, when the horror of the Zulu war was drawing to a close, I took passage in *R.M.S.S. Anglian* for Cape Town, where an important engagement awaited me.'

This was apparently mistaken, judging from the mercantile reports of the movements of the *Anglian* during 1879 and the known locations and activities of Frank in that year. Van der Merwe comments as follows:

'According to contemporary newspaper reports, he arrived on the *RMS Pretoria* at Cape Town on 19 August 1880.'

It is clear that when Frank left England for South Africa he took with him the advantages of many years' experience in circus production and in performing as a first-rate equestrian. These would lay the foundation for a long and varied career in South Africa and other parts of the world, as well as for *Savage South Africa* in London. We will return to Frank after discussing some of the other key figures in the latter enterprise.

Imre Kiralfy

The *Savage South Africa* project required a substantial venue and, as Pauling's narrative states, the one initially selected was Earl's Court with its extensive exhibition grounds and buildings. At the time these were under the management of Imre Kiralfy.

Imre, born in 1845 in Pest, Hungary was one of several children produced by clothing manufacturer Joseph Königsbaum and his wife Rosa. The children were highly talented and Imre, with several of his siblings, formed a dancing troupe that gave public performances throughout their childhood and teenage years at many places in Europe, meanwhile changing their surname to Kiralfy. After a trip to America in 1868 to perform there they decided to make it their home. Imre and a younger brother Bolossy became American citizens and forged a partnership as theatre producers and choreographers, developing successful shows both there and in Europe. Imre retired as a dancer around the mid-1870s.

The partnership of Imre and Bolossy endured until about 1887 after which the two brothers followed separate paths, Imre specializing in elaborate spectacles with huge casts and amazing special effects. This work culminated in what was perhaps his greatest work, *America*, presented during nearly 7 months of 1893 in Chicago and generating greater income than any previous American show. He was able to draw about \$200,000 from it in personal earnings.

In that same year Imre travelled to England, with long term residence in mind, sailing first class on the *SS Columbia* from New York and arriving at Southampton on 18 May; the passenger list does not mention

any other family travelling with him and so it appears that his wife Marie Mary Ann and their several children must have followed later. In 1894 he secured a 21-year lease on the Earl's Court exhibition site of about 24 acres and proceeded straightaway to redevelop it, constructing many new buildings and a gigantic 'Great Wheel' of height 300 feet, its 40 cars capable of accommodating 1200 passengers. His first major spectacle staged there, in 1895, was *The Empire of India Exhibition* and others followed in successive years.

He took up residence in the very distinctive and stylish property Tower House on the Cromwell Road, where the Electoral Registers record him from 1897. In that same year he staged at Earl's Court a particularly magnificent *Victorian Era Exhibition* in acknowledgement of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Also, as already noted, the *Savage South Africa* show was staged there under his management in 1899.

The 1901 Census finds Imre with Marie and five children at Tower House, his profession entered as 'dramatic author'. Later that year, in July, he was granted a certificate of naturalization as a British Subject.

The family was still at Tower House at the time of the 1911 Census and indeed remained there until 1919, in which year Imre died (on 27 April at the Bedford Hotel in Brighton, from heart failure).

A superb study of Imre's exhibition work is given in the PhD thesis entitled *The Spectacle Plays and Exhibitions of Imre Kiralfy, 1887-1914* by Brendan Edward Gregory [Faculty of Arts, University of Manchester, 1988].

Edwin Cleary

Pauling relates that, although *Savage South Africa* went well for a time at Imre Kiralfy's Earl's Court, the public's enthusiasm began to wane and the show's financial viability came into doubt, whereupon the agreement with Kiralfy was brought to an end and the show was relocated in the much larger Olympia venue. There, it was put under the management of Pauling's great friend 'Ned' (Edwin/Edward) Cleary.

Cleary was American, born in the township of Cynthiana, Harrison County, Kentucky on 13 September 1857. His entry in the US 1860 Census gives his forename as Edward and it may be that this had been the name assigned at birth by his parents. His father William Walter, an Irish catholic, was a judge. William had wished Edwin to enter the priesthood and for a brief period in his teenage years Edwin

studied at seminary for that possibility, as well as learning something about the law. However, he turned from these pursuits to one which enthused him much more, namely acting and other theatre work. After a spell of acting in New York at the Old Bowery Theatre he performed in London in the 1880s with one of America's most eminent Shakespearian actors, Edwin Thomas Booth. Besides acting he worked as a theatre



Figure 4 Imre Kiralfy (né Königsbaum) by unknown photographer; bromide print, circa 1908: NPG x19158



Figure 5 Pauling (at left) with one of his dogs and Edwin Cleary.

producer, touring with companies in both South Africa and South America and becoming a well-known impresario.

Following these activities he became involved in the early 1890s in Rhodes' railway ambitions, working with Pauling's company on their realisation although there seems to be little available information to say what exactly he contributed to this. He had other interests too and experienced many adventures and curious escapades in various parts of the world, as obituaries attested following his death in. He was exactly the sort of man to get on well with Pauling – Figure 5 shows them together at Pauling's home The Lodge in Effingham [from *The Cape to Cairo Railway* by Pauling's grandson George Tabor, publ Genta Publications, 2003, p252]. He died in London on 3 August 1922 and was buried on 9 August at Our Lady of Sorrows in a plot directly opposite to that of Pauling.

Fillis and Pauling – the origin of their relationship

As related previously, Fillis had sailed out from England to Cape Town in the summer of 1880. Various reports state that he went there in order to join Bell's Circus, as described by Francois Johannes Cleophas of Stellenbosch University in his article *Exploring an unmapped physical culture landscape in colonial South Africa* [*The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2020]:

‘Bell’s Circus operated in Cape Town from at least April 12, 1879 under the proprietorship of Richard (or William H.) Bell, initially as Bell’s Circus but from August that year, as ‘Bell’s National Amphitheatre’ ... After Bell died in Kimberley on October 1, 1881, Frank Fillis based his newly acquired circus on what was left of Bell’s National Amphitheatre. Fillis, an Englishman, who grew up in Wales, arrived in South Africa on August 19, 1880. Initially, he performed in Bell’s Circus from mid-September 1880. Fillis appeared in the final stages of Bell’s Circus in August 1881 as the “Inimitable Nine Horse Act alongside [the strongmen] Messrs Leonardi and Ala, the most powerful gymnasts in the profession”. He opened his own Grand Circus, later known as Fillis Circus, on June 5, 1883 in Durban for a segregated audience and arranged a special performance for blacks on June 20.’

In the early 1880s Pauling was living with his first wife Anne (‘Annie’) Sophia (née Ayton) and their two infant sons in Grahamstown, today Makhanda, nearly five hundred miles from Cape Town. We do not know exactly how or when Pauling and Fillis first met, but their first business association seems to have come about around 1883, when Pauling was engaged in the building of the Kowie railway (completed in 1884). In the *Chronicles* Pauling's Chapter X begins by recounting his concurrent pursuits of other kinds of project, including the construction of a skating rink in Grahamstown to cater for a brief flurry of enthusiasm for skating among the locals. He writes:

‘Just about the time that the skating fever began to wane, Mr Frank Fillis, the well-known South African circus proprietor, arrived in the town with one or two horses, a few dogs, and two or three men. He had fallen on evil days and had lost nearly all that he had ever possessed. He put up at my hotel and it occurred to me that he might to some extent retrieve his fallen fortunes by giving circus performances in the rink. We accordingly set to work to convert the rink into a circus, and our wisdom was justified. For a month or two Fillis had a good time and he left Grahamstown with much more money than he had brought into it; in fact, I think his visit put him on his feet again.’

This account of Fillis' activity in the early 1880s is reasonably consistent with the following note in the online resource *Encyclopedia of South African Theatre, Film, Media and Performance* [<https://esat.sun.ac.za/>]:

‘Frank Fillis established a circus in South Africa in 1883. Permanent arenas erected by the showman in “most of the principal towns” testified to the popularity of his company which had become “quite an institution” by 1893. Beyond the entertainment routes travelled by Fillis in southern Africa, his 100-strong company also toured the colonies and settler societies of Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and India.’

It is not clear whether Fillis established his circus in Durban after having done well out of Pauling's skating rink or had suffered the collapse of that circus just before his first meeting with Pauling. However this may be, Fillis pursued his career in circus entertainment throughout the rest of the 1880s and 1890s, but whether during that period he had any further interactions with Pauling we do not know – the *Chronicles* have nothing further to say about Fillis until we reach the start of the *Savage South Africa* project in 1899.

Savage South Africa – its context in the Earl's Court exhibitions of 1899

Following his spectacular *Victorian Era Exhibition* at Earl's Court in 1897, Imre Kiralfy's *International Universal Exhibition* of 1898 was a rather incoherent melange of displays including [Gregory, *op. cit.*]:

'... American midgets, Hungarian minstrels, an Alpine panorama, Hagenbeck's Monkey paradise, Festy's Panorama of Hungarian history, a "Moorish Camp" with a theatre performing scenes from *The Arabian Nights* and official exhibits from Italy, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary and Belgium.'

It was perhaps redeemed by an undeniably enthralling *Grand Naval Spectacle* in the 6,000-seat Empress Theatre which Kiralfy had built in about 1895 on a site adjoining his exhibition grounds. The spectacle involving twelve working models of warships, complete with operational guns and torpedos, engaged in a mock battle in the flooded arena of the theatre, this artificial ocean extending over 40,000 square feet and holding a million gallons of water. Explosions were simulated by dropping, from high above, lumps of sodium into the water. In time, an accident with the stored sodium caused an explosion, killing two people and seriously damaging the front of the theatre.

These exhibitions having proved highly popular and financially lucrative, Kiralfy staged an even more ambitious event at Earl's Court in 1899, the *Greater Britain Exhibition*, designed to celebrate the theme of empire, in particular Britain's imperial dominion over the Indian continent. This was spread over three sites within the grounds [Gregory, *op. cit.*]:

'In the eastern site the gardens to the south of the Queen's Court were converted into a replica of a part of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, with a water chute which people could ride winding its ways down through it. To the north of the Queen's Court a previously unused piece of land was laid out as "Kaffir Kraals". Two hundred Zulu, Basuto, Matabele and Swazi had been brought over to perform in the entertainment in the theatre, and they lived for the season quite self-contained in four villages in the specially built enclosure. For an additional payment visitors could enter the enclosure and have customs and behaviour explained by interpreters. It was the most popular attraction in the Exhibition, and the largest example of 'visual living taxonomy' ever to have been seen in Britain. The romantic "English village" was retained, and enlarged, appropriately in the centre of the Exhibition, and re-named "Picturesque England". In the Western Gardens the large switchback railway along the western perimeter, added in 1896, was re-fashioned within mock Canadian scenery.'

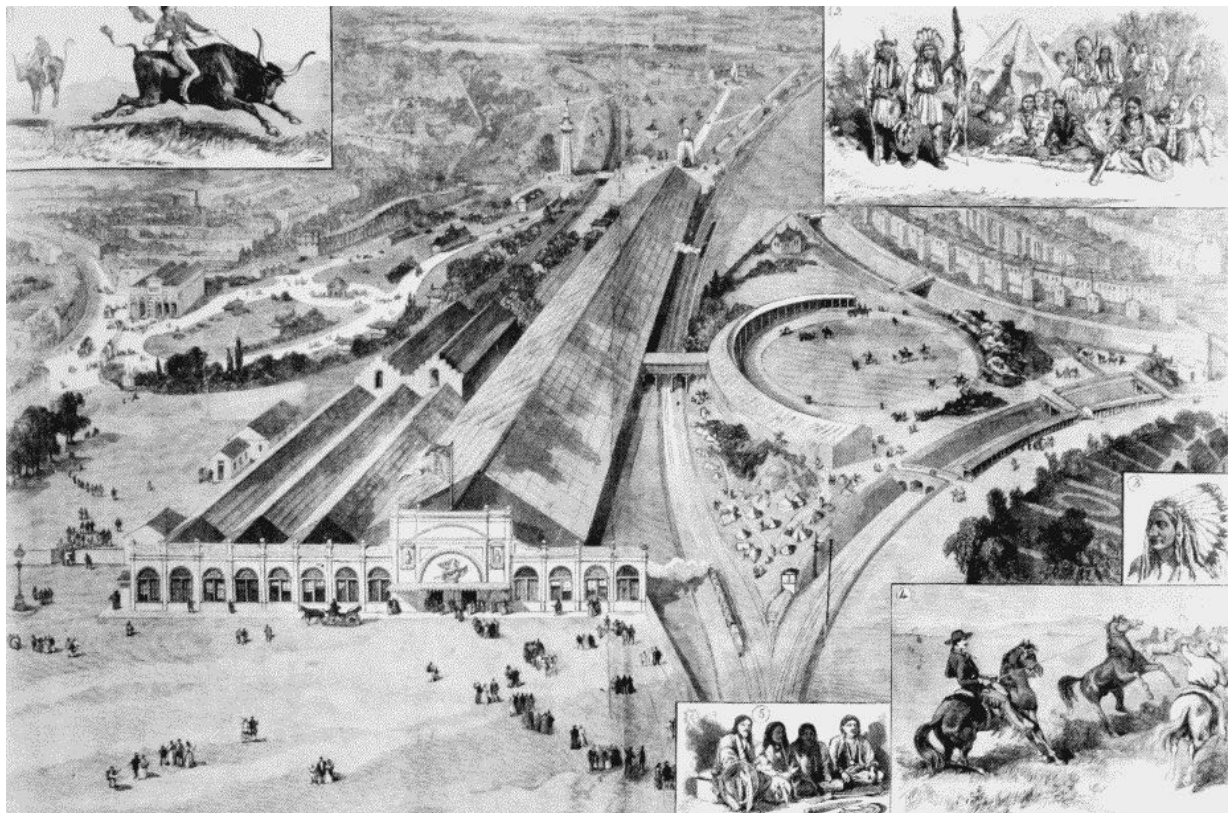


Figure 6 The exhibition grounds at Earl's Court when the American Exhibition, featuring among other things the *Wild West* show of 'Buffalo Bill', was staged there in 1887.

In parallel with these provisions, the Empress Theatre was the venue for the *Savage South Africa* show, making use of the native Africans from the 'Kaffir Kraals' just mentioned, these persons having been specially imported by Fillis and Pauling. The show would be the first at Earl's Court not created by Kiralfy himself; he provided the staging and the advance financing, but it was Fillis who designed and directed the show.

Fillis had made brief 'flying' visits to England in 1898 and 1899 to make preparatory arrangements. In his autobiography he claimed to have conceived the idea of the show some twelve years previously:

'It was on this return voyage to Cape Town [he was returning from a trip to England in 1887] that the idea of a South African show was first planted in my mind, some gentlemen in the smoke-room suggesting that a show composed of South African natives and Boers would be an attraction in England; and it was from that very day, now twelve years ago, that I commenced to prepare my own show for a visit to England.'

Nowhere in his book does Fillis ever mention Pauling. Pauling's own book states, as noted earlier, that the syndicate to back the enterprise had been created on the initiative of Dr Harris and himself, hinting (but not asserting) that they had invited Fillis to participate. We will probably never know for certain how the show came about.

It would prove, in some respects, a great success. The *Greater Britain Exhibition* as a whole was illuminated at night by a million red, blue and green electric 'fairy lights' and at least two million people paid to attend it throughout the 1899 season, the most popular feature being the kraal village.

Bringing in the Africans

The *Chronicles* describes how the various white men, native Africans, animals and other items were transported from Cape Town to England. Pauling states that the ship chartered for this purpose was a 'Castle' steamer. In fact it was the Castle Shipping Line's *SS Goth*, built in 1893.

The importation of these Africans had been the subject of much concern, indeed opposition, before it even happened. Reportedly it had been prohibited by both Sir Alfred Milner (Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for Southern Africa) and Sir Walter Francis Hely-Hutchinson (Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Natal and Zululand). When this became known, a quite long letter, dated 14 March 1899, was written to Lord Grey (who, as noted earlier, was stated by Pauling to be a member of the syndicate backing the show) by Sir Edward Wingfield KCB, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonial Office, on behalf of Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The letter noted that Chamberlain had become aware of Milner's refusal to allow the transporting of Africans to England for the show, setting out the many reasons behind this decision, and that Chamberlain saw no reason to differ from Milner's view while recognising that it was 'entirely within the discretion of the local authorities of the Cape Colony, Natal and South Africa generally [and] that he [Chamberlain] would not be justified in interfering with the action of the High Commissioner'.

Upon receiving this, Grey immediately sent a cable on 14 March for Milner's attention, expressing his hope that the decision was not final and would be withdrawn if sufficient assurances were given that appropriate precautions would be implemented to safeguard the Africans and the public from the various potential ills that so concerned Milner. Grey wrote that he would make himself personally responsible for ensuring such precautions were exercised. Examples of his various assurances include one stating that the Africans would be 'taught trades by expert teachers when not wanted for war dance'. At the same time he sought to clarify his position in the syndicate, telling Wingfield that although he had expressed willingness to take some shares in it, the syndicate's secretary (Frederick Rodney Lingham, a Canadian lumber merchant who had extensive interests in South Africa and who in 1896 had been accused with sixty-three others of having committed high treason in support of the disastrous Jameson Raid) had been mistaken in including his name in the list of Directors; he wrote 'I have nothing to do with the Directorate'.

On the next day, 15 March, Grey – writing from his home at 1, Connaught Place in Hyde Park – replied to Wingfield's letter, mentioning the cable he had sent to Milner and stating that he had 'received the most positive assurances from the Directors of the Savage South Africa Company that they will carry out in the most complete and efficient manner any regulations which the High Commissioner or Mr Secretary Chamberlain may consider necessary ...'. [The original correspondence is held in the Durham University Archives within the collection *Papers of Albert Henry George, 4th Earl Grey* and bears the reference GRE/B188/11; it is quoted here under the terms of the Open Government Licence 3.0.]

Mention of Milner's refusal was made in an anonymous note in *The Westminster Gazette* of 23 March 1899, nearly a month before the ship arrived:

'Savage South Africa. *Apropos* of the reported prohibition by Sir Alfred Milner and Sir W Hely-Hutchinson of the exportation of aboriginal natives for exhibition at Earl's Court, it may be mentioned that the raw Kaffir is quite incapable of resisting the blandishments of the seamy side of civilisation once he is removed from his simple surroundings. In the Blue-book for Native Affairs (Natal) published last year, all the magistrates bear testimony to this fact ... That being so, something can certainly be said for those who do not believe that the native should be martyred to make a London holiday.'

It is striking that this objection rested upon a supposed concern to protect the welfare of the natives by not exposing them to corrupting influences in white society. The objection was swiftly countered in a telegraph sent to Milner by the show's 'general manager', probably Fillis or Cleary, as seen in this article [*The Daily Chronicle*, 24 March 1899]:

'Savage South Africa. – With reference to the objections recently raised respecting the proposed importation of South African natives for the Exhibition at Earl's Court, the general manager for Savage South Africa writes to combat some of the statements made. The directors of that show were greatly surprised at the arbitrary action of the High Commissioner, and at once telegraphed to him that "any suggestions he might please to make as to their treatment on the voyage or while in England would be carefully considered, and that every precaution would be taken to prevent risk of demoralisation." They indignantly repudiate the idea that they were attempting to "lure" the natives over with promises of "free drinks and good wages" and are prepared to give any reasonable guarantee that any who come over will be well-treated while here, and conducted back to their own territories when the exhibition is finished.'

Meanwhile, preparations for the coming show were observed by a writer for the *Today* publication [13 April 1899]:

'The Kaffirs are Coming. I chanced last week to be strolling past one of the deserted-looking entrances to the Earl's Court Exhibition. Suddenly some sixteen head of long-horned oxen appeared in the road, and the gates being opened the beasts were hurried through. Curiosity made me follow, but a stern janitor was for promptly turning me off the premises, when up drove Mr Brian England in a hansom. Mr England is stage manager to Savage South Africa. "Come inside and see some of my artistes," he laughed, pointing after the cattle. In we tramped, over muddy paths, across half-built bridges, through long dark passages. On May 4 Greater Britain will have been built.

Inside the huge Empress Theatre workmen were busy building the Matoppo [sic – Matopo] hills and sinking a 10ft. deep river. We climbed up the hills and clambered down into the bed of the river. We watched the oxen being spanned to a Boer waggon, and put our fingers to our ears when the Kaffir boys cracked their 60ft. whips. The spectacle is to be a stirring one indeed. Mule and zebra-drawn coaches, ox waggons, 300 Kaffirs of all descriptions, from the bloodthirsty Matabele to the gentle Mashona, all dash on to add the excitement of the scene. Farmsteads are to be attacked and the inhabitants murdered. A white girl in desperation dives from a rock 12ft. high into the river. Major Wilson's last stand and the final attack and cavalry charge in the Matoppo hills are all features of the singularly exciting spectacle.'

It is not clear how the objections of Milner and other authorities in southern Africa had been mitigated (or circumvented) but, by one means or another, Fillis had managed to assemble his African 'warriors' and get them onto a ship bound for England. It may have been at about this time that Lord Grey wrote to Pauling an undated letter expressing his wish to rid himself of the shares he had acquired in the syndicate [Durham University Archives, GRE/B188/11, Open Government Licence 3.0]:

'Dear Pauling,

I accepted at Lingham's suggestion an allotment of 500 shares in Savage South Africa.

Subsequently to my doing so the difficulty with the Govt arose & I informed Mr Chamberlain that my name had been connected with the Directorate most improperly & that my advocacy in favour of the Natives being allowed to come to Earl's Court was not prompted by any hope of personal gain.

I therefore desire, now that all difficulties have apparently been successfully overcome, to transfer my shares. I do not want to make any profit out of the transaction & shall be glad to part with them at par.

My impression is that you will have no difficulty in placing them. If I am right please let me know to whom you wish me to transfer them.

& believe me, yours truly, Grey.'

The conundrum about Grey's actual involvement remains. Pauling was Chairman of the Board, and in his memoir he stated that Grey was a member of his committee.

A few days later, on 19 April, the *SS Goth* carrying 'Africa' from Cape Town at last arrived and berthed at the dockside in Southampton, from where the Africans and the animals – including six elephants, seven lions and eight tigers – were transported on three special trains to London [*Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 22 April 1899 and *The Era*, 22 April 1899].

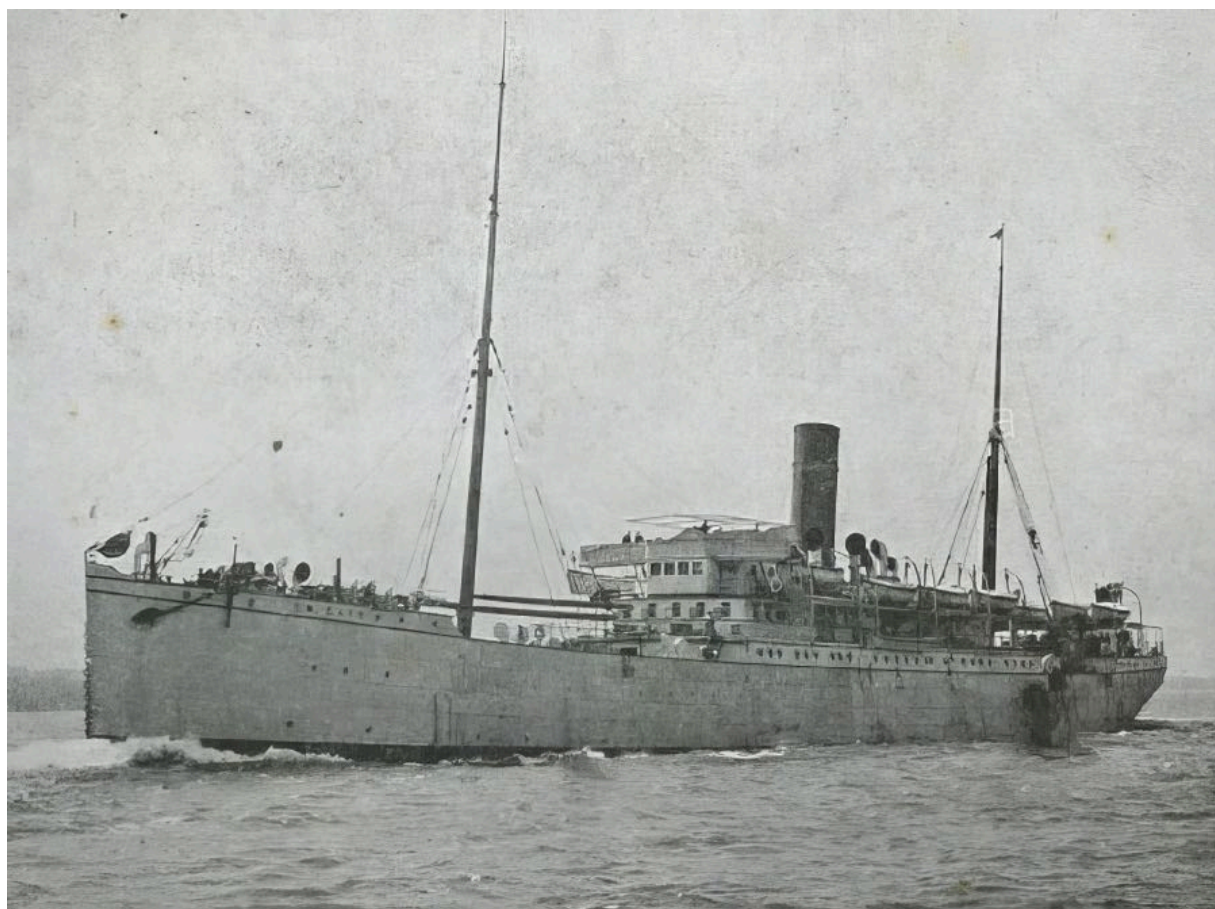


Figure 7 The ship *SS Goth* in which the Africans were brought from South Africa for the show.

The scene at Southampton is described in Appendix I. Their subsequent arrival in London was described in graphic detail by *The Western Gazette*, 21 April 1899:

'Savage South Africa – Arrival in London. A large number of wild animals from South Africa, and about 200 native Zulus, arrived in London on Wednesday, and will form a part of the show at the Earl's Court Exhibition. Three special trains brought the animals safely to their destination at Addison Road Station, some 80 horses and ponies, many elephants, lions, tigers, zebras, mules, monkeys and others being detained during the afternoon.

About an hour after the first of the animals had arrived at Addison Road, the "special" containing some 200 Zulus, Kaffirs, Matabele, Transvaal Boers, Swazis and Malays reached West Brompton Station, outside of which an immense crowd had assembled to witness their arrival. The natives all seemed very happy, and presented a strange appearance as they stood upon the platform. The greater number of them were in a native costume of beads, feathers and skins, and some few more attired in long blue overcoats. They bring nearly all their own cooking apparatus with them, the luggage including many curious packages and bundles. About 20 women in all, with some children, were with the band. The luggage included, of course, an immense quantity of spears, shields, clubs and other warlike implements, and as the Africans were marched from the station to the Earl's Court Exhibition grounds they presented a very representative body.

The one great desire of the Swazis is to see the house in which the "Great White Queen" lives. The Zulus were perfectly bewildered when they saw the sea, and remarked upon the size of the "great river". It was not till they sighted shore on this side that they appeared to have any confidence of being safely landed.'

Van der Merwe [*op. cit.*] noted that:

'Amongst the lions were three called "Lobengula", "Oom Paul" and "Cecil Rhodes", which nicely reflected the then current South African divide between blacks, Afrikaans speakers and English speakers.

The arrival caused considerable curiosity. The journalists who interviewed the blacks the next day heard about the strange "illness" that they had endured at sea. Apparently none of them had seen the sea before and the long journey on the "big river" led to severe seasickness. They also couldn't stop talking about the underground railway, believing that witchcraft was involved as only this could explain trains that disappear into the ground and re-emerge at another place.'



Figure 8 The Africans after disembarking at Southampton docks.

Early opinions, complaints and rebuttals

The objections that had been raised in southern Africa during March to the exporting of native Africans for the show were soon debated in England in the Houses of Parliament. *Hansard* records the following exchange in the Commons when MPs asked whether Mr Chamberlain might intervene to stop the Africans being exhibited [*Hansard*: HC Deb 04 May 1899, Vol 70, cc1302-4]:

'SIR R. REID (Dumfries Burghs)

I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the protests of the four Governments of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, and the disapproval of Sir Alfred Milner, endorsed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, some Natives of South Africa have been brought over for exhibition at the show called "Savage South Africa"; and whether the Secretary of State for the Colonies can do anything to prevent the continuance of this part of the exhibition?

MR. T. BAYLEY also had the following Question on the Paper (Derbyshire, Chesterfield)

To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the fact that 50 Zulu men have been brought to London from South Africa to be exhibited at a show called "Savage South Africa"; that these men had been led to believe that they were to be employed at the Kimberley Mines in Cape Colony, and that passes had been given to them to travel to those mines and that a number of Native women have been obtained for the same show by means of advertisements which appeared in the British South African newspapers, stating that various wild horned animals, and also young Afrikaner girls (good looking, and to be slightly coloured), were wanted for the

exhibition; whether the Governments of all the British Colonies and Dutch States in South Africa protested against the exportation of these Natives on the grounds of morality and of the interests both of the Natives themselves and their good government by these Colonies and States; whether he is aware that certain directors or officials of the Chartered Company have aided in the exportation of these Natives under the above circumstances; whether, seeing that this exhibition is to be opened on Monday next under illustrious patronage, the above facts have been brought to the notice of the personage concerned; and whether the Government will now take any steps to procure the return of these Natives to their own country?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.)
My attention has been called to the fact that 50 Zulus have been brought to London from South Africa, to be exhibited at a show called "Savage South Africa." I understand that passes were given to them to travel to the Kimberley Mines, but I am not informed whether they were led to believe that they were to be employed in the mines. I do not know whether Native women have also been brought over for the same show. The Government of the British Colonies and the Dutch Republics in South Africa objected to the exportation of Natives for the above purpose on the ground stated. A director of the British South Africa Company is understood to have taken part in promoting the scheme before the opposition of the High Commissioner was known. The Administrator at Bulawayo, on being informed of the objection of the High Commissioner, refused to sanction the proposal to convey Matabeles to England. Her Majesty's Government have no power to compel the return of the Natives to South Africa. I can only express my regret and disapproval of their introduction. I had not observed that the show was to be opened by the Duke of Cambridge, but I now propose to communicate with his Royal Highness immediately on the subject.'

The above exchange was reported in *The Morning Leader* (London) on 5 May under the headline 'The "Abduction" of Natives to England' and, after setting out Chamberlain's reply the article ended with the following remarks:

'The Letter to the Duke. Later in the evening the Central News learned, on enquiry at Gloucester House, that the Duke of Cambridge had received a communication from Mr Chamberlain giving the facts as to the arrival of the Zulus in London for the "Savage South Africa" show, and that his Royal Highness was considering its contents.

As a sequel to public attention being called to this subject, the "savages" are now being closely watched. It is said the London County Council will probably take some steps if escapes of the "wild men" continue.

Last night four of them, who had become unmanageable, were shipped back to South Africa in charge of keepers.'

The Duke of Cambridge, George William Frederick Charles, was a grandson of King George III and had just passed 80. Born in 1819 he had come into his Dukedom in 1850 and had pursued a long career in the British Army, becoming its Commander-in-Chief. His residence had for many decades been Gloucester House in Mayfair.

While the Duke was pondering over Chamberlain's letter, other commentators were publicly enthusing about the coming show at Earl's Court. A prime example is seen in the first of the newspaper extracts collected in Appendix II, in which a correspondent to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 4 May described at length a preview (which he had managed to arrange through Kiralfy) of the preparations for the imminent opening. In particular he was able to examine at close quarters the African men and women having a meal after a rehearsal, concluding from what he saw that they were perfectly happy and that they, Britain and South Africa had no reason to perceive the show as a threat to their wellbeing. His view may have been made through rose-tinted spectacles.

The show begins

The Greater Britain Exhibition opened on Monday 8 May, as did *Savage South Africa* alongside it. The Exhibition was opened by the Duke of Cambridge. He had announced, giving a semblance of diplomatic neutrality, that the Exhibition was 'entirely separated from the "Savage South Africa" show, and his presence at the former does not imply the slightest approval of the latter' [*The Yorkshire Herald*, 8 May 1899]. A rather testy account of the opening was published three days later [*The British Australasian*, 11 May 1899]:

'Invitations appear to have been extended to "all the world and his wife" to witness the opening of the Greater Britain Exhibition on Monday, and on the arrival of the visitors at Earl's Court the management

seems to have deliberately set to work to make them as unhappy and as discontented as possible. It is a strange thing to say, but the general opinion of all who arrived at Earl's Court Station on Monday between 11 and 12 – the hour fixed for the opening – was that the arrangements could not possibly have been worse. From the entrance of the Exhibition to the Earl's Court station on the opposite side of the way, there was one seething, surging crowd, and on either side were carriages and cabs waiting to set down their living freight. For a long time there was but one turnstile available, and eventually a second and a third were brought into play, but seeing that the visitors were all "deadheads," the wonder is that the wide gateway was not thrown open to admit the public. The portentous-looking cards of admission had to have the counterfoil torn off though why, it would puzzle anyone to know, for the tickets were of no value inside, cash payment being demanded for every side show, and for the circus entertainment known by the ridiculous title of "Savage South Africa". There was practically no opening ceremony. The Duke of Cambridge, who refused to go near the Kaffir Kraal in the grounds, or attend Mr Fillis's inaugural show in the Empress Theatre, made a tour of the Colonial courts with the Special Commissioners connected therewith, and by the time he arrived at the Quadrant where he was entertained at lunch by the directors, he must have added somewhat to his education from an Imperial point of view.

"Savage South Africa" may be a vivid realistic and picturesque representation of life in the wilds of Africa, or it may not. I did not see it, and am, therefore, unable to report upon it, but I certainly did open my purse for the Kaffir Kraal, which I can honestly say is the most curious and interesting feature of the Exhibition grounds.⁷

In terms of audience appreciation the show was a huge success right from the start, as shown [see Appendix II] by two articles published on the following day. The first [*The Echo*, 9 May 1899] expresses unreserved enthusiasm, but with some unfortunate language: 'The project of lifting out of savagery and bringing to the metropolis of the Empire some two hundred dusky barbarians ...' indicates, among many other things, a gross naivety regarding the particular Africans brought across the ocean. The writer appears to suggest they had been plucked from obscurity in the jungle having previously never engaged with white society; if so, he was much mistaken. The second article [*St James's Gazette*, 9 May 1899] is also mostly very positive but questions with some feeling whether it had been wise for the show to include a scene re-enacting and glorifying Major Wilson's last stand in 1893 near the Shangani river, Matabeleland in which he and his few dozen fellow soldiers had been surrounded and killed by over 3,000 Matabele warriors. The writer points out that the assault by the Africans had had some justice on their side and he alludes to the correspondence received by his newspaper from many persons expressing concern as to the way the event had been portrayed.

Both articles summarize the show's main features, as does Pauling's chapter in the *Chronicles*, but the following account by Gregory [*op. cit.*], drawn from several sources, is perhaps the most informative:

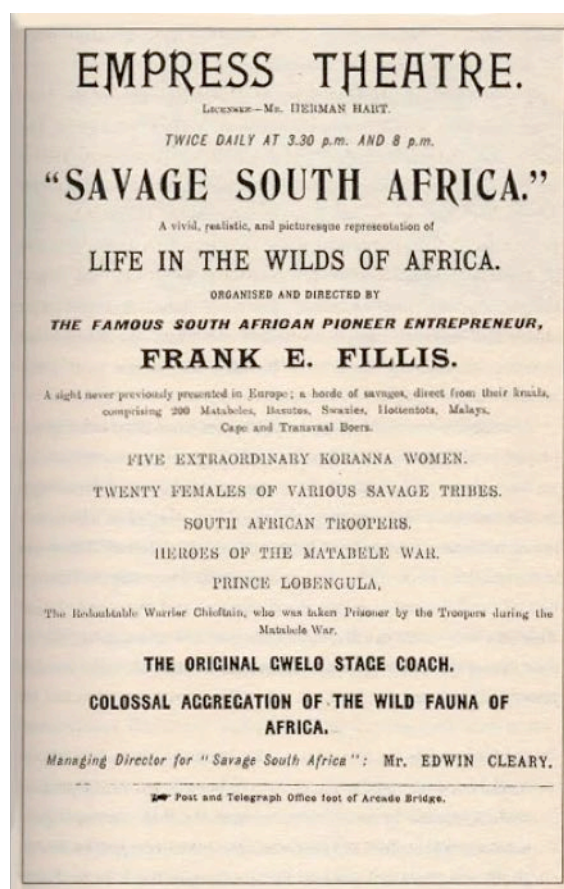
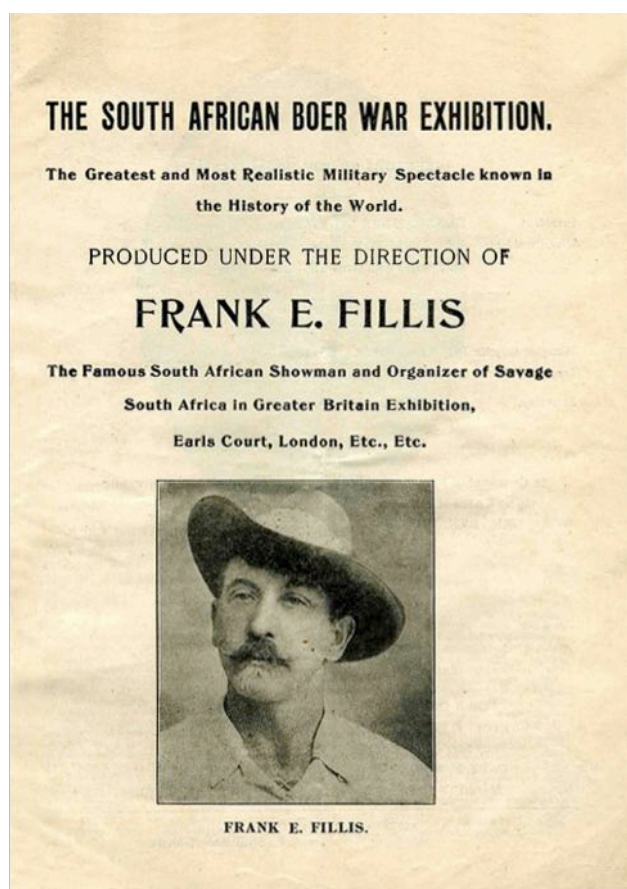
'Part one opened with a horseman riding into the arena to announce the programme and introduce the African warriors. An Impi [armed band] of Matabele, Swazi and Basuto warriors appeared over the kopjes [small rocky hills] bedecked with plumes and carrying oxhide [sic – oxhide] shields, assegais and knobkerries. They performed tribal war dances and then hailed the appearance of Prince Lobengula [this was Peter, a son of King Lobengula]. After the Africans departed a Boer commando rode on stage and gave a display of horsemanship. They were followed by a company of British Colonial Cavalry who also gave display of rough-riding. Next came Frank Fillis himself, accompanied by his wife, and they too presented a display of horsemanship. As they left the arena a voortrekker wagon appeared through the kopjes, drawn by twelve oxen, the driver's sjambok cracking over the heads of the animals, and accompanied by Cape carts, each pulled by four horses. This vision of the "Great Trek" was followed by horse and pony races around the arena, some of the horses being ridden by baboons. The horses moved off and the arena was filled with African game, antelopes, springboks and zebras. A party of Boer hunters arrived, and gave a display of marksmanship before driving off the game. Part one ended with the appearance of a herd of elephants. After performing military manoeuvres the elephants attacked a party of Boers. The Boers withdrew behind a barricade and fought off the animals with rifle fire. The elephants counter-attacked and were finally driven off by a salvo of field artillery.

After the interval the curtain rose to reveal the same setting as in Part One. African warriors were seen hiding amongst the rocks. Into the arena drove a stage coach, bristling with armaments. With loud war cries the Africans attacked from the kopjes. After several circuits of the arena with all guns blazing, the stage coach managed to escape, and the warriors collected their dead and also departed. The next scene showed a settler's cottage. The cottage was surrounded by Matabele warriors who attacked and killed all the colonists except the settler's daughter. She escaped and was hunted by the warriors. Finally she was driven to the top of a knoll, and rather than be captured, dived into the stream below. King Lobengula arrived and told the warriors that they must drive out the whites from their land. The warriors saluted, and left in battle formation. A British force arrived in pursuit of the Impi. They had an African prisoner, but even under dire threats he refused to reveal the whereabouts of

Lobengula. A British officer put him in front of a firing squad, but at the last moment he was reprieved at the request of Major Wilson in view of his bravery. Wilson then left with a small band to try to find the Zulus. The following scene showed the British encampment. The Matabele attacked but were repulsed by the British machine guns. Night fell and a storm raged. As the British forces crossed a raging torrent in pouring rain and lit by lightning, they were set upon by the Matabele warriors. The British fought to the end, but eventually all were killed, while the band played fortissimo. After a short black-out the lights came up on the final scene to reveal a dramatic reversal. The Matabele were surrounded on a hill-top by British troops. A furious battle raged, and eventually the Africans were defeated.

The show was an immediate success, drawing large audiences to the matinees as well as the evening performances. The show was visited early in the run by the Prince of Wales, which gave it a social caché:

“Savage South Africa (is) the talk of London. It has drawn thousands of people twice a day ... not only the multitude but the smart people from the West End” [*The Sketch*, 28 June 1899].



Figures 9 & 10 Posters advertising *Savage South Africa*.

The quoted article in *The Sketch*, shown in full in Appendix II, is interesting in describing not only the show but the supposed history of how Fillis had originally prepared for it. Gregory states above that the Prince of Wales (Albert Edward, the future King Edward VII) visited the show ‘early in the run’ but we have been unable to find a newspaper report of that. However, the Prince certainly visited the show again, on 15 December, for a special performance arranged in aid of fund-raising for two hospital ships [*The Echo*, 16 December 1899]. The Prince's younger brother the Duke of Connaught (Arthur William Patrick Albert), his wife and their three children visited the Exhibition and attended *Savage South Africa* on 3 June, the Duke declaring afterwards that he had been ‘assured by the chiefs of the different tribes that they were happy and comfortable’ [*The Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 7 June 1899].

Soon afterwards The Duke of Cambridge – first cousin of the Prince of Wales' mother Queen Victoria – having conspicuously declined to endorse the show back in early May, now decided to visit it [*The Referee*, 23 July 1899]:

'A correspondent writes: "Last week you said you did not know whether the Duke of Cambridge had changed his views about 'Savage South Africa'. I can only tell you this. I was present at the matinée on last Tuesday week, and the Duke of Cambridge sat in the stalls in front of me from the rise of the curtain to its fall, and was so delighted with the performance that he remained behind to have Mr Frank Fillis and Prince Lobengula presented to him. The interview lasted a considerable time, and as the Duke walked down the corridor afterwards I distinctly heard him express his warmest approval of the Matabele war scenes to Mr Fillis." The Duke of Cambridge is the eighth member of the Royal Family who has witnessed "Savage South Africa."'



Figure 11 Duke of Cambridge, c1900.

Such visits by high society, and especially by Royalty, made it difficult for those opposed to the show to stir the Government into acting against it, for to do so might be construed as implicitly criticising the judgement of those visitors; no-one concerned for their career advancement in Parliament would wish to be seen at odds with the heir to the Crown or his relatives.

Troubles emerge

The first couple of months had gone well, on the whole, considering what a huge, radical and complex enterprise Fillis and his backers had set in train. Thousands surged through the turnstiles, thronging the kraal to experience the thrill of touching or talking to real 'savages' and delighting in the amazing acting and horsemanship displayed in the theatre. Money poured into the coffers. Literally thousands of articles about it all appeared in the newspapers. But in some of those newspapers, especially in *The Daily Mail*, criticisms and complaints increased in numbers as certain parties sought to whip up public opposition to the way things were going at Earl's Court, especially in relation to the subject of racial mixing: if Government shrank from doing anything about it, perhaps popular pressure from below would do the trick.

Besides the arguments over moral issues, more basic practical problems arose, one of which was how to control misbehaviour among the Africans. Fillis had imported a truly motley collection presenting wide variations in ethnicity, language, culture and history. Some groups conducted themselves with discipline and reserve, whilst others were less reliable. Much work had been undertaken in an attempt to ensure that the Africans did not roam unchaperoned through the streets of London or obtain ready access to alcohol or other sources of corruption. But inevitably these provisions were not infallible. In late June, following a fight between two Africans, resulting in some injuries, fourteen Africans were shipped back to Africa 'by way of punishment' [*The Nottingham Daily Express*, 27 June 1899]. The Press had a field day reporting this more fully:

'Disturbance at "Savage South Africa". Two "boys" injured. [*The Daily News*, 26 June 1899]

Particulars transpired on Saturday of a fight among the natives engaged in the "Savage South Africa" show at the Earl's Court Exhibition. It appears that on Thursday evening, just before the show began in the Empress Theatre, a Basuto "boy" [a term then used by whites to denote a subservient African male] and a Swazi, each of whom had been boasting of the prowess of his nation, and of his own cleverness at stick play – a sport corresponding, in a way, to singlestick, but in which a shield is worn on the left arm – became angry, and challenged each other to a bout with the sticks. This was begun, and soon the Basuto received a bad cut across the upper lip, which caused him to bleed profusely, and to be incapacitated from taking any part in the performance.

Later in the evening after the show, the quarrel was renewed, but became more general, and in the melee one boy received a cracked head and a damaged eye. The originator of the trouble was very violent, and had, for a time, to be placed in an empty animal's den. The two injured boys were medically attended, but were declared to be in no danger, although they have not yet been allowed to take part again in the show.

Mr Fillis, the manager of "Savage South Africa", told a Press representative on Saturday that the trouble arose through the "boys" losing their self-control when engaged in the national pastime of stick-play. No serious trouble had occurred, and it had not been necessary to call in the police. There had been no case of drunkenness in the kraals, and no instance of visitors supplying the savages with drink surreptitiously had been brought to the notice of the management. The only difficulty the manager had encountered had been with the Cape Boys and Hottentots who acted as grooms. These had come much

into contact with white men, and it had been found impossible to keep them sober. Consequently the management had at last resolved to send almost all of them back to Africa. That very day fourteen of these “boys” were returning to their native land by the Union Steamship Company's liner *Gaika*. Only two “boys” were being retained at the show.’

‘London day by day [*The Daily Telegraph*, 26 June 1899]

... A Basuto and a Swazi were indulging in this pleasant frivolity [stick-play] when one called the other a Boer. No greater insult could be offered to a self-respecting native, and the consequence was a battle-royal between the two, which continued until they were both separated by the Cape policemen who are on duty in the kraal. They were kept in different cages until their passions cooled, and they are now on friendly terms again. The other Kaffirs are highly indignant with them for this breach of decorum, as they fear intensely being sent home before the end of the season. Since the exhibition opened they have been reaping a golden harvest. Cigars they enjoy in abundance, and some of the jovial members of the kraal, who are continually dancing and singing at the doors of their huts, collect as much as five or six shillings a day in pennies. They are immensely popular with the ladies, and one of them, who prides himself on being the Adonis of the company, boasts that he has already received three offers of marriage from the “white faces”. Perhaps this may be another instance of strong tribal imagination.’

Fillis soon decided that he needed to replenish, indeed expand, his African workforce:

‘More natives for “Savage South Africa” [*The Leeds Times*, 29 July 1899]

... Large crowds assembled on Tuesday at St Katherine's Dock to witness the picturesque sight of the arrival of forty natives from the Zambesi district, who were consigned to “Savage South Africa”. The new arrivals are Shanguans and Amatongas. They are in many ways different – being fishermen, cultivators of the soil and artificers of metal – from the natives who are already so well known to the visitors to the Kaffir Kraal at Earl's Court Exhibition. They brought with them several native canoes, some made of bark and some being the well-known, but dangerous, dug-out, in which it is understood they will perform on the lake in the Exhibition. They also brought with them twenty-one native ingomo, or drums, their performance on which is to form an entirely new feature of the “Savage South Africa” show. These drums play a very significant part in savage social life. The ingomo is formed of zebra's skin, dried and stretched over a barrel, formed by the hollowing out of a tree trunk, and when played upon by an expert its booming can be heard for many miles. According to the notes that are struck it carries the news of war, of death, of birth, of a wedding, or of a festival.’

It was during July and August that more serious issues developed for the show. From the very start of the enterprise there had been much controversy over the question of whether the Africans brought to England would somehow become corrupted by their intense exposure to white people and subsequently take that corruption back with them to Africa to the detriment of both themselves and the white ruling classes there. Articles appeared purporting to be concerned to preserve the ‘purity’ of these simple, unspoilt children of the ‘dark continent’, preferably by debarring their coming to England in the first place. It is difficult to know how much of the protest was genuinely based on these views and how much was actually a veiled attempt to prevent black Africans from corrupting white English people. In Victorian Britain there was in some quarters a revulsion against the idea of mixed black and white relationships, especially sexual ones. There was also a fear that white wives might find African ‘toy boys’ more attractive than their white husbands. In relation to *Savage South Africa*, what particularly excited the protestors was the conduct of white ladies in the kraal:

‘Savage South Africa. English women's folly’ [*South Wales Daily News*, 5 August 1899]

The *Critic* contains a trenchant protest against the treatment extended to the Kaffirs in “Savage South Africa” at Earl's Court by women who go there.

“To anyone,” says the writer, “who has spent some years in Africa the familiarity which exists between certain white women visiting the Kaffir kraal and the blacks on show there is a peculiarly revolting spectacle. From the hour this ‘savage’ side show is opened till late at night the kraal is besieged by crowds of females, who hustle each other in their rivalry to obtain personal association with the Matabele and other coloured men on view.

Some of these women use all their arts of fascination to please these sons of the African wilderness. But lately I saw a European girl detach flowers from her bosom to adorn the person of one of these niggers; and I have seen grown women not merely shake hands with them, but stroke their limbs admiringly. Nothing is left undone by certain misled English females to gratify the vanity of these miscellaneous African natives, in whose delightful manners and customs this show is presumed to instruct us. The Kaffir Exhibition at Earl's Court has, in fact, degenerated into an exhibition of white women visitors and a very disgusting exhibition it is.”

The writer declares that these “raw, hulking and untamed men-animals” are being unwittingly and utterly corrupted by unseemly attentions from English girls; and that the seeds of licence thus sown by heedless women may have a terrible outcome in our own West End, or, later on, in South Africa when the natives return home.’

Van der Merwe [*op. cit.*] describes how such ideas were whipped up in the British weekly magazine *South Africa*:

‘The violent reaction that subsequently appeared in the British weekly *South Africa* would later (at the end of August) lead to a ban on women visiting the kraal and afterward (at the end of October) to the closure of the spectacle at Earl’s Court. The latter only occurred when the London *Daily Mail* continued *South Africa*’s campaign. The matter was even raised in the British parliament when it was mentioned that the governments of the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal were opposed to the transportation of 200 black people to England and that this was regarded as “injurious to themselves and the South African population”. The British government concurred with this opinion.

The arguments in South Africa against “Savage South Africa” were punctuated with concealed racism and common imperialism. One of the main arguments of “all who have at heart the true interests of the South African natives”, was that these “barbarians” would be corrupted by British civilisation and would on their return be maladjusted and pose a danger to white women, especially once they had experienced that “white women are to be bought on the English streets for a trifle”.

“Then they were [to be] sent back to South Africa with every vicious instinct of their natures in full activity, there to fix themselves like a social cancer and prey on the healthy body of their nation”.



Figure 12 Exhibition Programme, 1899.



Figure 13 ‘A Peek at the Natives’ in the Kaffir Kraal, 1899.

Concern about racial mixing at Earl's Court exploded at about this time in the form of a scandal involving ‘Prince’ Peter Kushana Lobengula, who claimed to be the oldest son of King Lobengula's tenth wife. Peter had been engaged by Fillis to participate in the show, in which he acted a prominent role. He was extremely handsome and charismatic and spoke fluent English. He entered into a romantic liaison with a young and pretty white woman, daughter of a deceased Cornish mining engineer, named Florence Kate (‘Kitty’) Jewell and reports emerged that they had become engaged. By the second week of August it was being reported that three weeks earlier they had ‘married by civil process’ and that Kitty now desired to

have the sanction of the church. This news sent some sections of the Press into journalistic apoplexy, printing such views as this [*Evening News*, 12 August 1899]:

'The "Black" Scandal. The news of the "marriage" of Lobengula – we use the word to avoid an ugly phrase – to an English girl, although it may seem to some a theme for merriment, cannot fail to inspire a feeling of disgust among the vast majority of Englishmen and Englishwomen. There is something inexpressibly disgusting in the idea of the mating of a white girl with a dusky savage who, though he may be somewhat better educated than the majority of his tribe, is a savage still.'

Much else was printed in the same vein. Whether a majority of the British public were, in fact, as 'disgusted' (if at all) as the above writer suggested, is a moot point: in both Britain and its colonies there had been mixed-race liaisons, marriages and progeny, including within the aristocracy, for centuries.



Figure 14 Kitty and Peter, as portrayed in *The Graphic*, 19 August 1899.

Peter and Kitty had in fact attempted to marry at 9am on 11 August at the parish church of St Matthias in Warwick Road, Earl's Court. Although they succeeded in partially completing a marriage registration there, the entry did not bear their signatures or those of witnesses or that of an officiating minister (no willing minister could be found). The ceremony had been blocked on diocesan authority and the word 'Cancelled' written across the register entry. On the evening of the 11th the management at *Savage South Africa* professed to know nothing of the parties' whereabouts and stated that Peter was no longer working for them. Later, in 1900, Peter and Kitty did lawfully marry, at Holborn Register Office, but divorced not long afterwards. Their story has many fascinating dimensions to it and is told in the book *Kitty and the Prince: A Victorian Tragedy* by Ben Shephard [publ Profile Books Ltd, 2003].

The publicity given to the alleged goings-on at the kraal and to the Lobengula affair was a dominant factor in forcing, near the end of August, the closure of the kraal to women visitors. As Pauling remarks in the *Chronicles*:

'Questions were, however, asked in the Houses of Parliament and the newspapers were full of references to the kraal. For a time the agitation had an effect, the very reverse of what its promoters desired. It gave us a magnificent advertisement with the result that tremendous crowds were anxious to visit the entertainment. By and by, however, the exaggerations of the agitators began to have their effect.'

Pauling, however, had not been a direct witness to most of these happenings, or even to the opening of the show in May. On 6 May, two days before the show opened, he had sailed with his second wife Edith from Southampton to South Africa in order to assist in a project to extend the railway beyond Bulawayo. Edith, with other family, returned in July, but Pauling did not get back to Southampton until 11 August, the day of Lubengula's abortive attempt to marry Kitty Jewell. He would, however, have then become very much aware of the agitation in the Press, and possibly had followed some of this while he had been abroad.

Van der Merwe [*op. cit.*] sums up the closure debacle as follows:

'Although the spectacle drew large audiences and did well financially, resistance against "kraal" visits eventually proved successful. A puritanical element in British society felt that these visits to scantily clad "barbarians" would be bad for the society's morals.'



Figure 15 'Chief and group of Swazies' in the Kaffir Kraal.

In his autobiography Fillis makes no mention of the kraal problem, because at the time of writing it had not yet arisen. A remark made in his narrative (which actually contains no detail of the show itself, only of his preparations for it and the voyage bringing the first group of Africans to Southampton) makes it clear that when he was writing his book – presumably in London – the show was underway but had not yet run into trouble.

The kraal decision had been imposed by the London Exhibitions company, the overarching authority for the Earl's Court Exhibition grounds, giving no grounds for their action. Ned Cleary, responding on behalf of the Savage South Africa Syndicate, made public his strong objection to this action in an eloquent letter to *The Daily Telegraph* in whose issue of 29 August long extracts from it were published (see Appendix II). Among other things, Cleary pointed out that despite extensive scrutiny of all the articles that had been published on the subject of the kraal, none of them made any direct charges against it and were merely filled with insinuations:

'After the most stringent inquiries, we have not been able to discover one single case of indecency or even suggested indecency ...'

In early September the Syndicate applied to the Chancery Division of the High Court for an injunction against London Exhibitions Ltd to restrain the latter from continuing its exclusion of women visitors to the kraal, but the application was dismissed [*Portsmouth Evening News*, 8 September 1899]. About a week later a second such application was made by the Syndicate but was likewise refused.

More grumblings appeared in the newspapers during September and October, mostly about minor disturbances. Occasionally one or other of the Africans had become the worse for drink resulting in appearances and fines at police courts. Another instance was the claim made by a white woman that her daughter had entered into a relationship with one of the African men from the kraal and had since disappeared; Ned Cleary investigated and could find no truth in the allegation, believing it had been invented just for its nuisance value. A more serious incident occurred on 23 October when one of the stage hands (a 'scene shifter' named David Smith of Fulham) at the show was accidentally shot in the ribs during the Wilson's Last Stand act; he was taken to the West London Hospital where he died ten minutes after admission [*The Dundee Courier*, 24 October 1899]. It was suggested that a cartridge may not have been a blank as required and that two similar but non-fatal accidents had previously occurred at the show.

The death of David Smith and the circumstances of it were discussed in hundreds of newspapers across the country. A subsequent inquiry established that a small empty cartridge of the sort normally fired in a revolver had been found embedded in Smith's chest. Numerous such cartridges were collected by the Africans from the floor of the arena to be used by them in the fashioning of small craft artefacts. It was surmised that, in the excitement of the show, one of them had been inadvertently introduced into a martini rifle (of larger bore) with a normal blank rifle cartridge loaded behind it; when the rifle's cartridge was fired during the act it produced an explosive force that ejected the smaller cartridge in front of it as a bullet-like projectile and it was this that found its way into Smith's rib cage. The inquiry concluded that the show's managers had been to a degree neglectful in their supervision of the Africans [*Morning Post*, 1 November 1899].

The contracts for those taking part in the show were due to expire on 24 October but the participants were kept on for a few more days. The last performance of *Savage South Africa* at Earl's Court took place on 28 or 29 October.

The show – or rather a new version of it – was then moved to Olympia in Hammersmith. As Pauling relates:

'Our original syndicate had put up, I think, about £60,000, and it became increasingly evident that if we remained at Earl's Court we should soon get on the wrong side of the financial stream. We accordingly took an early opportunity of terminating our agreement with Mr. Kiralfy, and succeeded in hiring Olympia on more advantageous terms.'

The conditions under which the show would be permitted to migrate to Olympia were set by the Theatres and Music Halls Committee of London County Council. They deliberated on 14 November over the plan that had been submitted and stipulated that all combustible material should be treated with a resisting solution, that the 'native village' – to be set up in the building known as the 'palmarium' – should have no open fires in it and that the Africans had to be given satisfactory sleeping and sanitary accommodation [*The Era*, 18 November 1899].

The reconfigured show duly opened on the night of 2 December. Newspaper accounts of it (see Appendix II) were quite positive, pointing to its imaginative new features. However, by then the Second Boer War had already been in progress for three weeks; watching acted portrayals in London of slaughter in battle was no longer such fun, as reports of real casualties and tragedies began to fill the columns. Attendance figures at Olympia, initially large, soon began to decline, as observed in the *Chronicles*:

'It is a melancholy indication of the spirit of these times that all this splendid show failed to attract large audiences. People were too much down in the dumps. While the historic sieges of Kimberley and Mafeking were in progress, few people were disposed to seek enjoyment.'

After the Lobengula affair, and indeed partly because of it, certain elements of the Press had pursued a virulent campaign aiming in all sorts of ways to disparage the show and its promoters. A great deal of overtly racist rhetoric was also published, spewing bile over the idea that 'savages' could ultimately be anything other than savages. As the year 1900 dawned, however, concerns also emerged about the Africans' welfare. These were led by physician and clergyman Dr Robert John Colenso, elder son of the highly estimable theologian, mathematician and scholar John William Colenso, the first Bishop of Natal. In early January Robert was expressing these concerns to the newspapers. In particular he complained about the way that the show's Africans were kept rigorously confined within Olympia (but had on at least one

occasion forced their way out onto the street); that on Sundays, when not performing, they were 'left to grope their way about in practical darkness'; that their women had no proper washing facilities or access to water; that the pittance they earned from making bangles was docked by the management; that they were insufficiently clothed; that a promised schoolroom to aid their literacy had never materialised; and that their sanitary conditions were 'wholly objectionable' and 'hardly fit for human habitation' [*The Morning Leader*, 3 January 1900 – see Appendix II]. Robert was not venting these complaints from afar, rather he had been in a strong position to make his observations very directly from the moment that Fillis had started up at Earl's Court – he was living with his family and practising as a doctor of medicine at 91, Cromwell Road, three quarters of a mile to the east of the Earl's Court Exhibition grounds (which were only half a mile from Olympia).

The then-current predicament of Olympia's Africans was not the only matter raised in this issue of *The Morning Leader*, which took the opportunity also to cast a poor light over the way they had been originally enlisted by Fillis in Africa. This had been a topic of much criticism right from the start, in the Press, in Parliament, among the governing class in South Africa and, especially, from the Aborigines' Protection Society. The article alleged that the Africans had been originally

'... engaged to appear in a show at Kimberley. But when they reached the Diamond City, instead of stopping there, they were taken on to Cape Town, where they were kept in gaol for the better part of three days for being unprovided with passes. Once at Cape Town they were asked, and consented, to come on to England.'

It was further alleged that although they had put their 'mark' upon a contract they possessed no copy of that contract, nor were in receipt of any legal advice.

Pauling has nothing to say on this matter but in his autobiography Fillis gives a little detail on how he procured his Africans:

'After making four trips across the water to England and back to the Cape within a space of four months, I began to set about travelling Africa for the purpose of inducing native chiefs and Boers to accompany me to England. I had a deal more trouble than I had anticipated. At Krugersdorp I arranged with the Boers who are at present with the show, and from there I travelled on to Swaziland in search of Swazis; from there to Zululand in search of Zulus. I had then to go right away to Basutoland, a considerable distance, in order to obtain natives and to purchase a supply of Basuto ponies. From there I went Zebra hunting, and succeeded in capturing six wild ones, five of which died.

Considerable difficulty occurred in inducing the natives to leave their happy and unrestrained life and habits; the offer of large sums of money would not have tempted them, and in most cases it would have been impossible without the assurance that they should see Her Gracious Majesty the Queen – the Great White Queen, as they call her.

But without detailing the difficulties encountered in collecting these interesting types of our black brother, and in organising the innumerable items of such a spectacle into a harmonious presentment *in petto* of another world so distant and so different from ours, nor even mentioning the enormous cost of getting together and transporting this huge caravan of men and animals, I feel confident that the proper appreciation of a spectacle which is at the same time exciting, instructive, novel, and entertaining, is safe in the hands of the British public, even if their patriotic zeal did not always arouse an interest in the ways and doings of England's Colonies.'

whilst Van der Merwe [op. cit.] provides this perspective:

'This spectacle encountered political and social resistance from the start. It can be assumed that Fillis's motives were purely commercial. Neither he nor his financial backers had, however, taken the racism of that period into account. From the start, the Natal authorities prohibited Fillis from recruiting any Zulus for the spectacle. Frank knew that for the spectacle to succeed, he had to have Zulu participants at any costs. A friend of his heard about his problem and told him that he had recruited a group of Zulus at a mine at Koffiefontein and that they were waiting for him at East London. According to Fillis, he immediately went to East London to see the Zulus and lay all his cards on the table. They liked the idea of presenting their war dances and combat skills before English audiences and were keen to go.

Ben Shephard, who did valuable research on this history, alleges that Fillis mainly recruited his black participants from white-owned farms. He also alleges that Fillis had the support of Cecil John Rhodes's colleagues to overcome opposition from government echelons and the "Aborigines' Protection Society".

When they arrived in Cape Town to board the *Goth* (specially leased for the "Savage South Africa" spectacle) on 25 March 1899, the Zulus were arrested because they had entered the Cape Colony

without permits. After a night in prison, they were each fined one shilling and released. That night (within two hours after their release) Fillis departed with his load before any further interference could prevent him.’

Van der Merwe concludes by stating that the show at Olympia was not as successful as it had been at Earl's Court and ended on 27 January 1900. The Boer War and the endless carping in the Press and Government circles had sounded its death knell.

Retrospect

This article's title terms ‘Africa in London’ – i.e. *Savage South Africa* – as ‘George Pauling's extravaganza’, yet other than his own narrative we have been unable to find much testimony to his involvement. His own narrative about the show does give the impression of one who had witnessed it first hand rather than one who had merely distilled the accounts of others. Indeed, it would be very surprising if he had not visited the show, once he had returned from the Cape in August, if we take at face value his claimed chairmanship of the funding syndicate and his long friendships with Fillis and Cleary. We may reasonably assume that his wife Edith, with her great interest in big game, guns, hunting and so forth, would have accompanied him and relished what she saw. Perhaps all three, together with syndicate members and perhaps Kiralfy too, socialised often in London, discussing how things were going and recounting earlier adventures abroad. We may also surmise that Fillis, being such an old friend of Pauling, would on occasion have been invited to Pauling's home in Effingham, The Lodge, and roamed through its beautiful gardens and parkland, as Cleary is known to have done.

What the moral and philosophical positions of Pauling, Fillis and Cleary had been on the employment of Africans we cannot know, as they do not express any. Perhaps they had no such positions. Both had been in charge of huge numbers of indigenous people in many regions of Africa, and in other continents: Pauling had employed literally thousands of them during his long years of laying new railways across perilous territories, and many hundreds had died, just as many of his white employees had. Throughout the *Chronicles* Pauling has virtually nothing to say about his feelings for African peoples and their tragic histories; everything he says is concerned only with the practicalities of pushing projects forward and making money. The same is true of Fillis's writings and he too was simply a pragmatist using his undeniable skills to make money; Africans were just tools for the job.

The British public, for the most part, loved what they saw, at least until the realities of the Boer War came home to roost. Their culture was steeped in the assessment of anything foreign as exotic and ripe for exploitation, whether for economic purposes or for entertainment. The wealth of the nation was planted firmly on the foundation of former slavery and almost everyone was, one way or another, a beneficiary of it (as could still be said today). From our present perspective, as a ‘British public’ ostensibly different from that living 125 years ago, *Savage South Africa* was just one sordid microcosm, among many, of the sordid universe of thought that viewed non-white races as inherently and for ever inferior. Pauling and Fillis, though intending no harm, inhabited that universe, whether or not they realised it.

It may be apt to leave the last word, in this article, to one who has come through a lifetime of experiencing and writing about the still troubled position of ethnic minorities in today's Britain, David Olugosa, Professor of Public History at the University of Manchester [*Black and British*, publ MacMillan, 2016]:

‘In 1917, a writer in the popular magazine *Tit-Bits* commented that “some years ago we used to have large bodies of natives sent from Africa on military service or in some travelling show, and it was the revelation of horror and disgust to the whole [of society in seeing] the manner in which English women would flock to see these men, whilst to watch them fawning over these black creatures and fondling them and embracing them, as I have seen dozens of times, was a scandal and a disgrace to English womanhood.”

Racial mixing did not just offend the author, he believed it was a real and direct threat to the control of the empire and the preservation of racial hierarchies. If, as he was convinced, such events permitted the barriers that separate the races to be crossed, “how then”, he asked, “is it possible to maintain as the one stern creed in the policy of the Empire the eternal supremacy of the white over black?”’

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Figure 14: from *The Graphic*, 19 August 1899; Image © Illustrated London News Group, image created by courtesy of The British Library Board
Figure 15: from the Michael Graham-Stewart and Michael Stevenson Collection

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APPENDIX I

Arrival of the Africans at Southampton

This article appeared in London's *Weekly Dispatch* on 23 April 1899. The text has been transcribed here for reasons of legibility. The accompanying image is as published.

"Savage South Africa"

On Wednesday the South African liner *Goth* arrived at Southampton bringing Mr Frank Fillis' show and menagerie from the Cape. In the course of the day several special trains conveyed the arrivals to Earl's Court, where in the course of a few days the show will be on exhibition. The arrivals consisted of a mixed crowd of Boers, Kaffirs, Cape "boys" and English colonists, besides lions, elephants, mules, zebras and strange wild fowl. The procession of Kaffirs as they marched down the gangway of the ship was remarkable for its grotesqueness. Tall, bare legged Matabele with weird head dresses of ostrich feathers that waved to and fro in the wind, some wearing old overcoats long since discarded by Tommy Atkins, or volunteer officers' coats with silver buttons, others in the dark blue overcoats of Oom Paul's Transvaal Artillery. One, however, was distinguished above all the rest, for he wore a policeman's top coat.

"Savage South Africa" has brought over a relic of real warfare in the shape of the famous coach that was captured by the Matabele on the road from Gwele to Bulawayo. Mr Keighry, the man who drove it on that occasion, is here to drive it in the forthcoming spectacle at Earl's Court.

In spite of the fact that the exhibition managers, who attended at Southampton to witness the disembarking of the show, were afraid to trust the natives with their railway tickets for fear that they should eat them, the transfer to London was safely made and by nightfall men and beasts were safely housed at Earl's Court.



SKETCHED AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

APPENDIX II

Assorted newspaper extracts

MAY 4, 1899.

"SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA."

THOROUGHLY HAPPY.

I READ yesterday the account of the exploits of a bibulous native, a member of the "Savage South Africa in London" troupe. Deeply affected by this outburst of human feeling, it occurred to me (writes a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*) to travel into the very heart of South Africa, *via* the Metropolitan Railway, in order to discover what traces of injury and demoralization were to be discerned in the exiled natives. I went, I saw, and I was comforted. I must say at the outset that, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Imre Kiralfy, I was enabled to pay a surprise visit to the laager behind the Empress Theatre, where the strayed subjects of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal are temporarily encamped. I was not introduced—not until I had had a good look round, at any rate—to the officials of the show as one who "puts things into the papers," and I therefore am convinced that I had the opportunity of seeing things as they are—not swept and garnished, as the suspiciously minded might suggest they had been, for the edification of an inquisitorial journalist. It was only because no one dares to stop the dictator of Earl's Court in his own grounds or to question the right of any one directly under his wing that I succeeded in passing the cordon of sentries who cut "Savage South Africa" off from intercourse with the outside world. Approaching the barracks we were met by a roar of hearty, mirthful laughter, not a sound as of the crackling of thorns, but the heart-whole laughter of children that comes from a light heart and a good digestion. It was not a laugh one often hears in London. The time was just after a rehearsal, and the usual meal was being prepared. The scene was in its own way picturesque; barbarism encamped round the last word of civilization as expressed by the Empress Theatre. The fallen warriors were squatting round their fires on which caldrons were bubbling savourily. The men were dressed for the most part in long blue overcoats; the women wore clean cotton dresses, gaudy in hue and (even to the male eye) not Parisian in cut, but none the less decent and natty enough. The most striking adornment of every member of the motley assemblage was a generous grin, telling of perfect contentment and childlike good humour. It was the kind of grin that made the visitor involuntarily return it in kind. It was the grin of a people that had never invested money in gold mines, and had never worried round the ethical problem of seven-day journalism. It was a grin that did more to raise one's spirits than the very latest liver pill ever aspired to do. All the owners of the grin were obviously in perfect health. There could be no doubt about it. When a black is out of sorts his skin becomes grey and dull; when he is in health his complexion is black and shining. One or two of the younger men had a polish on them such as one is wont to associate with the mahogany of a hospitable house. On the score of their physique there could not be two opinions; nor, as I have said, did they show any symptoms of mental worry.

EMINENTLY MORAL.

Satisfied on this point, it became my delicate duty as a sincere seeker after truth to inquire into their moral well-being. Here one of Mr. Filis's managers gave me every information, and answered pointed questions promptly and with frankness. The natives gave no trouble (with such a truly South African grin it is difficult to imagine their doing so), and are under strict supervision. A trained and watchful eye, belonging to an unemotional Africander, is always on them, in order, as my informant rather neatly put it, to prevent the savages of the baser parts of Kensington, W., doing an injury to their more primitive brethren from Africa, S. One or two members of their native police and the interpreters, I was told, maintain law and order in a fashion that appeals to the native mind. It should be impossible for any of the natives to obtain strong drink in any sort or form—the danger against which fresh safeguards will be taken in future. The pure-bred natives are not allowed to roam beyond the boundaries of the camp. The half-castes, it is true, being already acclimatized to the miasma of civilization, are permitted to leave the grounds, but as it is known that they have no money at all, few public-houses are likely to serve them. What the injury done to the natives themselves may be, apart from the fact that their removal from the primitive conditions of barbarism to a state of comparative civilization may make them loth to return to their earlier surroundings of squalor and barbarism, is not easy to detect. One needs only to hear them laughing and chattering among themselves to be assured that they are not bullied, while the universal grin is eloquent testimony that they are not unhappy. They are vigorously quarantined from the moral dangers that may arise from contact with civilization by regulations with which they are acquainted, and which, from all I hear, they respect. They are kept well in hand. I am now convinced that there is no immediate danger of the chaste villadom of Brompton falling a prey to a Matabele raid. On the other hand, this strict discipline brings with it certain palpable advantages. For one thing, the natives are taught to keep themselves clean, whereas the South African aborigine on his native heath is notoriously unsavoury. There is too much livestock about him for European taste. They are comfortably and decently clad, more or less in accordance with the promptings of their own taste. They have, from what I saw, at least one wholesome solid meal a day. At home they would probably be in luck's way if they could be sure of one full meal a week. Before long they will be housed in a kraal such as they inhabit at home, and, though in Kensington, will be no more of it than they would be in the Matoppos. Why their adventures in England should demoralize or debase them is not very apparent to the non-official intellect. The question of the hypothetical injury the show may do the "South African population" is a wide and abstruse problem which I do not propose to discuss. After all, South Africa is an extensive lump to be affected by such a small admixture of leaven. To have attempted to allay the solicitude of Sir R. Reid, the High Commissioner, and the Governments of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal on one point is enough. The mental picture which the question in the House last Thursday must have conjured up of Sir Alfred Milner and Oom Paul tossing about on sleepless beds lest their Kaffirs might be uncomfortable, or might learn naughty ways, is genuinely affecting. But there seems at present to be no particular reason for this feverish solicitude.

Pall Mall Gazette, 4 May 1899**THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE
AND "SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA."**

Notwithstanding the remarks of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons last week, the Duke of Cambridge has announced his intention of performing the inaugural ceremony in connection with the Greater Britain Exhibition in London to-day. His Royal Highness says the Colonies are contributing to the success of the Exhibition, which is entirely separated from the "Savage South Africa" show, and his presence at the former does not imply the slightest approval of the latter.

The Yorkshire Herald, 8 May 1899

SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA.

A NOTABLE SPECTACLE.

The spectacle entitled "Savage South Africa," at Earl's Court, bids fair to be more attractive and successful than any of its predecessors. The project of lifting out of savagery and bringing to the metropolis of the Empire some two hundred dusky barbarians, however we may view it from a political point of view, is certainly very striking from a spectacular. The opening scene yesterday, in which a long phalanx of warriors with dark skins and white plumes and shields were discovered against a mountainous background, was unusually picturesque, and the subsequent warlike operations can scarcely fail to be intensely interesting to those who followed the course of the Matabele revolt. The arrival of the historic Gwelo coach, the sudden attack by infuriated Matabele, the gallant resistance, are re-enacted in the most realistic manner. The Zulus were evidently quite in their element, and their howling and dancing, and the general spontaneity of their behaviour, left nothing to be desired. One wonders what their feelings were on appearing for the first time before a house filled not so much with an audience as with a population. The most thrilling event in the performance is the total annihilation of a body of British troops by the Matabele. The last survivor, representing, I suppose, Major Wilson, though that officer is not mentioned, falls after a terrific combat in a very impressive and dramatic way. The fighting in the Matoppos Hills is managed ingeniously, the appearance of dark heads and forms among the hills being very realistic.

A good ding-dong fight takes place towards the beginning of the spectacle. The Zulus, protected behind their laager, pour withering volleys into the British troops, but are repulsed by the murderous fire of the Maxim guns. Indeed, the noise of the machine guns, resembling the turning of some gigantic alarm rattle, plus the continuous white sputter of fire, brings the house down almost literally. "Savage South Africa" forms a very vivid illustration of South African history, an interesting supplement to the literary record.

After the war, the Zulus were at home in their kraal, and were there visited apparently by the entire forces of Metropolitan beauty. The Kaffirs were dressed chiefly in beads and feathers, though a few added to these adornments an inadequate blanket. The Kaffirs will have some strange tales to tell of British politeness. The kraal, however, is an invaluable new feature, and is sure to attract numerous visitors, especially of the more curious sex. By the way, it is worth mentioning that the enterprising Zulu, who, by dint of a little English, managed to get out of bounds and into a good deal of drink, is by this time merrily sailing home to the bosom of his family. In the evening the bands were in full swing, and the well-known outlines of the exhibition architecture were limned in brilliant illumination of red, yellow, and green fairy lamps. The water-shoot resounded with the shrieks of its inexpressibly gratified victims, the Wagnerian swan pinnacles glided gracefully over the many-twinkling lake, and the picturesque Cairo street, where the fair Madame Albert reads the fateful palm and gratifies the eternal instinct for superstition, was busy with admiring crowds. So here is an inexhaustible resource provided for the long summer evenings before us.

The Echo, 9 May 1899

THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

Entertainments.

GREATER BRITAIN EXHIBITION, EARL'S COURT, WEST BROMPTON.
Director-General—IMRE KIRALFY.

Season Tickets, 10s. 6d., can be obtained at the Exhibition and all the Libraries.
ADMISSION DAILY, 1s.

QUEENSLAND,
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA,
WEST AUSTRALIA,

VICTORIA,
COLONIAL SECTIONS,
GREAT MINING COURT.

BAND OF THE GRENADIER GUARDS.
BAND OF THE HON. ARTILLERY COMPANY.
THE LONDON EXHIBITIONS' ORCHESTRAL BAND.

HAJEX and ATHENE, High Rope Walkers. THE EGYPTIAN CITY.
THE GREAT CANADIAN WATER CHUTE.

Bicycle Polo, African Gold Mine, Spessard's Tiger and Bear Show, the Hong Kong
Opium Den, Fezty's Great Panorama, The Royal Bioscope, Canadian Swan Boats.
THE GREAT WHEEL, 300 FEET HIGH.

"SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA"

in the
EMPRESS THEATRE,
GREATER BRITAIN EXHIBITION,
Depicted by Fillis' Monster Aggregation.
Twice daily at 3.30 and 8.30.

Thousands of Reserved Seats at 1s., 2s., 3s., 4s., and 5s.
One Thousand Matabele, Bazutos, Swazis, Hottentots, Cape and Transvaal Boers,
Basuto Ponies, Zebras, Wildebeests, African Lions, Leopards, Tigers, Baboons, Wild Dogs,
and a Herd of Elephants.

THE ORIGINAL GWELO STAGE COACH.
WILSON'S HEROIC DEATH AT SHANGANL.

All under Cover.
SEE THE KAFFIR KRAAL, PEOPLED BY 300 NATIVES.

The Westminster Gazette, 30 May 1899

SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA.**SOME THOUGHTS ON THE EARL'S COURT EXHIBITION.**

There must certainly be almost as much powder burnt at a single performance in the Empress Theatre as there is expended during a week's campaigning in one of our Tribal wars. I never heard quite so much noise in any place of entertainment in London or out of it; and anything half as realistic as the various encounters depicted on the large arena was probably never seen since Piper Findlater went through the Dargai Charge, upon a music hall stage. With the glamour of the uniforms and flags still in his eyes, the echo of the cheering in his ears, and—more subtle still—the memories of hospitality beneath his waistcoat, your representative can hardly pose for an instant as a sternly critical judge of the merits of the performance. As a piece of stage management, of brilliant decoration, of audacious stage-effects, of the clever handling of large bodies of very various troops, the final scenes in the great drama of South Africa are an extraordinary success. But I began to feel a little uneasy when a savage was led out to be shot for not giving information as to the whereabouts of his king. Then Major Wilson's patrol came in. Now, Englishmen are in a very mixed state of feeling about that patrol. For we know very well that there was a certain amount of error on our side, and a certain amount of excuse for the savages; we feel without any doubt whatever that those men died heroically at their post, and we sorrow for every mother's son of them as a loss to the army of the Empire. For that very reason I should myself have been glad to be quite certain that none of the savages engaged in this 'pantomime' had been actually present when the tragedy was played out on the Shangani River. This may be hypercritical, but I have no possible doubt about the feeling, and no hesitation in expressing it. That final scene has been painted in a magnificent picture; it has been sculptured in enduring silver upon a shield that will be handed down to various troops in South Africa as a memorial of their comrades' bravery for ever. But I can see no justification for reproducing it just as Piper Findlater's charge was reproduced behind the footlights. What I objected to then I object to now. If there is a sufficiently large public to encourage these theatrical presentations, the Earl's Court management have their excuse in the effort to cater for that public as brilliantly as possible, and certainly there is no detail wanting that the most carping critic could suggest to complete the very similitude of the scene. Yet I doubt whether the Management will find themselves justified by success in this particular portion of a show that deserves the widest and most generous patronage in every other direction. Letters have already reached this office, which show that the views I have expressed are by no means isolated. It is yet too early, perhaps, to express a definite opinion, but I shall be surprised if the suggestive distinction drawn in the letter published by the Duke of Cambridge does not commend itself to a large section of the public.

I should like to add that I trust the point on which a guarded assurance of improvement was given me last year will not be forgotten this season by a Management which has shown its enterprise and the lavishness of its expenditure in so many new directions. Everyone who saw the brilliant sunshine of yesterday afternoon lighting up the courts and the sparkling water of the lake must have been affected with the same desire that filled your representative's bosom, the longing for a dinner out of doors in the cool of a summer evening, for a luncheon in the shade of a hot day near the water, for some facilities for that "al fresco" entertainment of the inner man which is far too much the monopoly of nations who rarely possess so good an opportunity for enjoying it. **T. A.**

THE MAN WHO HAS PLANTED "SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA"

IN THE HEART OF LONDON.

"Savage South Africa," merely to state a bald fact, is the talk of London. It has drawn thousands of people, twice a day, to the huge Empress Theatre, Earl's Court, ever since May 8. It attracts not only the multitude, but the smart people from the West-End, who dine



MRS. FILLIS.

either at the Welcome Club or the Quadrant Restaurant, or else hurry down from town in order to be present at the nine o'clock performance. Actors come to see it, and delight in it, despite the fact that its success has had a disastrous effect upon some of their own shows. At the commencement of the season, circumstances, no doubt, conspired to advertise it throughout the land, a result which Mr. Chamberlain did not anticipate. But to attract your audience is one thing, to hold it is another. This is precisely what "Savage South Africa" succeeds in doing. As in the case of the Naval Spectacle of last year, people come again and again to see it. This, after all, is the best advertisement, and the most conclusive proof of its value. Even women who dislike the noise of the Maxim-guns repeat their visits. Men, women, and children alike delight

in the show, first of all, because of its great novelty, and, in the more important though second place, because it is so well organised. The savages in themselves are an enormous draw. They are new to us, they are picturesque, and they make model "supers," for all that they do is natural. Their realism is marvellous. But a collection of natives, no matter how numerous, would not long retain their hold on the public unless they were in a fitting frame, unless they were used to advantage. This is what happens at Earl's Court. There is a story to tell in "Savage South Africa," and they assist in telling it. This is the secret of the success. The scheme of this entertainment has been well thought out, and carried into effect with perfect success. There is not a dull moment in it, the interest being sustained from first to last. This result could not have been attained without a guiding hand, without a master-mind to conceive and carry it all out. The qualities for successful generalship are found in Mr. Frank E. Fillis, who, as the organiser of this truly great show, cannot be praised too highly. He holds the reins, in more senses than one, and he has fairly won his present proud position.

But for the fortunate fact that Mr. Fillis is an Englishman, we should never have seen "Savage South Africa" in London. July 13, 1857, was a lucky day for Londoners in one respect, at any rate, for it ushered into the world this clever showman, who, throughout his subsequent wanderings in other lands, has always had a warm spot in his heart for that of his birth. It was this patriotic feeling which gave rise to "Savage South Africa," a scheme which has occupied Mr. Fillis's energy for over two years, for it was at the end of 1896 that he began to bring it together. The work this entailed has been very great. In order to arrange for the production at Earl's Court, in order to secure the co-operation of the management thereof and the use of the finest building in the world for such a display, he came from Africa to England three times—six trips across the water of six thousand miles each. In gathering the motley crowd of Zulus, Swazis, Matabele, Hottentots, and Malays, he travelled an additional four thousand miles in Africa. Then, having arranged the details, he set to work, bringing into requisition all the resources of a well-equipped circus, the horses, lions, tigers, and elephants, and his other valuable "properties" forming the nucleus of a fine show of its own. Then the Boers, whose daring riding is so much admired, had to be engaged—no easy task to find the right, willing men—and their horses also had to be got into training. This was almost as difficult a matter as obtaining the services of the natives, for, in their case, the fanaticism of the "witch doctors" was not easily overcome. The Matabele gave the most trouble of all to obtain, because they had never heard of the sea, and it was hard to make them understand what it was and why they were wanted to cross it. As showing some of the little pleasures of such an organisation as this, Mr. Fillis mentions that while he was in Bulawayo arranging for these same Matabele, some lions entered the town and carried off several natives.

Many of the splendid riders whose daring horsemanship is so good a feature of the show saw active service in the war of '93, and a most interesting reminiscence of the rebellion of '96 is seen in the veritable mule-drawn coach which was attacked by the natives, a relic which Mr. Fillis was fortunate in obtaining. The zebras and African game which disport themselves for the benefit of the spectators required much training after their capture on the African farms, where they run wild. One of the most trying tasks of all was the training of the mules to stand the firing, a piece of work which was done mainly in Africa, and occupied many weeks. The result, however, reflects every credit upon the trainer, Mr. Kerighy.

A whole chapter, indeed, could be easily occupied if one went into all the details of this marvellous show. But, after all, the great ability of the organiser of it calls for special notice and admiration in this place. Mr. Fillis was, so to speak, born and bred in the saddle—his uncle, Mr. James Fillis, is the Riding-Master-in-Chief at the Court of St. Petersburg, and his monumental book on the training of the horse is the most complete work of the kind ever published—and the name of Mr. Frank Fillis is honoured not only in South Africa, where he first went in 1887, but in India and Australia. It goes without saying that he is a most skilful rider, for he conclusively proves this by his graceful feats of horsemanship in the first part of the entertainment, which should not be missed, for, in its way, it is quite as excellent as is the more exciting latter portion. It is not often that an equestrian proves himself so good a general as Mr. Fillis has done, and, like all good generals, he is extremely modest about his accomplishments. In 1887, on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, he invented and arranged the celebration procession in Kimberley, by far the most elaborate and costly thing of the kind ever done in Africa. Ten years later he was made a member of the Committee which gave vent to the enthusiasm of the people of Johannesburg in connection with her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. It is worthy of noting at the present time that, on one occasion, a friend who was acquainted with Mr. Kruger and Mr. Fillis induced the President to visit the circus—his first and only appearance in a place of entertainment.

A word as to Mrs. Fillis. Spanish by birth, she talks English fluently, and, as all early comers to the performances in the Empress Theatre are aware, she is a beautiful exponent of the *haute école*. She



MR. FRANK FILLIS.

From Photographs by R. Johnson. King's Road, S.W.

is, indeed, a model of grace on horseback. She owes much of her success in this direction to her husband, although she was a fair horsewoman before meeting him, having won several prizes at various Continental shows, especially for leaping.

SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA.

THE KRAAL CLOSED TO WOMEN.

It is no secret that there have been rumours of discreditable proceedings in the Kaffir Kraal in connection with the Savage South Africa Exhibition at Earl's-court, and yesterday this part of the show was closed to women, by order of the London Exhibition Company, which controls the Earl's-court Exhibiton. The syndicate responsible for the Savage South Africa show received the order from the Exhibition Company on Saturday night. The document stated that from that day women were to be excluded from the kraal. In consequence of this direction, only male visitors were allowed to enter the enclosure yesterday. It so happened that a considerable number of ladies presented themselves as usual at the entrance, and they were unaffectedly astonished at the new regulation.

The Savage South Africa Syndicate entered an immediate protest against the decision of the Exhibition Company, in which no reason was assigned for the order of closure.

We have received from Mr. Edwin Cleary, Managing Director of Savage South Africa, a long letter, in the course of which he says:

"The agitation recently carried on by certain London newspapers in regard to the Kaffir kraal at Earl's-court Exhibition has naturally been followed by us with the deepest interest, and now the most serious results have attended our enterprise. We have, however, felt it right to abstain from challenging comments till we could discover upon what authority and what alleged facts these statements were made. Since the polemic has ceased, we have endeavoured to arrive at the truth by carefully examining all the articles that have appeared on this subject, and we have sought to arrive at the cause of the agitation by the

closest possible examination of those who are in constant attendance and have special facilities for knowing the true circumstances of the case. The articles which have denounced the kraal are exceedingly barren of any direct charges; in fact, they cannot be called charges at all in the true sense of the word, for the statements are unsubstantiated by names or dates, and even the allegations which appear are in such a form as to suggest merely general insinuations. After the most stringent inquiries, we have not been able to discover one single case of indecency or even suggested indecency. Some few women have from time to time touched the arms of the natives for the purposes of testing their biceps, but we are quite convinced that these 'familiarities' have in every case been of the most absolutely innocent character. We find also that women have given pennies to and occasionally shaken hands with the natives. But in all this we can see no harm, and we think that these kindly attentions and sympathetic recognitions of the black man are likely to do good. The kraal has never been open after sunset. In the early summer the kraal was closed every evening at eight o'clock, and as the days have grown shorter the public has not been admitted after half-past seven, for the simple reason that the performance in the Empress Theatre now commences at eight o'clock, and it is necessary for the natives to be dressed and provided with their accoutrements so as to march over and be ready to make their appearance when the curtain rises."

In conclusion, Mr. Cleary says: "Such an effect have these slanders had that, in spite of our assurances and protests, and in spite of the knowledge of the true facts which they themselves have, the directors of the London Exhibitions (Limited), who are our landlords, have determined to shut the kraal in the face of reputable Englishwomen who are brought by their fathers, husbands, and brothers to see what they have themselves tested, and have found, as they write to us, eminently reputable."

The Daily Telegraph, 29 August 1899

OLYMPIA.

The committee had considered a plan submitted by Mr W. H. Pertwee on behalf of Mr H. L. Cole showing the arrangements in connection with the exhibition known as "Savage South Africa," which it was proposed to hold at Olympia, Hammersmith. There would be no alteration in the main building, or in the seating. All stage scenery and curtains would be treated with fire-resisting solution. The palmarium, or old annexe, would be made to represent a native village. The huts would be constructed of iron and plaster or cement, and nothing of an inflammable nature would be used. The cages and enclosures for animals would stand in practically the same position as

in Barnum and Bailey's show of last season. They recommended "That Mr Pertwee be informed that the Council has no objection, so far as its regulations under section 12 of 41 and 42 Vic., cap. 32, are concerned, to the erection of the building shown on the plan, dated Nov. 1st, 1899, submitted by him in connection with "Savage South Africa" at Olympia, on the following conditions—(1) that all combustible material be treated with a resisting solution; (2) that the use of camp or open fires in the native village be not allowed; (3) that proper sleeping and sanitary accommodation be provided for the natives to the satisfaction of the Council and the sanitary authority." The recommendations were agreed to.

The Era, 18 November 1899

SAVAGE SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Cleary's "Savage South Africa," which opened last night at Olympia, is in no sense a mere transference of the recent show from Earl's Court. It is, perhaps, that and something more, for Mr. Cleary has added the peoples of the Soudan, Esquimaux, Egyptians, and other semi-savagenationalities. There are in the annexes picturesque groups of artisans of the Soudan engaged in their various trades, there is a Zulu kraal, and for the first time in England an Esquimaux village—the most interesting group in the exhibition. The natives, with their dogs, are at home in Arctic huts, and every phase of their life is illustrated. In the great hall, which was last night filled, the big curtain rises on a scene of South Africa with practically the parade and feats of horsemen we had at Earl's Court, with the addition of a stirring entry and war dance by a fine body of Soudanese. Horsemanship by Mr. and Mrs. Fillis and other expert riders, with the performance of the clever troupe of elephants, led the way to a descriptive spectacle, called "Briton, Boer, and Black," in which is used for the first time the Royal biorama, a new invention, showing enormous pictures on the cinematograph principle. These were preceded by the three scenes of the Matabele war, ending with the episode of Wilson's last stand, with which we have already been made familiar. The scenes illustrated in the biorama included the departure of Sir Redvers Buller by the Dunottar Castle; Capetown, with a troopship surging through the waves; Buller inspecting the troops at Capetown, sports of our men on the troopships *en route*, the Queen's inspection of the "Absent-minded Beggar" at Spital barracks; and then, for a change, President Kruger at Pretoria. The pictures were followed by a realistic military spectacle, in which we have a sort of drama of the war, including the introduction of the armour train, Maxim guns, and more or less realistic incidents of the war. This is a splendid finish to an entertainment which has taken a fresh lease of popularity, and is likely to draw hundreds of thousands to Olympia during the winter. The avenues and annexes present the familiar aspect of Earl's Court, being crowded with side shows and fancy stalls for the sale of goods of all nations.

Lloyds Weekly Newspaper, 3 December 1899

This article on the new show and exhibits staged at Olympia makes clear that Fillis had aimed for much greater diversity, including even Eskimos and Egyptians. He and his wife continued to enthrall audiences with their exceptionally skilled horsemanship (reputedly he could make a horse trot backwards on just three legs). The show appears to have made much use of technology such as the cinematograph.

Olympia "Savage South Africa"

The thousands who visited Olympia on Saturday on its reopening by Mr Edwin Cleary indicated that public interest in the exhibition called 'Savage South Africa', which was the leading attraction at Earl's Court during the summer, has in no way declined and is rather likely to be increased by the new features which have been added to it and which extend our observation of tribal customs beyond the borders of South Africa. The great hall at Olympia, with its enormous and wonderful stage and ample arena, makes a splendid basis for the mimic warfare, war dances and illustration of the chase, given by the natives and the irresistible opportunity of carrying the pictures up to date has been seized, to add a fine military spectacle of a fight by means of an armoured train and the display of the largest war pictures ever exhibited on the principle of the biograph.

Whilst a realistic illustration is assured in the arena, the annexes of the building present a motley appearance, for here are gathered the Zulu kraal with which we are familiar, together with groups of natives of the Ashanti and Senagali tribes and of Cairo itself. For the first time in England we have an Eskimo camp wherein are to be found forty natives, men women and children with 14 teams of Eskimo dogs and every detail of hunting and domestic life. There are seven complete families, natives of Labrador, who are busied in fashioning harness and hunting weapons. With a reputation of being the most peaceful and honorable people in the world, they appear the most modest, even shy. They are housed in domed huts and their domestic life is shown, even to the manner of their food. A more interesting exhibition has not been given and the Eskimo will be very popular during the season.

The natives of the Sudan form some interesting groups and ladies will be delighted with a native infant school, the scholars being the chubbiest of negroes, with the merriest of eyes and whitest of teeth.

The scenes in the Great Hall begin with the well-known display of South African life. We have a Zulu stick fight, rough riding by Mr and Mrs Fillis, the performance of the Football Dog that tosses the ball with its head; the very clever troupe of performing elephants, a hunt of gnus and zebras, a comic race in which baboons ride ponies; and races by Malays with Cape carts and representatives of Dutch, American, Australian and English settlers.

The novelties begin after the scenes of the Zulu campaigns and the last stand of Wilson. First we have the gigantic cinematograph called the Royal Diorama, which shows remarkable pictures of details of the present campaign. Messrs Donald Currie and Co have given permission for scenes of the departure of Sir Redvers Buller on the Dunottar Castle, a fine panorama of Cape Town and Table Mountain and views of troop-ships on their voyage out. The finest view, representing a parade of blue-jackets at Portsmouth, evoked thunders of applause, while a picture of President Kruger stepping into his State Carriage called forward a less kindly and emphatic sibilation.

Then came the war spectacle, which had the merit of brevity. The scene is a magnificently picturesque view of a mountainous district in Natal and here is pitched a Boer camp. The Boers, failing to induce some refugees to join them, bind them and lay them across the railway metals but a British patrol rescues them and fights the Boers. We have the incident of the fire-eating boy bugler and the capture of the Boer flag, and when the affair is becoming hot for the British, a real armoured train, with an unmistakably real locomotive appears, and from it comes the deadly fire of Maxims, replied to from the heights by the Boers and as vivid battle scene as one could desire. It is a triumph of stage management. The spectacle was cheered to the echo, and some of the audience sang 'Rule Britannia' at its finish.

The fancy stalls and other features of Olympia are in full force, and make a bright and pleasant lounge, while music by a ladies' orchestra and other bands enliven the proceedings.

BLACK SCANDAL.

NATIVE GRIEVANCES AT OLYMPIA.

COMPLAINTS FROM THE SAVAGE SOUTH
AFRICANS OF RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR
LIBERTY.

Special to "The Leader."

The removal of the Savage South Africa show from Earl's Court to Olympia has apparently not been altogether to the benefit of the Savage South Africans. Of those who originally took part in the exhibition some have gone home, but 54 Natalians have remained behind, and appear daily at Olympia.

Dr. Colenso, son of the famous bishop of that name, has all along taken a keen interest in the blacks. Their greatest complaint is lack of personal freedom. According to Dr. Colenso they have been practically kept in confinement at Olympia.

Now, if they are docile, there can be no objection to their taking a breath of fresh air occasionally. If, on the other hand, they are not of a character to be allowed out alone, surely they should be taken from time to time for a "blow" under proper supervision.

As they were kept rigidly confined the blacks overawed the doorkeeper and broke out into the street, and if attempts should be made in the future to hold them back they declare that they will make their way out by main force.

OTHER CAUSES OF COMPLAINT.

According to Dr. Colenso there are other causes of complaint:

1. As soon as the performance is over, and all day Sunday, they are left to grope their way about in practical darkness.

2. There is no proper washing accommodation for the women, who are either compelled to perform their ablutions in the open or forced to fetch their water from a distance.

3. At Earl's Court they used to sell the bangles and other things they made at 1s. each and keep the money. At Olympia 6d. of this amount is pocketed by the authorities.

4. The blacks seem to be insufficiently clad.

5. The schoolroom in which they wished to be taught reading and writing, and which has repeatedly been promised them, has never been given.

6. The sanitary conditions are wholly objectionable. What with the surrounding stables, horses, camels, and a number of smaller carnivora, the place is hardly fit for human habitation. The blacks, says Dr. Colenso, should have been accommodated in clean and separate premises outside Olympia.

How the Kaffirs came to find themselves in London has been told before. Originally they were engaged to appear in a show at Kimberley. But when they reached the Diamond City, instead of stopping there, they were taken on to Cape Town, where they were kept in gaol for the better part of three days for being unprovided with passes. Once at Cape Town they were asked, and consented, to come on to England.

THE ENGAGEMENT CONTRACT.

The men signed or, rather, affixed a mark to the contract under which they were engaged. But it is significant that they have no legal adviser to guide them, and still more significant that they were not presented with a copy of the contract, which is now in the possession of one of the officials.

Dr. Colenso informed a *Morning Leader* representative yesterday that attempts are now being made to induce the blacks to appear in Paris. When questioned as to their inclination to cross to France, every one of them refused point blank.

It is of the utmost importance that the terms of the contract under which the blacks say, they should leave England for home in five weeks from now, should be strictly adhered to.

Dr. Colenso's interest in the natives led to his being excluded from the exhibition last Sunday, and a similar measure was also taken against his brother on Christmas Day.

We are given to understand that the attention of the Colonial Office has been called to the state of things now existing in Olympia.

Effingham and South Africa

SUSAN MORRIS

This article explores various connections between Effingham and events in South Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, especially relating to the 2nd Boer War. Several Effingham men served in this conflict, two being killed in action. Notable Effingham figures such as Admiral Frederick Augustus Maxse and George Craig Saunders Pauling also became entangled in it. Finally, an Effingham horse reputedly served in the war and entered our village's written folklore.

Introduction

It is not news that famous individuals may, over time, lose their former reputation for honour or success and become figures of calumny. When they do, public statues can be an outlet for their disgrace: the focus of vandalism or even of complete destruction. Cecil Rhodes is a recent and well-known example. How the public now views him, and men like him, from Britain's colonial, imperial and mercantile past is often with distaste if not worse. Evaluation of the bitterly hard lives and efforts of unknown masses who facilitated the achievements and often the personal wealth of these notable figures, largely airbrushed out of the historical narrative so far, is underway. We who are studying Effingham's local history have cause to reflect on what this means for the village.

There are more connections between the histories of Effingham and South Africa than one might once have suspected. For instance, a recollection by local resident Jo Bray has brought to light that, for a time, Meadow Cottage on Effingham Common Road was lived in by the broadcaster Michael Morris (1946-2012), main anchorman for TV-AM's *Good Morning Britain* programme. In February 1990 Morris conducted the first live British television interview with Nelson Mandela no less, only 8 days after the ANC leader's release from prison. It took place during a time of literally global celebration over what Mandela's release meant for the ending of apartheid. The interview was conducted via a link to Mandela's home in Soweto. Part of it is shown on *YouTube* – see the References; alternatively, Google 'Michael Morris interview Nelson Mandela'. The film clip is about 3 minutes long. Michael Morris explores the truly remarkable aspect of Mandela's mindset: that he had come out of 27 years of imprisonment with no sense of bitterness, only optimism.

Other connections between Effingham and South Africa, to be described further in this article, are in the more distant past and associated with the second Boer War.

The first Boer War took place in 1880-81, arising from smouldering hostility between British and Dutch settlers. An uneasy peace followed during which the rapidly developing diamond and gold resources of the region (principally at Kimberley in Cape Colony, and Witwatersrand in Transvaal respectively) were eyed with desire by the governors and settlers of the then four colonial governments – Cape Colony controlled by and for the British under Cecil Rhodes; Natal, also British; the Transvaal (also known as the South African Republic) controlled by and for Dutch Boers under Paul Kruger; and the Orange Free State, also a Boer colony.



Figure 1 The 1911 statue of Cecil Rhodes on the façade of the Rhodes Building, Oriel College, Oxford. This is just one of several statues of Rhodes worldwide which have come in for attack.

In 1895 the peace was very severely dented by the provocative and embarrassingly unsuccessful 'Jameson Raid'. The 'Raid' was led by Dr, later Sir, Leander Starr Jameson, who with Rhodes was a leading figure in the government of Cape Colony. Claiming that legitimate British settlers in the Transvaal were being unfairly harassed by their Boer governors, not protected as they should be, on 29 December 1895 Jameson led 600 men armed largely with rifles but also some machine guns and even artillery over the border from Cape Colony into Transvaal. The intention was to capture Johannesburg and spark a 'spontaneous' general rising by the British in the Transvaal. Thus the Transvaal would fall to British control as if by a natural result of its own citizens' actions, not of outside interference. Jameson crossed the border and raced for Johannesburg hoping to get there before Boer troops could become aware of his movements and organise themselves to repel him, but they had known about his intentions from the moment of his arrival, and they attacked his column several times. On 2 January 1896 the invaders surrendered and were jailed in Pretoria.

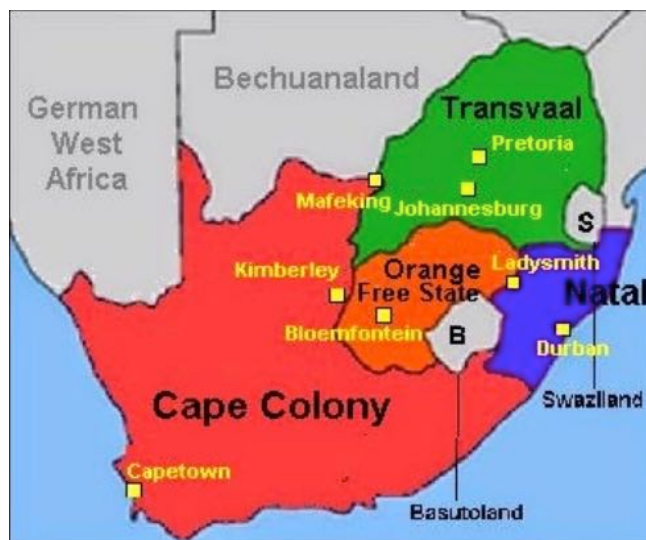


Figure 2 This map of the political geography c1900 indicates the four South African colonies involved in the 2nd Boer War, and sites of some of the major battles.



Figure 3 Leander Starr Jameson (left) and Cecil Rhodes; detail of a photograph of administrators of the British South Africa Company taken in Kimberley 5 April 1902, later published in this cropped form in a 1908 biography of Jameson.

The burning question was, *who had authorized* this outrageous hostile raid? At that time, Cape Colony was largely controlled by a private company operating under a charter from the British Government. This was the British South Africa Company (BSAC) with Cecil Rhodes at the helm. BSAC was rather like a later

equivalent of the East India Company. Under the charter it had powers to rule, police, and develop vast tracts of southern Africa. It wanted to keep and defend what it had, and it wanted to acquire more. Rhodes was not only a Director of the company but also Prime Minister of Cape Colony's legislative assembly. At the time of the Jameson Raid therefore, the British Government was in the embarrassing position of being held responsible for aggressive action in South Africa without necessarily having either knowledge or control of what had been done in Britain's name – although, it was alleged that certain British government ministers and officials certainly *had* known of the plan and even that they were the originators; that Rhodes and Jameson were just the fall-guys. Either way, Rhodes had to step down as Prime Minister and the Board of BSAC was culled.

After a period of further tension, the Second Boer War broke out in October 1899. The British expected to win fairly comfortably but had some very nasty defeats and experiences, both in pitched battles and at the hands of the Boers using guerilla tactics. Peace was achieved with the Treaty of Vereeniging (31 May 1902).

Here are the stories of five known Effingham men who were present in South Africa during the Second Boer War. Two died, three survived.

John Longhurst

In *The Bulletin*, No 5, September 2014 produced by Effingham Local History Group (ELHG) is the article *Bugler John Longhurst* by Bryan Sherwood. John, born in 1865, was the first of seven children in a farm labourer's family who eventually lived at Effingham Hill. After trying out life as a farm labourer himself, John enlisted with the Royal West Surrey Regiment at Guildford in 1885. His service number was 1278. He signed up for a three-year tour of duty and served in Ireland, Malta and India. Decorated with the Indian Medal and two clasps, after 13 years he returned home in 1898 but signed up again with the 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, service number 5560, aiming to achieve 21 years service in total. He was posted again initially to Ireland but, from there, on to South Africa as bugler and lance-corporal to fight in the Second Boer War. Bitter conflict was already underway. Official records confirming what happened next are often not in 100% agreement as to the timings, but an account written by a fellow soldier lays out the sequence; see the Appendix. In summary, on 3 April 1900 as the Battalion was crossing the veld making its way to Reddersburg, at an engagement known as Mostert's Hoek (Mostert's Farm; the location is often stated to have been at Reddersburg itself, which it was not) the small force of 600 Royal Irish was surrounded by a

SHORT SERVICE. ATTESTATION OF
 No. 1278 Name John Longhurst
 Corps Royal West Surrey Regiment
 Joined Guildford on 2nd July 1885

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED BY THE RECRUIT BEFORE ENLISTING.

1. What is your Name? John Longhurst
2. In or near what Parish or Town were you born? Effingham Hill, Surrey
3. Are you a British Subject? Yes
4. What is your Age? 17
5. What is your Trade or Calling? Shipper
6. Are you, or have you been, an apprentice, or where? No
7. Have you resided with any person for three years or more? No
8. Are you married? No
9. Have you ever been sentenced to any punishment? No
10. Have you ever been in the service of Her Majesty's Forces, or in the service of any other Government? No
11. Do you now belong to any other service? No
12. Do you now belong to any other service? No
13. Do you now belong to any other service? No
14. Do you now belong to any other service? No
15. Do you now belong to any other service? No
16. Have you ever been in the service of any other Government? No
17. Have you ever been in the service of any other Government? No
18. Are you willing to be enlisted, or are you? Yes
19. For what term of years? 3
20. Did you receive any bounty, and do you understand its meaning? Yes
21. Who gave you the bounty? C. D. Sanders, Esq. Capt. Royal West Surrey Regt.
22. Are you willing to serve for the term of twelve years? Yes
23. Are you willing to serve for the term of twelve years? Yes
24. Are you willing to serve for the term of twelve years? Yes
25. Are you willing to serve for the term of twelve years? Yes

OATH TO BE TAKEN BY RECRUIT.

I, John Longhurst, do solemnly declare that the above answers made by me to the questions are true and that I am willing to make the engagements made.

CERTIFICATE OF MAGISTRATE OR ATTESTING OFFICER.

The Recruit above-named was cautioned by me that if he made any false answer to any of the above questions he would be liable to be punished as provided in the Army Act.

I have taken care that he understands each question, and that his answer to each question was honestly entered as replied to, and the said recruit has made and signed the declaration and oath before me at Guildford on this day of July 2nd 1885.

Signature of the Justice of the Peace or other Attesting Officer: John Longhurst

Figure 4 The first page of John Longhurst's surviving military record marked up very bluntly with what happened to him.

much larger number of heavily armed Boers. On the morning of 4 April the British surrendered. Two officers of the Fusiliers and 9 men had been killed; two officers and about 35 men were wounded, and amongst the latter was John. The remaining men were temporarily taken prisoner but later released on the open veld to fend for themselves as best they could. This was to be the last Boer 'battle' victory however – following this, they turned to guerilla warfare and successfully kept the war going for many hard months.

On 6 April John died of his wounds at Reddersburg and on 9 April was interred at the cemetery there (not a military cemetery as such). His name is recorded on a marble cross at the site [*In memoriam: roll of honour, Imperial Forces Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*, publ University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2000].

The South Africa Medal has a profile head of Queen Victoria and the inscription, 'Victoria Regina et Imperatrix' (Victoria, Queen and Empress). On the reverse is the figure of Britannia holding a Union Flag and a laurel wreath, the words 'South Africa', and marching troops and warships in the background. The ribbon is red, yellow and dark blue and is shown here with the 'Cape Colony' clasp.



Figure 5 The South Africa Medal with Cape Colony clasp as posthumously awarded to John Longhurst for his part in the war.

Frederick Andrew Jeffrey

Only a month after Longhurst's death, on 10 May 1900 Frederick Andrew Jeffrey was killed at Kronstadt (Kronstadt, Kroonstad, Kroonstadt etc but not to be confused with Kronstadt near St Petersburg in Russia) aged 31. He is the subject of an article in ELHG's *The Bulletin*, No 21, September 2022.

Frederick was the only son of bricklayer Andrew Jeffrey. The story of the Jeffreys is an interesting one in that one can speculate about Frederick's reason for leaving Effingham to join the army and hence, sadly, ultimately the cause of his death in war so far from home.

Frederick represented the third generation of Jeffreys in Effingham. His grandparents Thomas Jeffrey and Bethia née Hampton of East Horsley married in Southwark in 1820 and came to live in Effingham. Their third son Andrew (the father of our Frederick) was baptised on 29 November 1829.

According to the 1841 Census Thomas, born at Albury, was a bricklayer in Effingham. He seems to have been successful. In 1841 the family was living in what we now know as Crossways House on Crossways (just west of the almshouses). In the 1851 Census they were still there, Thomas employing three bricklayers and a labourer. Two sons James and Andrew were also described as bricklayers. In 1861 Thomas and Bethia were still living at 'Crossways', Thomas still employing 3 men. Thomas died aged 75 in June 1863 and was buried at St Lawrence. When in 1872 Bethia died she was also interred there, and the subsequent inscription on their headstone records the memory of 'Thomas and James, sons of the above'. If James had died early it is possibly why it was Andrew who continued the family business in the next generation.

Initially, outwardly, Andrew appeared successful. According to *The History of Effingham in Surrey* [by Monica Mercy O'Connor, publ Effingham Women's Institute, 1973], on 24 October 1868 William Balchin sold to Andrew Jeffrey, 'Brickmaker' of Effingham (given thus ie not 'bricklayer' which is how he is more frequently described), two connecting pieces of garden ground originally part of 'Ruffinshaw': loosely, what we now know as Church Cottages. Andrew built here the house which today is called 'White Cottage' but by 1913 and for some years subsequently was known as 'Fir Cottage' or 'Fir Tree Cottage'.

Shortly after this transaction with Balchin, on 12 January 1869 Andrew married Eliza Court in Lambeth. She too was the child of a bricklayer. Their son Frederick Andrew the future soldier was born and baptised on 31 October 1869 at St Lawrence. Seemingly their only child, he came relatively late in their lives when Andrew was about 40 and Eliza 37.



Figure 6 An early 20th century postcard view of Fir Tree Cottage, today's White Cottage, on Chapel Hill.

By the time of the 1881 Census Frederick Andrew was still only 11 while his father was 51 and his mother 48. This age difference may have had repercussions for his father's ability to hand on the family business, and eventually something went amiss. In 1888 Andrew Jeffrey mortgaged the family home, Fir Tree Cottage, to John Marmaduke Teesdale of The Lodge for £200, perhaps implying he needed ready cash. In July 1889 he took a case to the County Court against Edward Kershaw of The Hollies (Kershaw is the subject of an article in *The Bulletin*, No 8, March 2016 by Daniel Shepherd). Jeffrey had been contracted to build an engine house to pump water up to Effingham Hill House for Mr Czarnikow of Effingham Hill. Although it is not now clear where the engine house would have been located, it was in the village centre and near The Hollies. Kershaw insisted it must be built lower, ie the ground on which it would sit had to be excavated, or it would obstruct his view. Jeffrey's understanding was that Kershaw agreed to pay for this extra work which he then carried out. In the event Kershaw refused to pay and he claimed that every time the engine was used his house filled with smoke anyway. The judge found against Kershaw and Jeffrey was awarded the £3 he had claimed.

Unfortunately, a few months later, on 12 March 1890 Andrew was declared bankrupt. Fir Tree Cottage was conveyed back to Mr Balchin – and the Jeffrey household broke up. By the 1891 Census, Andrew was a lodger living at The Plough whilst Eliza, 'Dressmaker', was with her younger unmarried sister Sarah Court described as a deaf 'Pauper', in Vidler's Cottages, Clewer, Berkshire.

On 13 August 1891, young Frederick by now 21 years 11 months, was seemingly living in Dorking, a 'bricklayer's apprentice'. We know this because it is the date on his Attestation papers filled in at Aldershot, where he joined the 4th (Royal Irish) Dragoon Guards. Dragoon Guards were mounted infantry, in other words, a lower class than Horse Guards and paid less. They were never part of the Household Guards. Frederick's service number was 3877. The number is vital because he is sometimes named 'Jeffreys' in military accounts and databases.

Other than joining up there may have been few options open to him. He enrolled for a 'short service' term, ie 7 years 'on the colours' and 5 years in reserve. Of these he spent 3 years in India on the north west frontier, and still in the rank of Private was back in England on 4 February 1899. He had already transferred into the reserve when, within a few months, on 13 November 1899 he was recalled under special regulations to join the army in South Africa. The 4th Dragoon Guards were not present in the Boer War as a complete unit but some men were attached to other units.

Only five months later he was killed in action at the battle of Zand River (Sand River) in the northern Orange Free State on 10 May 1900. The conflict at this time was typified by a scorched earth policy on the part of the British. The grim tactics included the destruction of farms and homesteads – about 30,000 – and

the slaughter of livestock, whilst over 100,000 Boer civilians mostly women and children were forced into concentration camps. Some 26,000 died of starvation and disease. Black Africans were interned separately, resulting in a further 20,000 deaths. Frederick was part of military columns being led by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener urgently making their way northwards from Bloemfontein in Transvaal to the capital at Pretoria, and to relieve Mafeking. This was famously achieved on 17-18 May and, as will be recounted later, Effingham-connected personnel were very significantly amongst the besieged.

Crossing the Zand River just before they reached the settlement of Kronstadt, various units of the army were ambushed and some soldiers killed, including Private 'Jeffreys'. He is recorded as having been killed in action and interred at 'Osfontein', although without citing any source or supporting evidence for this burial place [*In memoriam: roll of honour, Imperial Forces Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*, publ University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2000]. Since the 4th Dragoon Guards were not present as a defined unit, no official memorial site for their casualties was set up in this region either at the time or afterwards, whilst for other regiments they were.

The British advance was held up by this skirmish but was able to press on and reached Kronstadt on 12 May. It is sobering to note that this means Jeffrey took no part in the dreadful scenes which transpired at Kronstadt when the British arrived. The settlement was captured and the women and children interned in a concentration camp on the dry and unshaded veldt, where effectively they were left to be decimated by epidemics. Two thousand died. Today this episode is very little remembered. A lonely memorial isolated in a semi-industrial area out of town records the camp cemetery.



Figure 7 This photograph entitled *The British Transport on the way to Kronstadt* gives an indication of the terrain in the area where Pte Jeffrey met his death. Open and fairly arid, many low hills and gullies provided cover for the Boers.

Did his parents get to hear? These ten years after Andrew's bankruptcy he and Eliza were still living separately. In 1901 Eliza was still in Clewer, by now in the household of a nephew, whilst Andrew was a boarder at the Victoria Coffee Tavern, Great Bookham, a 'retired builder'. Perhaps Andrew heard about the conclusion of peace on 31 May 1902, before his death in Great Bookham on 27 June. In 1929 a record was made of the inscriptions on gravestones in St Lawrence Churchyard, and amongst them is this:

'Frederick Andrew Jeffrey killed at Kroonstadt 10 May 1900 aged 31. Son of Andrew Jeffrey who died 27 June 1902 in his 73rd year.'



Figure 8 The gravestone at St Lawrence commemorating Frederick Jeffrey's death, presumably raised by Eliza (who died in 1905) or other relatives. This photograph taken by David Ayling in June 2020 is part of Frederick's record within the Imperial War Museum's register of memorials of the Boer war dead, where he is number 100217.

Thomas Dench

Two Effingham men also fighting in the same conflict both made it back home to the village alive.

Thomas Dench, baptised on 18 March 1869 to parents living in Little Bookham, was another career soldier. He was just six months older than Frederick Jeffrey, although he was to sign up two years earlier.

One feels that they might have known each other as children: Thomas's family were seemingly resident here by mid-1873 when he was 4. In the 1881 Census when he was 12, Thomas was already a 'Farm Labourer'. The Denches were a large family of mostly agricultural labourers one branch of which was based in Orestan Lane. Thomas was eventually to live with his own family at Orestan Lodge, the now virtually vanished Lodge Cottage in the woods off the old London Road, a former gatehouse to the Horsley Towers estate.

Thomas was a 19-year-old stableman when he joined up at Guildford in July 1889 and was assigned to the Liverpool Regiment. He remained in the UK from July 1889 to February 1891, then served in Bermuda until March 1893, Nova Scotia until December 1895, and finally Jamaica until December 1897. When he was discharged his conduct was 'Exemplary'. This was not the end of his soldiering however. Within a couple of years, aged about 30, he was recalled from the reserve under the Special Army Order of 20 December 1899 and posted to South Africa in March 1900. He was discharged on 31 May 1902 on the termination of his period of engagement, and was awarded the Queen's South Africa medal with three clasps: for service in Cape Colony and for the specific conflicts of Laing's Nek (2-9 June 1900) and Belfast (26-27 August 1900).

Shortly after his return in September 1902 Thomas married Mary Frances née Howlett at Effingham. The couple had two children but Mary died in 1913, and on 8 August 1916 Thomas, now about 47, married again, to Emily Ada née Whiteman aged 45, formerly a housekeeper. It is thought-provoking to note that two years after this, as we have seen in his late forties and a family man, on 1 August 1918 'with his wife's permission' Thomas enlisted yet again 'for the duration of the war' (World War I) with Service Number 279859. He understated his age by a year, claiming to be 48 and born in 1870. He gave his occupation as 'Groom' on his papers. However this time he was to serve not with the army but with the infant RAF, as a batman ie in charge of the equipment and baggage of an officer. He was transferred to the RAF Reserve on 2 March 1919, and his 'Deemed Discharge' was on 30 January 1920. His character was 'VG' and his degree of proficiency 'Satisfactory'. He received one of the Parish Council's commemorative walking sticks for surviving WWI ex-servicemen. He died in 1944.

John Whittington

When Thomas Dench was recalled and sent to South Africa, (whether he actually encountered him there or not) he would be fighting alongside an immediate neighbour from Orestan Lane, and a relative by marriage, who was also a serving soldier. This was John Whittington, eldest of the 13 children of Charles and Ellen Maria (née Brush) Whittington of Old Westmoor Cottage, Orestan Lane where Ellen ran the laundry. John was born in 1878 so was some nine years younger than Thomas (and indeed much the youngest of the five fighting men described here) but was doubtless fully aware from Thomas about the soldiering life. The families were very close, as we shall see.

John came back to Old Westmoor Cottage after his discharge. Ellen had been widowed shortly after he first left on active service. In the photograph opposite she is seen with John's youngest Bob who had also chosen a career in the army – here Bob is home on leave in 1915; he was awarded the Military Medal in 1916.

In 1897 John signed up for three years with the Coldstream Guards aged 18 years and 8 months. In the event, he stayed for over 4 years, being eventually discharged for health reasons. Just under a year of his service was in South Africa, in 1900-01. He served in Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Transvaal and was wounded. He gained the Queen's South Africa Medal and was discharged as medically unfit on 29 March 1902, still in the rank of Private but with a Good Conduct badge.



Figure 9 Ellen Whittington at Old Westmoor Cottage with John's brother Bob.

Back in Effingham, it is interesting to wonder whether, after the war, The Plough Inn in Orestan Lane saw evenings where these two swapped campaign stories over a pint or two, or entertained the bar-room with their tales. This is sheer speculation, but there is no doubt about Thomas and John both being together for one very pleasant recorded event. In September 1902 in St Lawrence Church, John Whittington and his older sister Kate witnessed the marriage mentioned above of Thomas Dench with Mary Frances Howlett. Thomas's brother William Dench had already married John's older sister Elizabeth Whittington (in 1899) and another brother, Arthur Dench, was later to marry Kate Whittington (in 1905). As we have seen, Thomas and his family stayed in Effingham. John however did not. He married Ada Chitty from Brockham. By 1911 his family was living in Essex and John was working in the Metropolitan Police Force. When World War I broke out he had ceased to be on the reserve but he too re-enlisted, and served in the Military Provost Staff Corps (the Military Police).

George Marshman Brown

George Brown also made it out of the war alive, but he probably deliberately avoided coming back to Effingham. The full details of his service are not known, but at first sight it certainly looks as if George Brown went off to escape a life which had become increasingly sticky for him. He was not a career soldier like the others.

Born on 11 May 1866, his parents were Samuel Brown and Emma (née Marshman) Brown. Samuel had come to Effingham to farm High Barn Farm for Lady Caroline Fitzgerald (née Berkeley) Maxse, but from about 1888 he was in charge of Manor (Upper) Farm occupying the house known today as Browns on Church Street. Samuel was immensely respectable and a pillar of the community. He was elected to the first Effingham Parish Council in 1894, and when he died in 1897 the Council recorded in the Minutes their 'desire to express their sense of the loss which this Council and the Parish has sustained thereby, and their sympathy with Mrs. Brown and Family'.

Samuel's son George had not gone into farming after his father. In 1892 aged 25 he married Annie Elizabeth (née) Gates, a girl he would have known in Effingham since childhood and by then a teacher. Her family lived close by at Ruffinshaw (Church Cottages). At the time of their marriage George was a commercial clerk. The new couple lived in Islington, but the marriage failed: in July 1893 George deserted Annie shortly before their son, Wilfred Eric, was born on 11 September in Great Bookham. He then got into trouble with the law essentially for forgery, handling stolen and falsely signed cheques. On 8 May 1894 he was apprehended by Inspector Frederick Downes of the Metropolitan Police who had come specifically to Effingham to make the arrest:

'... about seven p.m. on 8th May I saw Brown at his father's house, Effingham, Surrey – I said, "I am a police officer from London, and you will be charged, with a man in custody who has given the name of George Trist, otherwise Barrett or Fitzgerald, with forging and uttering a cheque for £40 on the City Bank on 3rd April" – he said, "I know nothing about it; at least I do. Mr. Elam told me about it, and said I should very likely get into trouble as my name was upon the cheque. Beyond that I know nothing. Who says I did this?" – I said, "A commissioner has pointed you out to me" – he said, "But he could point out anyone. Has he given you a description of me?" – I said, "Yes; he says at the time he believes you were wearing a beard, and I know at that time you had a dark beard" – I had seen him with it – he said, "That is quite right, I took it off because my friends said it made me look old, but I know nothing about it, and I shall be able to prove an *alibi*" – at this time he was clean shaved about the chin – I brought him to London, and he was charged – he said in answer, "I am entirely innocent" – among Brown's effects I found an envelope containing four pawntickets relating to articles of clothing and jewellery; one was for a coat and pair of trousers – I have seen the coat; it is an overcoat – I have sent the duplicate for it to the pawnbroker's – the tickets relate to things pledged at the end of March and beginning of April.'

At the end of his trial on 29 May George was sentenced to 12 months hard labour in Pentonville. His accomplice, a more hardened criminal, was given 10 years penal servitude. The record of the trial, practically verbatim, is at <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t18940528-493>.

From 1895, when George was presumably released, until the 1901 Census there is a gap in direct sightings of him, but it looks as if he ran away to be a soldier. The Census taken on 31 March 1901 captures him aged 34, a hospital nurse living near the Royal Victoria Hotel in Hound, near Southampton, where his entry is marked 'Sick'. Before that, however, he had participated in the Boer conflict. We know this, although not the specific dates, because he later emigrated to the USA and in due course (1917) was obliged to fill in a US Federal Military Census. In this he states that he had done 3 years service as a Medical Volunteer in the Special Volunteer Services, earning the Cape Colony and Orange Free State clasps. Royal Army Medical Corps documentation may confirm this, although not in a 100% copper-bottomed way.

Private 9754 G. Brown served in Cape Colony, South Africa during the Boer War – ie October 1899 to May 1902 – earning the South Africa Medal with the Cape Colony and Orange Free State clasps. At ‘3 General Hospital, Kronstadt’ on 7 August 1901 an official certified him as having earned them. These particular clasps were awarded for ‘being there’ rather than taking part in a specific action or battle:

- the Cape Colony clasp related to the period 11 October 1899 to 31 May 1902;
- the Orange Free State clasp related to the period 28 February 1900 to 31 May 1902.

If George really had completed 3 full years service, however, it could not all have been in the Boer War. The conflict lasted only two and a half years and evidently, given the date of the 1901 Census, he was back in Britain quite some time before the end.

Southampton was a convenient place for taking ship. At what point George moved to the Connecticut area of the USA where he was to settle for the rest of his life is unclear. In the 1910 US Census he says he immigrated in 1897, and is a clerk in a railroad office. He has attempted naturalisation and is at the ‘Papers’ stage. In the 1917 Federal Military Census referred to above he gave his present occupation as clerk, and his previous occupations included ‘Grad. Male Nurse’ and ‘Photographer’; he confirms he can ride a horse, handle a team and a boat, but he cannot drive or operate any machinery or wireless or telegraph. Paperwork viewable online shows that in May 1919 his application for naturalisation was stamped ‘DISMISSED Petitioner convicted of crime and serving jail sentence’. What the nature of this new misdemeanour was is unknown. In the 1920 Census he gives his immigration year as 1890, which is unlikely to be true, his immigration status as Alien, and he was an office clerk with the railroad. In 1930 he stated he had immigrated in 1894, is an accountant with the steam railroad, and is at the ‘First Papers’ stage of Naturalisation. By 1940, by now aged 73 and occupied in ‘Research’, he had succeeded in becoming naturalised.

What of Annie, deserted while pregnant in 1893? George seems never to have gone back to her. In the 1901 Census she and her child Wilfred were living with her parents in Lambeth, Annie employed as a School Board Teacher. In 1911, aged 42, she was still living with her mother and her brother in Lewisham, a teacher for the County Council. The space to record ‘Married’ or ‘Single’ has been left blank.

Meanwhile, on 9 January 1909 seemingly unbeknownst to her, in Milford, Connecticut George bigamously married Lilian Josephine Roberts. In 1912 Annie, then living at Belmont Hill in Lewisham, petitioned for divorce. She complained of ‘adultery coupled with desertion’ and cited Lilian Roberts of West Haven, Connecticut, but she does not appear to know that George had actually married Lilian. The divorce was uncontested and became final on 13 January 1913. What ultimately happened to Annie is not known.

At the time of the 1920 US Federal Census George was still married to Lilian, but by 1930, he had married for the third time, to Nellie previously Bushnell, aged 43 to George’s 64. Nellie had two daughters aged 14 and 8. He was still alive in the 1940 US Federal census, his ‘Industry’ described as ‘project surveyor, grave yard’.

We might also say, what of the Manor Farm? George’s younger brother, Ernest Edwin took on the tenancy after their father’s death. Ernest never married so no sons arrived to help him and it would have been a tough job. World War proved fatal to the viability of many farms in Effingham, including Manor Farm. In 1919/20 his tenancy there was ended, the farm was broken up, and the former farmhouse became a private residence.

The Maxse family

Perhaps not strictly Effingham men as such, but nevertheless undeniably connected with Effingham and also bearing arms within the same war-zone, were both Lord Edward Herbert Cecil (1867-1918), husband of Violet Maxse who was the youngest daughter of Admiral Frederick Augustus Maxse of Dunley Hill; and (Frederick) Ivor Maxse, the Admiral’s eldest son. Edward – a born army administrator who had already spent time in Egypt and the Sudan, on the South African campaign serving directly under Robert Baden-Powell as his Chief of Staff – and Ivor (1862-1958), Lieutenant Colonel, another career soldier who had also come from Egypt and the Sudan, were in the officer ranks and ended up in the very thick of extremely difficult military situations. Many details below of the Maxse family’s involvement with the Boer War are drawn from *Imperial Marriage - an Edwardian War and Peace* by Hugh and Mirabel Cecil, 2002.

Edward Cecil was among the civilians and soldiers besieged in Mafeking from the start of the 217 days from 30 October 1899 to the lifting of it on 17 May 1900 – in fact, he was largely in charge of keeping discipline within the town during that terrible time, having to order increasingly tough measures affecting both troops and civilians. One chivalrous act for which Edward became very well known was the trouble

he took to arrange the release into British protection at Mafeking of Lady Sarah Wilson who had been captured by the Boers. Lady Sarah, aunt of Winston Churchill, was an experienced and bold African adventuress. Coincidentally, she was already a friend of George Craig Saunders Pauling's equally fearless and vivacious wife Edith Kate (née Halliwell) Pauling, and in later years (1903) these two were some of the first white women to reach Victoria Falls.



Figure 10 Edward Herbert Cecil in full uniform, a photograph published in *The Sketch* of 1 November 1899, by which time he was trapped in the siege at Mafeking.



Figure 11 Ivor Maxse in 1917. His experience of active warfare made him focus on army rules, logistics and training in order to ensure that orders were carried out predictably and efficiently. He had a very long and successful career in the military. This 1917 portrait by Francis Dodd shows him in the rank of Lieutenant General.

Violet had accompanied her husband Edward to South Africa when he was originally posted there, disembarking in July 1899 at a time of tension but before the actual outbreak of war. On arrival they were invited to stay at the very pleasant Government House with the distinguished South African High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Alfred Milner. Milner, all of the Maxses and all of the Cecils (Edward's father Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister *and* Foreign Secretary) believed very strongly in the importance of empire and retention of the colonies – an ideology which the passage of time has caused to be completely re-evaluated.

On a personal level, that period in South Africa was to prove something of a turning point for Violet. She began not to enjoy the life of a soldier's wife or being away from her very young son who was back in England, and under these difficult circumstances the marriage slowly began to deteriorate. Violet and Milner had already met several times in England. They became extremely discreet lovers, and many years later, in 1921 after the death of Edward, they eventually married.

But that is to leap ahead. Shortly after arrival, Violet initially had spent some time accompanying her husband as he moved up-country. When war broke out, they were in fairly dangerous forward territory at Mafeking. Violet had to return to Cape Town without Edward. She and another officer's wife in a similar situation became house guests of Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes had originally made his immense fortune from the diamond mines at Kimberley. He had helped shape the 'new' country of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and

Zambia). As previously mentioned, he had been Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, but had been forced to resign after the diplomatic disaster of the Jameson Raid.

Rhodes invited Violet to stay in his beautiful house and estate at Groote Schuur on the flank of Table Mountain near Cape Town, itself regarded as the most attractive town in the British Empire. Groote Schuur had been extensively remodelled and refurnished for Rhodes in 1896:

‘After initially furnishing with modern furniture from London, Rhodes, influenced by Baker [Herbert Baker, later Sir Herbert Baker, the architect of Groote Schuur, was recently from the firm of Ernest George & Harold Peto, the fashionable architectural practice which had also designed the Maxse’s home Dunley Hill in Effingham!], began a shift from the modern to more traditional Cape furniture. This would mark the beginning of Cecil Rhodes’ collection of colonial furnishings. The gardens of the house were as Rhodes demanded “masses of colour”. Surrounding the house was a mass of roses, hydrangeas, cannas, bougainvilleas and fuchsias. Farther away from the house on the slopes of Devil’s Peak, Rhodes kept antelopes, zebra, eland, wildebeest and ostriches. Rhodes was always a generous host while at Groote Schuur. He used the residence as much as a business and political headquarters as a home. His life at the time was one of dinner parties and meetings on the stoep [verandah], where he would be joined by as many as fifty people. From 1910 to 1984, it was the official Cape residence of the Prime Ministers of South Africa and continued as a presidential residence of P. W. Botha and F. W. De Klerk.’

[From *Diamonds, Gold and War* by Martin Meredith, 2007, p251]



Figure 12 Groote Schuur translates as ‘Great Shed’ and it began life in 1657 as a storage facility for the Dutch East India Company but this photograph from 1899 shows how it looked when Violet was a visitor there. ‘Mr. Rhodes, ... filled it with things of beauty and rare curiosities. It stands in a spacious park containing an uncommonly fine zoological collection, which includes almost every non-carnivorous animal belonging to South Africa, as well as many from other parts of the world.’

Violet stayed there for nine months. She was fully aware from her father the Admiral’s direct experience during the Crimean campaign of the shocking loss of men from illness, not battle. She did not simply languish therefore but threw herself with terrific energy into organising nursing facilities and supplies for the wounded. At New Year 1900 Violet’s eldest brother Ivor, his new wife with him, arrived to take up his

military post. Meanwhile, back in England in early January 1900 and staying at Dunley Hill while recuperating from ill health, Georges Clemenceau, Admiral Maxse's best friend, from Violet's own writing desk in her room, wrote letters of family news to her in South Africa, reassuring her especially that all was well with her son.



Figure 13 In happier pre-war times: (left) George Clemenceau, (right) his great friend Admiral Frederick Augustus Maxse, and Violet, riding in the Bois de Boulogne, Paris, 1888. More information about the friendship of the Maxses and Clemenceau can be found on the *Surrey In the Great War* website.

At the time Clemenceau was writing, Admiral Maxse himself was not in Effingham but on his way to South Africa too. After the 'Black Week' of military defeats of 10-17 December 1899, hearing and fearing the worst about military incompetence and lack of support by the home government (a re-run of the Crimea) he had decided to visit his children and see the campaign for himself. He arrived towards the end of January and took himself off on a tour. He got as far as meeting up with Ivor at Bloemfontein, where to the annoyance of Ivor and the military authorities, Violet and other wives then *also* came, before they were sent packing back to Cape Town.

Sadly, before the end of his trip in May 1900 and unsuspected by his family, Admiral Maxse caught typhoid. On 25 June, by then back in London, he succumbed to it. Violet was not able to be present at his funeral. Dreadfully torn about what to do, whether to stay near her husband in South Africa or return to England to help support her grieving sister and brother, she finally left in October 1900 (and Edward returned in December 1900, to recover his health). The consequence of the Admiral's death was very significant for Effingham – the ending of the Maxse family's occupation of the big house, the dispersal of the staff and the cessation of all the activities of an estate. It was divided up into smaller lets and its dignity as a great house slowly dwindled.

George Craig Saunders Pauling

A person one might confidently have expected to find in South Africa at this time, one who in later life wrote an autobiography in which he recorded details of his close association with Cecil Rhodes and interesting reflections on the latter's character, was in fact *not* there. This was civil engineer George Craig Saunders Pauling (1854-1919) who joined Effingham's history in 1897 when he bought The Lodge. At the time of the Second Boer War Pauling had plenty of other projects elsewhere on the globe to be getting on with and some sightseeing to do. As part of Firkbank, Pauling and Co, Pauling had won his first railway contract in South Africa in 1875. He went on to speculate in many businesses from ostrich farming, to building a Masonic temple, to running a hotel, to investment in the gold mines at Witwatersrand.

He simply could not resist a chance to make money, but his forte was the successful completion of enormous civil engineering projects. From the 1880s the firm bid successfully for many railway contracts but also bridges, harbours, tunnels and aqueducts not only in Africa but across the world.



Figure 14 George Pauling, here seen sitting at right in the middle row, with colleagues in 1894 developing the railway line running from Beira in Mozambique to Umtali in the new Rhodesia, a project promoted by Rhodes' Chartered British South Africa Company. The line took ten years to build, with hundreds of its construction workers dying in the challenging conditions. Standing behind George, with her hunting rifle and ammunition belt, is his second wife Edith Kate.

Pauling seemingly encountered Rhodes for the first time in Johannesburg in late December 1886, and Kruger in 1891. After 1891 he was successful in getting railway engineering contracts from both. In 1895 he was appointed Commissioner of Public Works to the first legislative assembly in Rhodesia (under Jameson). He also became Vice Chairman of the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines. In October 1895, he was a visitor to Groote Schuur, invited there to meet Rhodes about a contract, but Rhodes probed his views about the situation in the Transvaal which as we have seen BSAC was itching to find a way of taking over. In his autobiography *The Chronicles of a Contractor* [publ posthumously by Constable & Co Ltd, London, 1926] Pauling says he discerned that something was in the wind, and he left to return to Salisbury (Harare) before the 'bad mess' of the Jameson Raid. After it, Pauling's directors felt it wise to issue a statement saying they knew nothing of it, and Pauling also cabled London claiming that the Council of BSAC led by Rhodes knew nothing of it. Unfortunately, Mr Alfred Leonard Lawley, one of Pauling's key associates and described by him as 'one of the most forceful personalities I have met, ever ready at a moment's notice to proceed to any accessible part of the globe', was 'an active participant in it, was arrested and imprisoned in Johannesburg'. Pauling made an unsuccessful attempt to bail Lawley for £2,000 but the latter was not released until the following May. General unrest and tension continued to mount. Rhodes was called back to England to attend an inquiry and locally, matters worsened without his controlling presence.

When Rhodes eventually returned to Africa, he became Pauling's guest at the lovely Government House which Pauling had had built in Salisbury (Harare). Shortly afterwards Pauling was required to resign from the directorate of Pauling & Co in order to continue in his public role as Commissioner of Works without conflict of interests, which he did, his brother 'Harry' (Henry Richard Clarke) taking his place; but then

Harry's health began to give serious cause for concern. By the beginning of 1897 Pauling had to persuade Rhodes forcefully to let him leave:

'Mr Rhodes pressed me very hard to remain, and said that if it were a question of money he would undertake that I should make as much money by remaining as I could by going back to my firm, and he also promised that if I remained in Rhodesia he would give me the highest position in the country. This was an instance – and I do not think it was an isolated one – of Mr. Rhodes being ready to promise anything to attain his end. Whether he would afterwards be able or willing to carry out his promise would, I knew, be a matter controlled by expediency.'

[From *The Chronicles of a Contractor*, p159]

Early in April 1897, 'after two and a quarter years in Rhodesia', Pauling left for England to look after his brother, and while he was here he bought sight unseen (on Lawley's recommendation) The Lodge at Effingham. In connection with leaving South Africa, Pauling wrote:

'In view of my many associations with Mr Rhodes it might seem churlish to attempt any serious criticism of his character. While recognizing his many great qualities, which history will endorse, I cannot refrain from suggesting that, probably in common with all great personalities, he had his weaknesses. He was particularly susceptible to the plaudits of the public, which made him bumptious; and at times he seemed utterly heartless. But no criticism, however much of it may be justified, can challenge his right to the title of "Colossus," so far as the development of South Africa is concerned. As indicative of the peculiarities of great men I prefer to limit my observations to two more or less amusing incidents which came within my own knowledge.

Whenever Mr Rhodes became excited or intensely interested in anything he was apt to talk in a peculiarly high-pitched voice. On the occasion of his first meeting with Lawley ... the coach which conveyed Mr. Rhodes and his party, including Dr. Jameson, from Rhodesia arrived about three days later than had been expected, and whether the delay had affected the temper of Mr. Rhodes I cannot say, but without warning he proceeded to swear and to abuse Lawley in the presence of the whole railway camp, until by a gradual crescendo of unparliamentary language he reached his high falsetto tone. Lawley, who is usually able to provide a *quid pro quo* when it is a question of language, realising that, without any apparent reason, he was being stultified [made to look a fool] in the eyes of his subordinates, invited Mr. Rhodes to say who the h... he thought he was, and told him, in a flood of railway vernacular, that there was no necessity for him to squeal like a damned rabbit. Mr. Rhodes, obviously astonished at Mr. Lawley's unexpected daring, walked off to a neighbouring clump of trees. Lawley, acting on the instructions which had been telegraphed to him, gave orders for the luggage from the coach to be put on the waiting train, and then notified all concerned that the train would leave in five minutes, and all those who were not aboard within that time could reach their destinations as they chose. Mr. Rhodes entered his carriage just at the last moment – so much so that his carriage door was not closed when it moved off. On the journey a stoppage was made to take in water and Mr Rhodes sent Mr Jameson to Lawley with an invitation to join him in his compartment. Lawley did so, and Mr. Rhodes, who had calmed down, resumed his natural method of speech, expressed his deep regret at the occurrence and asked Lawley to shake hands with him. From that day Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Lawley remained the best of friends.'

[From *The Chronicles of a Contractor*, pp161-2]

Pauling goes on to relate a separate incident, in which Rhodes came to see him and shouted at him in the same falsetto voice, 'Pauling, I won't be bullied by your cousin Harold. He bullies me every time I see him'. Pauling simply offered to send Harold to work elsewhere, which he knew Rhodes would not want. As he expected, Rhodes backed down but stated that in future Harold would have to be civil when he spoke to him. Pauling replied 'I am sure that if you are civil to my cousin he will be civil to you as there is no one in the world towards whom he entertains so great admiration and respect.' and wrote 'After that they were always good friends'.

As noted above, Pauling returned to England, arriving in early May 1897, concerned by the health of his brother, who died in the following November. He did not go back to South Africa until August 1898. Shortly after that he returned from Africa to England again and spent his second Christmas, December 1898, at Effingham. He returned to Africa in May 1899, and at Bulawayo on 30 May 'was present at the cutting of the first sod' of the Bulawayo to Gwelo railway, completed 1902. During the following years the company won and completed other railway projects including several in Cape Colony Province. But Pauling was not present personally, at the outbreak of war or for the duration:

'The Boer War broke out in October 1899. During the whole period of this war I did not visit Africa. It was then that I made my trip round the world, and in any case the war, for a time, put an end to serious African activities on my part [*he does mean for him personally – many of his enterprises continued and new projects were started*]. I think, however, I may fairly claim that my firm, in an unostentatious fashion,

contributed to the ultimate success of Great Britain. We did not suspend our operations on the Beira Railway and Mr. Lawley did much useful work for the Carrington expeditionary force, sent to the relief of Mafeking, in landing troops, horses, and munitions of war at Beira for that force, and in forwarding them up the line. Mr Harold Pauling [*a first cousin once removed*] and his staff in Rhodesia also gave much help in the same direction.'

[From *The Chronicles of a Contractor*, p174]

One of the results of the Raid and the war was some serious reshaping of the Board of BSAC so that the British Government and the High Commissioner could feel a greater sense of confidence that it was being run more responsibly. This results in another connection between a subject of previous interest to ELHG and South Africa, although it is a more indirect link. The change of guard at BSAC included advancing one Philip Lyttelton Gell to a higher level of responsibility for supervising and regulating the company's affairs, and making sure that those in the UK knew what was going on in Africa. Gell was to be involved with BSAC as Director (1899–1917, 1923–1925), Chairman (1917–1920) and President (1920–1923). Gell had been a great friend of Sir Alfred Milner since youth. The Effingham connection comes from Gell's wife, Edith née Brodrick. Edith grew up at Peper Harrow near Godalming. She was one of the early founders of the Mothers' Union – and one of the main drivers of the initiative to send the 'Easter Dawn' postcards to serving WWI soldiers at Easter 1916; see the article by Anne Vallis and Mark Eller in ELHG's *The Bulletin*, No 14, March 2019 about the Easter Dawn postcard in Anne's family's possession.

John Carpenter's horse's nostril

And finally: whereas one might have expected Pauling to be in South Africa, an Effingham Common resident one would equally confidently *not* have expected to be there was ... a horse. He or she first came to light in an anecdote by Mrs Agnes Conisbee (1862–1945) who documented reminiscences of her life in East Horsley in *Memories of our Village and WI by an Old Inhabitant*:

'Another memory of long ago is of an old farmer who used to live on Effingham Common in my early days. We used to see him driving past on his way to Guildford Market in a big market cart, such as the small farmers used in those days; a cart big enough to bring home a calf, should he see one to suit his fancy. And then there would be room enough in the front for he and his wife to ride home quite comfortable, as he would say, without – I dare say – even a cushion on the seat, or rug for their knees.

The horse would be a stoutish cob, able to take half a plough if need be – a very different way of going to market to the present-day farmers. This said farmer always wore a smock and I never saw him in anything else. Although he has been dead only a few years I don't think he ever wore anything in the way of a coat. He was also the owner of a horse that had a bullet-hole through its nostril, a relic from the Boer War.'

The question was, *who was the farmer?* The answer is to be found in Carol Salter's book *East Horsley in Living Memory*, a compilation of memoirs from older residents. She wrote:

'... the road now called Old Lane was then Effingham Road. Bordered by Effingham Road and Cobham Road was a field rented by John Carpenter of Lee Brooke, Effingham Common. Farmer Carpenter still wore a farmer's smock and he owned a horse with a bullet hole in its muzzle acquired in the Boer War.'

[*East Horsley in Living Memory*, p13]

John Carpenter was written about by Bryan Sherwood in the material exhibited at Effingham's Commoners' Day in 2012. John was baptised in Cobham in 1844, his parents then living at Downside. He inherited the Lee Brook property beside Effingham Common (one of the four properties where commoner's rights were subsequently established) from his mother, Eliza, on her death in 1881 and continued to run it as a fruit farm until his death in 1931.

One can only wonder about the circumstances under which any horse had made it back from South Africa to Effingham. However, perhaps he/she travelled courtesy of the following local enterprise:

'In 1900 the chief freight carried on the line from Horsley had been horses. This had come about in the following manner: Mr Bertie Holland ... had two Cornish uncles. When the Boer War started in 1899, they secured a government contract to supply horses. One uncle moved to Pound Farm (near the "Black Swan" at Hatchford) and took over many stables in the area, including those at the "Railway Tavern", for horses awaiting entrainment. Before each horse was led up a ramp in the siding to the wagon it was tested for wind by a veterinary colonel. It was galloped in a paddock (where Station Parade is now) and graded for use in the conflict, e.g. for the cavalry or for pulling gun carriages. Three consignments went weekly and thousands of horses were sent from Horsley during the three-year

period. It is interesting that Horsley during this time was the transit place for horses, since the name Horsley is derived from “horse lea” which means horse clearing.’
[*East Horsley in Living Memory*, p14]

In conclusion

What we as historians *can* find out about alters all the time. One day, we might discover where this horse fought, where it was wounded, and even its name! Meanwhile, what people *want* to know about also alters all the time. Thus any historical narrative will continue to evolve, a process which cannot be halted. This means that we are destined to learn some things that make us smile – but also some unpleasant truths. Currently, big and painful issues are under intense debate globally. These have an impact on our contemplation of Effingham’s local history just as much as they affect the history of the wider world.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1: photograph by Astacopsis Gouldi, *Wikimedia Commons*, public domain
 Figure 2: from The Kipling Society website: https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/readers-guide/rg_burgher1.htm
 Figure 3: from *Dr Jameson* by George Seymour Fort, publ Hurst and Blackett (London), 1908
 Figure 4: from The National Archives via *Ancestry*
 Figure 5: © National Army Museum, Upfill-Brown/Hibbard Collection, Accession Number NAM. 1997-11-20-1
 Figure 6: original postcard held in ELHG archives
 Figure 7: Boer War print from *eBay*
 Figure 8: Imperial War Museum: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/100217>
 Figure 9: original photograph from an album donated to ELHG by Effie Jean Francis
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 Figure 13: photograph from *eBay*
 Figure 14: from *The Chronicles of a Contractor* by George Pauling, publ Books of Rhodesia, 1969 (2nd edition)
 Figure 15: from AngloBoerWar.com
 Figure 16: © British Library Board

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In memoriam: roll of honour, Imperial Forces Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, compiled by Steve Watt and published by University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2000. This commemorative volume covers over 25,000 people who died serving with the Imperial forces in the Anglo-Boer war including the unit they were attached to, where and how they died, and where they are buried. It mistakenly lists John Longhurst as ‘W S’ Longhurst, but with correct service number 5560 and other details.

Casualties: South African Field Force 1899-1902, The National Archives, WO 108/360

Online resources

The 2nd Boer War is very fully covered by online resources, even including snippets of film. A written account called *Two Years on Trek* (1907) by Lt Col Du Moulin of the Royal Sussex Regiment who was also at the Zand River engagement (chapter IV) can be read at:

<https://www.angloboerwar.com/books/129-du-moulin-two-years-on-trek/2730-du-moulin-chapter-iv-the-fight-at-zand-river>

Rural and Urban Exploration: Exploring the rural and urban areas of South Africa

This online resource, curated by Horst Müller, includes information and photographs of the cemeteries and Boer War graves at Reddersburg (including the grave of Capt W P Dimsdale, leader of the mounted cavalry section in which John Longhurst was serving; see Appendix) and also Kronstadt, and the concentration camp at the latter. See:

<https://www.ruralexploration.co.za/Reddersburg.html> and <https://www.ruralexploration.co.za/Kroonstad.html>

An informative account by Louis Creswicke, *South Africa and the Transvaal War* Vol V, *From the Disaster at Koorn Spruit to Lord Roberts's entry into Pretoria* can be read at:

https://www.gutenberg.org/files/41017/41017-h/41017-h.htm#Page_101

Interview of Nelson Mandela by Michael Morris – this can be viewed at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zIV3kV4aQxA>

APPENDIX

The engagement at Mostert's Hoek

Lance Cpl Robert Cunningham of the Irish Rifles was at the battle of Mostert's Hoek with John Longhurst. The information about Cunningham's life and career below is quoted from research by Dr David Biggins presented on his website:

<https://www.angloboerwar.com/forum/5-medals-and-awards/33550-robert-cunningham-a-royal-irish-regiment-pow-at-mostert-s-hoek>

See also:

<https://www.angloboerwar.com/unit-information/imperial-units/651-royal-irish-rifles>

This is followed by information on the engagement as a whole quoted from a contemporary weekly periodical:

‘... The battalion, strengthened by drafts from home, remained with General Gatacre in the Queenstown-Molteno district of the Eastern Cape until Lord Roberts' advance from Modder River to Bloemfontein scared the Boers out of Cape Colony. General Gatacre then moved north via Stormberg and Burghersdorp, and crossed the Orange River about the middle of March 1900. The general's headquarters were at Springfontein, and in accordance with Lord Roberts' desires columns were sent out from the line to distribute proclamations. The enemy, taking heart at the halt which had to be made after the occupation of Bloemfontein, swooped down first on Broadwood at Sannah's Post and then farther south to Reddersburg.

It was in this vicinity that the engagement took place that Cunningham would be least likely to forget – it is also where the aforementioned Lady Luck turned her back on him and many of his comrades. On 2 April 1900 three companies of the 2nd Royal Irish Rifles (424 men) and two companies of mounted infantry (167 men under Captain W.P. Dimsdale, Royal Irish Rifles) left Dewetsdorp in the Orange Free State for Reddersburg under Captain W.J. McWhinnie of the Royal Irish Rifles. In heavy rain the column made slow progress, the horses were not fit and needed resting. The column halted at 5:45 p.m.

Early the next morning they started out, at about 10 a.m. the advance scouts reached a ridge on the farm Mostert's Hoek (Mostertshoek) and came under fire. McWhinnie occupied three kopjes, a front of 3/4 mile which was too long for his force. Immediately, Commandant C.R. de Wet called on McWhinnie to surrender because he was seriously outnumbered; this was turned down. Four guns were brought into action to shell the British troops. Surrounded and without water the British positions were rushed on the morning of 4 April, the Boers had crept to within 30 yards of the Mounted Infantry.

As McWhinnie consulted with his officers one infantry company on a kopje waved white handkerchiefs and two men near McWhinnie did likewise. McWhinnie was compelled to surrender; losses were ten killed, 35 wounded and 540 taken prisoner. Lt-Gen Sir W.F. Gatacre was sent to assist, but arrived too late and after a short occupation of Reddersburg retired to Bethanie. Courts of Inquiry into the conduct of Captain W.J. McWhinnie and other officers and a number of NCOs and soldiers exonerated all concerned.

... Cunningham was “in the bag” – one of those taken Prisoner of War. Perhaps fortunately for him the Boers lacked both the resources and the enthusiasm to entertain prisoners. As it was they were now largely living off the veld and battling to keep themselves and their mounts fed. As a result prisoners were normally stripped of their equipment, denuded of their clothing and set free on the open veld to find their way back to friendly lines. Such would have been the lot of Cunningham and his compatriots.’

The following is from *With the flag to Pretoria. A history of the Boer War 1899-1900* by Herbert Wrigley Wilson. This was a weekly periodical published by Harmsworth Brothers Limited, 1900-01. Later volumes continued this detailed coverage of the war.

'The Boer Commando seen towards Dewetsdorp, moving south, was 1400 strong and intended, in co-operation with another commando, 800 strong with 6 guns, to attack a small British force which had been receiving surrenders in the Dewetsdorp district (these would have been surrenders from Boer farmers wishing to return to the land.) The British detachment consisted of three companies of the Royal Irish Rifles, which had left Smithfield on 29 March, and two companies of Mounted Infantry. The latter joined the Royal Irish Rifles unexpectedly on the evening of April 1, and were at first taken for Boers, and all but fired upon by the Infantry. The detachment belonged to General Gatacre's division, it had with it no guns, was outside the reach of prompt support, and is said to have received no orders as to what it was to do. In command was Captain McWhinnie.

On April 1 the British had entered Dewetsdorp and received from the Landrost the keys of the public buildings. Several of the inhabitants took the oath of neutrality, Captain McWhinnie received the order to retreat at 3.30 p.m. of April 2, and without any delay began to move towards Reddersburg and Bethanie. The weather was most unfavourable; rain fell in sheets; and on the muddy roads the teams and horses began to show signs of exhaustion. Slow progress was made, and the force was compelled to camp at Kelly's farm east of Reddersburg, that night.

It was followed by De Wet and the Boers, who kept touch with it. Though themselves out of sight. On the morning of the 3rd the retreat was resumed, when, while passing to the south of a long line of kopjes at Mostert's Hoek, an ominous cloud of dust was seen to the north-east. Fire, too, was suddenly opened from the south on the Mounted Infantry. On this Captain McWhinnie ordered his men to seize the long line of kopjes, at either end of which was a spur. The western spur was occupied by the Mounted Infantry, the eastern spur and the ridge connecting the two by the Royal Irish Rifles.

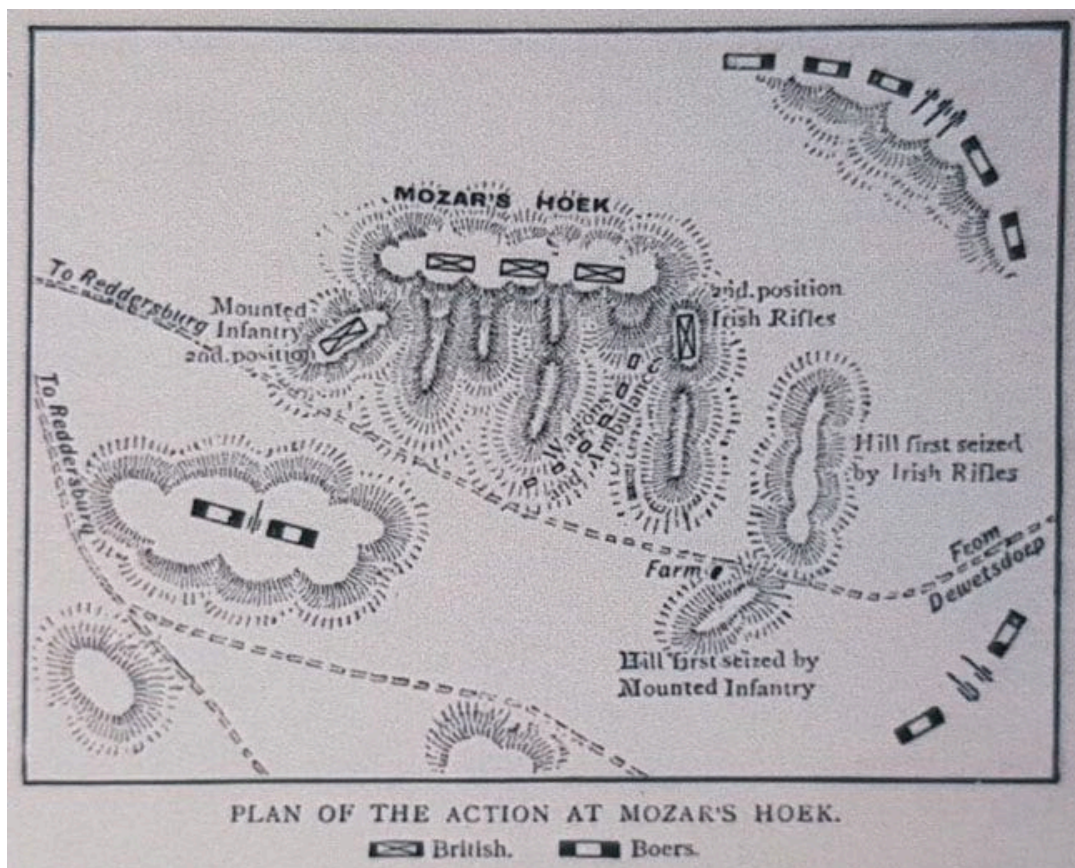


Figure 15 Battle plan of Mostert's Hoek.

Under the eastern spur were parked the six ox-wagons, the water cart, the two ammunition carts, and the three ambulances which formed the baggage of the little column. Almost as soon as this had been done the Boer attack began. A rifle fire was opened by the enemy upon the eastern and western spurs, and about noon a cannon arrived and began to bombard the kopjes. It was clear from the first that the position was hopeless unless reinforcements should arrive. There was no water except that in the carts and in the men's drinking bottles, the enemy were on all sides in superior force, and they had artillery.

De Wet sent in a letter by a flag of truce, stating that he had 2200 men and six guns – which seems to have been the truth – and urging surrender to prevent bloodshed. Captain McWhinnie very properly tore the missive to shreds and answered with indignant refusal.

On this a second gun began to shell the kopjes. All the afternoon fighting continued. There was good cover, and the men at the officers' orders made the best use of it, so that they exposed themselves but little to the enemy's projectiles. Neither side in fact could see the other. The British fire was cool, slow, and accurate under very trying conditions. Towards evening the Boer shells began to fall among the British transport and inflicted some loss. A third piece of artillery opened and the shrapnel threw up the stones and dust along the ridge, while the enemy crept closer and closer. Captain Casson and Lieutenant Barclay had already been killed; Captains Dimsdale and Kelly were severely wounded, but the losses otherwise were not serious.

Night fell, but no fire could be lighted, as the enemy shot freely whenever an Englishman showed himself, and the utmost vigilance was required to prevent the small force from being rushed. The men were greatly in want of food and water, but, worn out with the strain of a long day's fighting, they fell asleep where they lay. In the darkness the officers held a consultation. A proposal to cut their way out was considered and dismissed as impracticable – which it probably was – and it was decided to hold on another morning. A brave scout was sent through the enemy's lines to ask for reinforcements.

At 6 a.m. of April 4, after a bitterly cold and miserable night, the Boer fire recommenced. First the rifles opened and then came the shrapnel. A fourth Boer gun had now opened fire, and from all sides bullets and shells rained on the crest and spurs held by the British. The eminence held by the Mounted Infantry was especially singled out for concentrated fire, and the men on it were forced back. The Boers seized the summit, and from it could enfilade the long ridge held by the Irish Rifles. This marked the end. First one and then another white flag showed; the fire instantly ceased on both sides, and 405 unwounded British officers and men laid down their arms. It was the first time in the war that a British force had surrendered with such light casualties.'

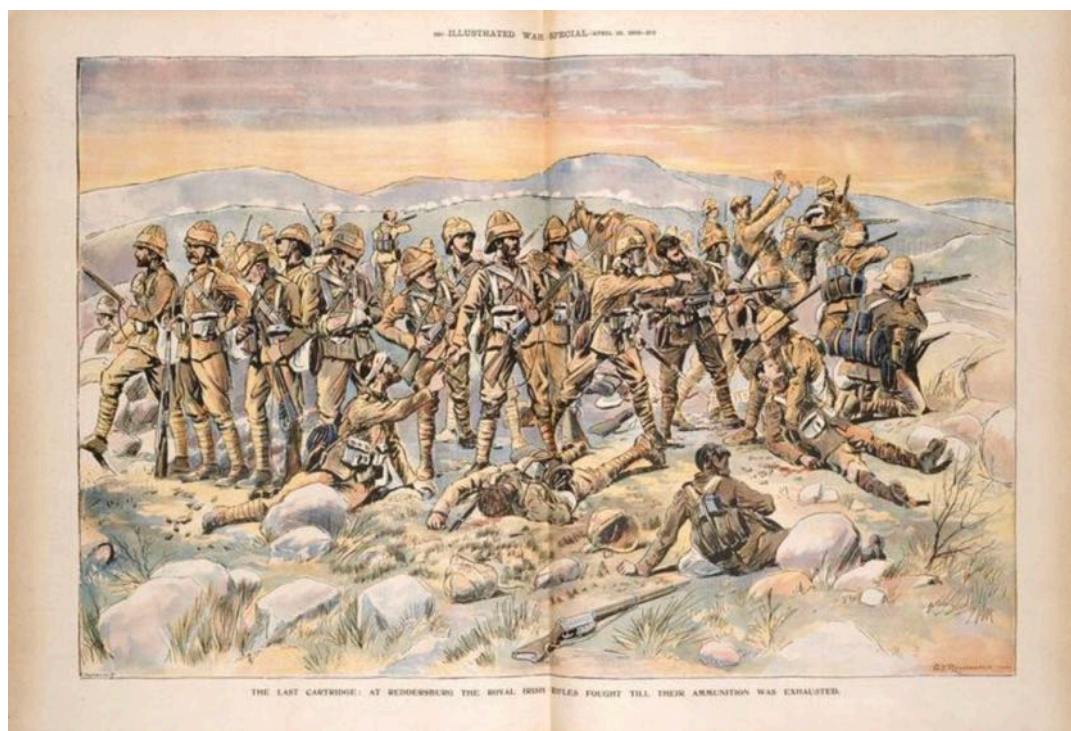


Figure 16 The imagined scene just before the surrender at Mostert's Hoek: a double-page spread in an *Illustrated War Special*. The caption reads 'The last cartridge: at Reddersburg the Royal Irish Rifles fought till their ammunition was exhausted'. This was putting the best gloss on what was at the time an unexpected and shocking defeat for the British.

Anthony Nicholas Diamantidi – Entrepreneur and Patron of the Arts

JEREMY PALMER and SUSAN MORRIS

Extraordinarily well connected in the world of the Arts, Anthony Diamantidi saved deteriorating old properties around Effingham in the 1920s and 30s, as well as transplanting other old buildings from other locations to the village. He played a key role in securing the land that would become the King George V Playing Fields, as well as assisting on various village groups.

Overview

Anthony Nicholas Diamantidi lived in Effingham from the mid-1920s. He was not only highly successful as a businessman but also moved in the highest artistic circles, particularly the ballet. Yet only the barest details of his life have ever come to light and of the sources we have turned up, we cannot always be sure which reliably refer to him. We have heard him described as a ‘shady character’ and as a ‘smooth operator’, a man who wrote felicitous letters to Effingham Parish Council and appeared quite agreeable to sorting out problems on his land, and yet engaged in a bitter and protracted dispute with another Effingham resident of high repute. He held house parties in Effingham attended by members of The Russian Ballet no less, piquing the interest of residents such as Mrs Lena (née Keeling) Bridger whose shop they visited. In a later oral interview Mrs Bridger told her interviewer:

‘In those days Mr Diamantidi lived at Grove House and members of the Russian Ballet visited him and came into the shop.’

He lived to the age of either 97 or 103 (depending on which source one believes) but in all that time as far as we know only one photograph of him – shown in Figure 1 – ever slipped into the public domain. This one was published in *The Sketch* on 20 October 1937.

According to the numerous passenger manifests for his flights to and from the US in the late 1950s and 60s, he was born on Chios, Greece on 4 November 1883. Effingham residents who knew him said he was a White Russian (ie amongst those who opposed the Bolshevik revolution of 1917) who had fled to the West after the end of the First World War. That Diamantidi had some Russian contact or history may well be true. Some online genealogy websites state that he was born on 4 November 1888 in Taganrog, a port city on the Black Sea coast of south-western Russia (which had started as a Greek settlement). Effingham Local History Group (ELHG) has also received confirmation from a Diamantidi family member that the family were ethnic Greeks, living in southern Russia (Taganrog and Odessa) for many years, and who were fluent in Russian and Greek. Bearing a Greek name meant that he could travel as a Greek, which potentially made it easier than identifying as Russian during his American ventures in the late 1950s. Claiming to be born in 1883 would also have made him 31 at the start of WWI as opposed to 26. An older age might have allowed him to explain away an apparent lack of war service. ELHG has been given information originating from a Diamantidi genealogist that Diamantidi had siblings living in Paris in the 1920s, a brother Volodia and three sisters, one whose name or nickname was given to us as ‘Toutousha’, another named Aglaée, plus a further sister named Olga. Some passenger lists in the 1950s have him named as Antoine Diamantidi.

He may have first come to notice as a person having some expertise in insurance or reinsurance. An ‘A Diamantidi’ is mentioned in *The Gloucester Citizen* of 16 February 1916 as an insurance manager in Petrograd (St Petersburg) taking a share in a new insurance company, The Overseas Marine Company Limited, in the business of insurance against loss or damage at sea by war or other means. There is also an ‘A N Diamantidi’ who published a handbook on reinsurance in January 1918. He was moreover cited in *The Times* on 3 January 1921 as someone with expert knowledge in this field. An ‘A Diamantidi’ is further mentioned in insurance trade magazines as being the foreign representative in England of a group of Russian insurance offices. ELHG has also been told by an acquaintance of Diamantidi’s that he owed his fortune to anticipating the rise of oil to replace coal as the fuel used by freighters as they traversed the world’s shipping lanes. To this end he sold all the valuable and sought-after licenses he owned for coal refuelling stations around the world, and thus exited the market at the top before oil reduced them in value. It is also known that in 1957 he turned over \$11m of oil rights granted to him by the Indonesian government for stock in New British Dominion Oil Co (reported by the *Toronto Star*, 17 July 1957), having stated that he had previously been retired for a number of years and hoped to be retired once more when the deal was complete (see Appendix 1 for the article). Evidently his retirement was put on hold for a few

years, as in a letter to the Effingham parish clerk (dated 26 June 1972) Diamantidi mentioned he was spending a few months every year at his American residence (West Redding, Connecticut), trying to liquidate certain American and Canadian interests.



Figure 1 Diamantidi with ballerina Tatiana Mikhailovna Riabouchinska in *The Sketch*, 20 October 1937; under Licence from the Mary Evans Picture Library © Illustrated London News Ltd. / Mary Evans.

By 1922, according to an address given on a passenger manifest for a sailing from Southampton on 30 November, Diamantidi was residing at Grey Wings in Ashted. This is a highly noteworthy property, occupied at the time by Lawrence and Ethel Margaret Boustead, with their son Hugh. Ethel would later move to Effingham, living in Old Westmoor Cottage on Orestan Lane from 1933 until her death in 1936. Possibly her move had been influenced by this connection to Diamantidi.

Marriage

On 16 February 1924 Diamantidi married at St Nicolas Church, Great Bookham to Gladys (née) Hayward. Gladys was the daughter of the late Victor Silberberg Hayward, born in Hungary, and his wife Augusta Mary (she had been baptised at St Mary's Church in Tetbury, Gloucestershire on 16 October 1892, the register giving her date of birth as 12 March 1886). The marriage certificate gives his place of residence as Ashted and a newspaper jotting mentions him as then living at Moorlands in Ashted. His father's name is entered as Nicholas Dimitri Diamantidi, both son and father generically describing their profession as 'merchant'. Both were marrying late: Gladys was 37 and Diamantidi was 43. Victor had died in 1923 and been buried in the same church.

Gladys's parents had run a well-known costumier known as 'Madame Hayward' on New Bond Street – their names are mentioned in connection with a libel case reported in *The Globe* on 30 April 1908, as seen in Figure 2.

CORSET TRADE MYSTERIES.
WEST-END COSTUMIERS' QUARREL
AMUSING INCIDENTS.

To-day, in the King's Bench Division, before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury, Mrs. Charlotte Jane Connah, known in the corset trade and to West-end costumiers as "Madame Lottie," brought an action for alleged libel against Victor Silberberg and Augusta Silberberg, trading at 64, 67, and 68, New Bond-street as "Madame Hayward."

The libel complained of was characterised by Mr. Hugo Young, K.C., who represented the plaintiff, as one due to trade jealousy. The plaintiff had been employed by the defendants for many years in the corset department, and became known to customers, mostly ladies of title, as "Lottie," having, as she alleged, all but complete control of the department. She subsequently started business as a corset-maker on her own account. A circular issued by her in connection with her new venture brought about a counter-circular from the defendants, which formed the subject of the libel complained of. In it the defendants said:—

A short time ago a saleswoman in the corset department left us and established herself, circularising our customers, and no doubt you also. We wish to point out in your interests, as well as in ours, that to make corsets which will fulfil all the requirements of perfect fit, ease, shape, and good wear, is not an easy matter, "though attempted by many." Now, this person who has left us, and may be soliciting your custom, has been merely a machine, an instrument for carrying out Mme. Hayward's instructions, and has no master hand behind her to control, direct, or advise.

This, plaintiff said, was an unjustifiable reflection on her in the way of her business, while the defendants pleaded that the statement was true, and counter-claimed in respect to patterns and addresses of customers, which, it was alleged, the plaintiff had taken away.

During the examination of the plaintiff by Mr. M'Cardie as to the mysteries of the corset-trade in the West-end, the Lord Chief Justice suggested that the questions were irrelevant, as counsel must, he supposed, "know all about it."

Mr. M'Cardie remarked that "he was not married," a confession which brought about roars of laughter, in which his Lordship joined.

The Lord Chief Justice then suggested that the matter should be left to Mr. Hugo Young as an old and experienced hand, and that learned gentleman admitted the soft impeachment.

The plaintiff indignantly resented being called a "person," and Mr. Hugo Young, amid laughter, assured the jury that no young lady engaged in the West End corset and dressmaking world could tolerate such a description.

Mr. Duke, K.C., for the defendant, contended that his client was justified in issuing the circular complained of, and called Mrs. Silberberg to show that the mysteries of corset making for the West-end aristocracy remained with her, and the patterns taken away by the plaintiff were of a unique character.

The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding £100 damages, and found for the defendant on the counter-claim.

Figure 2 Diamantidi's wife Gladys ('Mrs Hayward') embroiled in libel; © British Library Board.

'Madame Hayward' was renowned as a court dressmaker and by the 1910s the shop had also begun dressing stars of the stage such as Marie Tempest and Ellen Terry. Gladys is mentioned as working as a manageress there in 1931.

Effingham properties

After Diamantidi and Gladys married they may then have taken up residence in The Villa on the Guildford Road, Effingham. The previous tenants, the Ross family, had vacated it after the father, James Aitchison Ross, had died in 1920.

The Villa (later Grove House) is shown on the map segment opposite, contained in the brochure for a local auction in 1921. The main house was the west-most building whilst the elongated structure to its immediate north-east was Grove House Cottage (sometimes called simply Grove Cottage). The square structure just south-east of this (above the letter 'A' in the map's 'MANOR' label) was a small cottage which eventually became Walnut Tree Cottage, although before that had been named Allways Cottage.



Figure 3 Map from a local auction brochure, 1921;

The Villa was put up for sale in March 1922, as shown in the advertisement below, published at the time.

EFFINGHAM, BETWEEN GUILDFORD & LEATHERHEAD

TWO MILES FROM EFFINGHAM JUNCTION, WITH ITS EXCELLENT SERVICE OF TRAINS.



A VERY ATTRACTIVE RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY, comprising an old-fashioned COUNTRY HOUSE, WITH UP-TO-DATE IMPROVEMENTS, situate on the outskirts of the village, and distinguished in the title deeds as "The Villa"; contains lounge hall, three reception rooms, oak panelled billiard room, twelve bed and dressing rooms, two bathrooms, and excellent offices.

**ELECTRIC LIGHT.
CENTRAL HEATING.
TELEPHONE.**

Garages, stabling, men's rooms, cottage, farmery; well-timbered gardens and grounds, three tennis courts, large kitchen garden, park pasture and arable; in all about

42 ACRES.

The beneficial interest in the Lease of 35 years unexpired, with the option of buying the Freehold, to be SOLD by Private Treaty or by AUCTION on May 10th next.

Full particulars of Messrs. GIDDY & GIDDY, 11A, Regent Street, S.W. 1.

Figure 4 The Villa advertised for sale in *County Life*, 25 March 1922; © Future Publishing Ltd.

Diamantidi renamed The Villa as Grove House, possibly after his wife's family home Bookham Grove. An advertisement from *The Surrey Advertiser* of 18 April 1925 placed by Mrs Diamantidi of Grove House, Effingham, stating 'Young Lady wanted for two hours daily to teach English to a Russian Boy, aged 7', is the earliest we can confidently locate the Diamantidis in Effingham. Whereas he had (apparently) worked previously in the insurance business, he seems now to have begun developing properties in Effingham as new opportunities arose.

In 1928, according to a later resident, he bought Walnut Tree Cottage on the Guildford Road (now called The Coach House, virtually opposite Effingham Golf Club) on 27 March 1928, and would keep it until 7 October 1932 when he sold it to Mrs Marguerita Pughe, mother of the champion figure skater John ('Jackie') Dunn whose story is told in another article [*John ('Jackie') Dunn – Professional Ice Skater of Effingham* by J Palmer in *Studies in the History of Effingham*, Vol 2, Article No 17, 2023].

He also bought Norwood Farm in 1928 from its owner Charles Meaburn Tatham. This farm had been tenanted by the Hemus family during the previous 18 years. Miss Hemus recorded that this sale apparently took place without the knowledge of her grandfather, which led to their leaving. Diamantidi promptly set

about doing the place up, uncovering some coloured Latin frescoes dating from the 15th century in the process of demolishing a wall, as reported in an article published in *The Surrey Mirror and County Post* on 24 May 1929. He then sold it on to Sir Nicholas Waterhouse in 1930.

It is in the late 1920s that we begin to see Diamantidi playing a wider role in village life. For example he is listed as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Effingham Working Men's Club in 1927. In 1935 he was one of three members of a Parish Council sub-committee tasked with identifying and negotiating land to form the nascent King George V Playing Fields. This sub-committee was renamed the Effingham Playing Fields Committee and for a time was chaired by Diamantidi. He played a key role in the early negotiations which eventually secured the land identified, and although he also offered, in the summer of 1936, £250 towards its purchase, the Hon Treasurer Mrs Nina MacNair reported to the Committee nearly a year later that he was still promising her the money; he never did produce it.

In later life he stated

'I also owned on the opposite side of the road [from Norwood Farm] a cottage which was completely derelict [sic] which I restored completely and sold to Lady Devine, equally on account of the cottage facing the common' (remarks made in a letter to Antony Page dated 25 September 1975).

ELHG has not been able to identify this cottage or 'Lady Devine'. Other old properties were shipped in from further afield; next to Grove House he built, using imported old materials, Grove Paddock which was let to the revue star Gwen Farrar from June 1934. Another house, The Old Cottage (now called Pilgrims), was likewise built by him nearby on the Guildford Road.

Continuing the theme of stage artists moving to Effingham, he may also have had something to do with the actor Andrea Malandrinos moving, around 1939, into Grove House Cottage which stood in the Grove House grounds close to the main building. He and Malandrinos would have a very close friendship for the remainder of their lives. Malandrinos is another of the artistic incomers appearing in Effingham in the interwar period and his story is told in [*Andrea Basil Malandrinos – Versatile Film Actor of Effingham* by C J Hogger in *Studies in the History of Effingham*, Vol 7, Article No 59, 2025].

In the village he also brought in The Barn, set to the west of The Street and just off Madge's Lane. In about 1970 the Effingham builder Henry Tyrrell (born in 1875) told the late Mary Alfreda Rice-Oxley that the timbers for this had come from Wonersh. Wonersh Historical Society has confirmed to ELHG that a very large Wonersh building, known as Wonersh Park or Wonersh Mansion, was demolished in 1929. However architecturally Wonersh Mansion bears no resemblance to The Barn. Possibly The Barn's timbers came from an outbuilding on the estate but no evidence has so far come to light to support this hypothesis. Diamantidi's address was written as The Barn in the lease for Grove Paddock dated 14 June 1934. Thus while still owning Grove House, he must have built The Barn by this time and was using it for some purpose, even if he still entertained at Grove House. In time he would move into The Barn after finally disposing of Grove House.

Diamantidi also owned as part of the Grove House estate the Village Hall standing at the bottom of The Street. The article shown in Figure 6, published in *The Surrey Mirror and County Post* on 21 November 1930, is an example, among several, showing that he allowed uses of the Hall by others.

LINK WITH 15TH CENTURY. SURREY FARMHOUSE DISCOVERY.

While alterations were being carried out at the picturesque 11th century home of Mr. A. N. Diamantidi, at Norwood Farm, Effingham Common, Surrey, some coloured Latin lettering was found inscribed on plaster behind a wall which was being demolished. The remainder of the hall was carefully taken away. On another unsuspected wall behind was revealed a unique set of coloured frescoes in the Gothic style.

These depicted the Ten Commandments and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The frescoes are in a wonderful state of preservation and are believed to date from the 15th century.

A member of the London firm who are conducting the sale of the house told a "Daily Chronicle" representative that it is believed that at one time the house, or, at any rate, the portion containing the frescoes, formed an old chapel.

Norwood Farm is a house of much historical interest. It was here that the Puritans are reputed to have met secretly during their persecution in the 17th century. Other features of the house are its rare yew panelling and fine old oak-timbered barn.

Figure 5 Frescoes discovered at Norwood Farm; *The Surrey Mirror and County Post*, 24 May 1929.

Both the deteriorating and cramped state of the St Lawrence School and its continued inability to admit new children led to the education authorities seeking temporary premises at the end of the 1930 school year. The following are excerpts from the St Lawrence School Log Book which delineate the role played by the Diamantidis in helping the school and its pupils:

1930:

July 11th: Managers now arrange to place at the disposal of the Education Committee, for further accommodation, the Village Hall.

Oct 13th: Re-opens the School.

The Village Hall taken into Commission as a Temporary room for infants.

1931:

Dec 23rd: Later part of the Afternoon devoted to a Xmas Tree Party mainly arranged by Mr and Mrs A N Diamantidi. A few parents present.

1932:

January [date uncertain but likely to be the 11th as next entry is 12th]: A letter has been received by the Head Teacher from the owner of the Temporary School requesting us to evacuate on Feb 12th 1932 as he has sold the property. This information is passed to the Surrey Education Committee.

Feb 11th: A further leave of 6 weeks has been obtained by the Head Teacher on the temporary school building from the owner Mr A N Diamantidi.

There would be further discussions on extensions of the lease on 11 February, at the end of the month's notice, and on 16 and 18 March. Through 1932 there was more work done on securing extra space on the existing school plot for new buildings. On 20 December, there was a repeat of the Christmas Tree party, with the Diamantidis again noted as the principal donors. Each child received a gift in front of a number of residents and parents.

The extended use of the Village Hall as a temporary school was brought to a close through an exchange of letters:

1933:

April 28th: School Log Book copy of letter from Head Teacher to Mr A N Diamantidi:

'I desire very cordially to offer you my heartfelt thanks and the sincere gratitude of the children for allowing us so long the use of the Temporary School – the Village Hall. This tribute to your kind generosity and public spiritedness will be entered on the School Record.'

April 30th: School Log Book copy of reply from Mr A N Diamantidi:

'Thank you very much for your kind letter; the Council wrote to me a few days ago a very nice letter to acknowledge it.

In the matter of the temporary accommodation of part of your Infants – may I say – the pleasure was entirely mine. Infancy, I am afraid, is the time when most of us have been their best and a great pity it is. I wish we should all conserve a little more of the good that is inherent in us – the world would become an even pleasanter place to move in.'

Grove House was advertised for sale on several occasions in the Thirties, including 1931 (in both May and December), 1932, 1936 and 1937. In the latter year the contents were put up for auction as shown by the notice shown in Figure 7, published by *The Surrey Mirror and County Post* on 10 December, and the house itself may, at last, have been sold soon afterwards.

Although Grove House was likely sold by 1937 or 1938, Diamantidi already had tenants in The Barn. The Electoral Registers tell us that the Nicholson family lived there from 1935 until 1939, and they in turn were replaced by the Robertson family. The Robertsons were still in situ when the father, Mr Laurence Robertson, died and was buried in St Lawrence on 12 January 1945. Hence it may be that Diamantidi did not actually take up residence in The Barn until 1945 or 1946 (which is when his mother-in-law died there on 21 November 1946 (see below). Members of the Nicholson family appear in four photographs (see Appendix II) purchased by ELHG depicting a summer party on Sunday 7 July 1935.

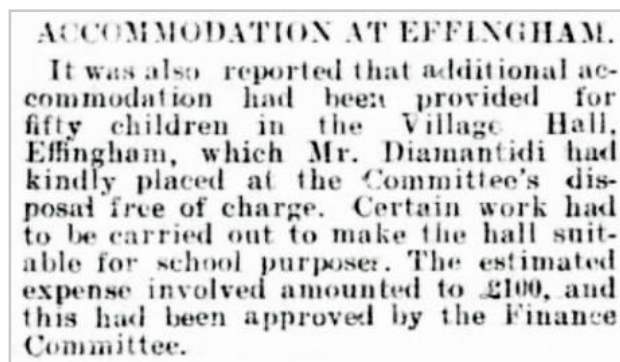


Figure 6 Diamantidi offers use of the Village Hall;
The Surrey Mirror and County Post, 21 Nov 1930.

The photographs show a swimming pool in the back garden of The Barn. Whether Diamantidi or the Nicholsons had built it, it shows a taste for the latest domestic luxury and an awareness of the then-new fashion for sun-tanning. A swimming pool was also built in this period at Diamantidi's other property, Grove Paddock cottage.

The Ballets Russes

The Diamantidis possibly also maintained a property in Shepherd Market in London's Mayfair; Eileen Ascroft, ever alert to using her Effingham neighbours and contacts, in a February 1938 *Daily Mirror* column mentioned that Mrs Diamantidi had a small house there, while extolling the parties she hosted for Colonel de Basil's Ballets Russes (this was the successor company to The Russian Ballet, which had fallen apart in 1929 after Diaghilev's death). *The Daily Mirror* had earlier reported on the Russian Ballet stars visiting there.

How and when Diamantidi's connections to the Ballets Russes began is uncertain and, given that this organisation had an extremely complicated history, it is unlikely to ever be fully determined. The photograph of him seen in Figure 1 shows that an association was established pre-War. Whether this began in Russia and whether he was the 'A Diamantidi' acting as a conduit for insurance business between Russia and the West, we do not know.

It was in the 1950s and 1960s that Diamantidi became more visible. Firstly, after the Colonel's sudden death in August 1951, he looked after de Basil's widow, Olga Morosova. Katherine Sorley Walker, in her 2010 book *'De Basil's Ballets Russes'* (p156-7), writes:

'De Basil and Morosova were now living in an apartment borrowed from a friend in the rue Jean-Mermoz in Paris. Another friend of long standing saw a good deal of them. This was Anthony Diamantidi, a charming and by all accounts unscrupulous Greek financier who had known them all since the 'thirties when he lived in Effingham in Surrey. Now de Basil recommended him to Morosova as someone who would look after her in an emergency.'

Diamantidi arranged a studio residence for Morosova in the aftermath of de Basil's death but, as with Norwood Farm, he sold the lease to it without notice. He also took control of two separate holding companies for the Ballets Russes. As Sorley Walker says, these companies formed the background for Diamantidi's 'Diaghilev and de Basil Ballets Foundation'. This formed a vehicle for selling at auction scenery and costumes associated with the legendary years of de Basil's ballet.

Items had been originally stored in Montrouge, Paris but then used by de Basil. When he died in 1951 they were warehoused again, presumably in Paris with Diamantidi paying the storage costs. However, Diamantidi then became involved in a court case concerning another warehouse full of ballet props which had been stored in Montreal by de Basil during WW2. In December 1958 fire had swept through that warehouse. Diamantidi, via one of the holding companies – the Russian Ballet Development Co Ltd of London – issued a \$300,000 damages action, as reported on 10 January 1961 in *The Gazette (Montreal)* (see Appendix III).

Conceivably, Diamantidi took whatever could be recovered and shipped it back to Paris. Alternatively, if nothing was recovered, this may have prompted Diamantidi to think of auctioning the items in the Paris repository before they too were rendered worthless. However this played out, we do know that, as Sorley Walker points out, new object clauses were added to the Russian Ballet Development Co by Diamantidi on 20 November 1964, essentially in order to acquire and sell on items relating to the original Russian Ballet companies.

He first took representatives of Sothebys to the Montrouge warehouse after an initial small sale of Diaghilev ballet material in June 1967. Subsequently the riches of the Ballets Russes were put up for auction



Figure 7 Auction of goods at Grove House;
The Surrey Mirror and County Post, 10 Dec 1937.

by Sothebys on 17 July 1968 causing, as Sorley Walker says, 'wild excitement'. Further auctions would follow. In 1969 Diamantidi gave £30,000 towards a National Museum of the Performing Arts, in which some of the purchased items from the auctions would be displayed [*The Guardian*, 17 December 1969].

Social life

By the 1930s Anthony and Gladys Diamantidi were well-placed to become part of Surrey society. We see their names appearing in the guest lists for fashionable weddings. We see him performing charitable actions around the village. For example, *The Surrey Advertiser* reported (Wednesday 23 May 1934) on an event held in the grounds of their house:

'An attractive fête was organised by the Effingham and District branch of the British Legion and held in a meadow adjoining Grove House, Effingham, by invitation of Mr A E [sic] Diamantidi, on Whit-Monday. The proceeds were in aid of the branch building fund, which at the moment stands at £250. The building, which will form the branch headquarters, is estimated to cost £450.

Organised by a committee, of which Mr G M M Mallaby-Deeley was president, the fête was formally opened by Mrs H C Willock-Pollen. Music was provided by the band of the 2nd Queen's Royal Regt., which also played for dancing on the green.'

The profit was expected to be £30 towards the Legion building. It should be noted that later in his life Diamantidi supported attempts to protect Effingham Common in the 1970s, including sending a cheque for £50 for this cause in September 1975.

Loss and renewal

We are not sure of the location of Diamantidi's main abode after Grove House had finally been sold in 1938, nor do we have any information on where he was based during the War. However, we do know that shortly after the end of the War, he suffered two sudden losses. Firstly his mother-in-law Augusta Mary Hayward died at The Barn on 21 November 1946.

HAYWARD.—On Nov. 21, 1946, at The Barn, Effingham, Surrey, Mrs. A. M. HAYWARD, late of Bookham Grove, Surrey, and 67, Grosvenor Street, W.1, beloved mother of Dorothy Simon and Gladys Diamantidi. Funeral, St. Nicholas's Church, Great Bookham, on Monday, Nov. 25, at 3 p.m.

Figure 8 Death of Gladys's mother Augusta;
The London Times, 22 November 1946.

Just two months later Gladys also died, on 31 January 1947, in 3 Rue Hotel de Ville, Vevey in Switzerland.

A later Effingham resident said that Gladys had died from cancer. Diamantidi may have kept the Swiss residence for business reasons or perhaps for the potential health benefits for his wife. Her name does not appear on her parents' headstone and so it is probable that her remains were not returned to Bookham.

He subsequently entered into a relationship with a German-born woman, Mimosa Dietlinde Dorothea Maria Wilhelmine Luise Daniele von Klitzing (born on 7 Oct 1909 in Berlin, according to the genealogy site <http://buro-klicken.de/Stammbaum/Bennecke.htm>, although other researchers into the Diamantidi family have proposed that Mimosa came from the far east, possibly Indonesia). She came to live in The Barn along with her daughter, also named Mimosa (familiarily known as 'little Mimosa'), from her second marriage to Ludolf Graf von Alvensleben Schönborn. Mimosa and Anthony had two further children, Hélène and Joachim (known as 'Zouzou'), who were brought up in Effingham. ELHG has been told by a then local resident that the family lived in The Barn, and that Joachim was educated at Parkside School in Forest Road in the late 1950s, whilst Hélène was educated at St Teresa's School at Effingham Hill. In the entry in *The Times* announcing Diamantidi's death he was described as the 'dearly loved father of Joachim [sic] and Hélène'.

DIAMANTIDI - On August 12th, peacefully at his home in Vevey, Switzerland. Anthony N. dearly loved father of Joachim and Hélène.

Figure 9 Notice of Diamantidi's death;
The Times, 16 August 1985.

Hélène married in Effingham in June 1975 to Jonathan Fitzroy Talbot Baines. We have not so far found any evidence that Diamantidi and Mimosa Dietlinde von Klitzing ever married.



Figure 10 The grave of Gladys's parents in the churchyard of St Nicolas, Bookham.

Local matters

Diamantidi's ruthlessness and ability to exploit a situation to his own advantage should not be underestimated. When the Ross family left The Villa and the Diamantidis moved in, Miss Effie Jane Ross was living at The Hollies on The Street. She was a pillar of the village establishment with a solid record of volunteering and support of many charitable causes in the village since World War I. She had leased from Diamantidi the field directly opposite (west of) The Hollies, which had the effect of preserving for her a

view from her front windows of open countryside, and a part of her childhood home. The understanding was that this was some sort of garden or agricultural lease on the land and she paid a rent for it.

Allotments were provided in the village by Mr Almond on some of his land at The Vineries on Lower Road, but when this had to be withdrawn, a new site was required. While various candidates were tried and failed, Effie, apparently out of charitableness, allowed some people to use the Diamantidi land for allotments. However, when her lease on the land came up for renewal, at some point in the period 1946-55, Diamantidi refused to renew on the grounds that she had breached the terms, that is, she had sublet the land for a purpose not covered by the original terms. He also demanded a sum of money to cover appropriate back rent, causing Miss Ross great embarrassment.

It took the intervention of Barnes Wallis as Chairman of Effingham Parish Council to smooth this out. There are indications that he personally may have paid some money to Diamantidi. In addition, the Council agreed not to object if planning consent were sought by Diamantidi from Guildford Rural District Council for buildings on his land bordering The Street. In return Diamantidi donated some land behind this to Effingham Parish Council for use as allotments.

Departure

At some point Diamantidi left the village and took up permanent residence at his Swiss property in Vevey. We know from the dispute over the redevelopment of the Yew Tree House site (which adjoined The Barn) in a *Surrey Advertiser* report (15 October 1966) that despite now living in Switzerland, Diamantidi was willing to put up 50% of the price if other residents would match the remainder. Evidently he was still trying to save Effingham's old buildings thirty years after his original efforts. However it seems there were no further offers, so Yew Tree House was demolished and the site redeveloped.

The Barn was offered for sale in December 1980. The following advertisement appeared in *The Field* on 10 December 1980:

'More than £200,000 is sought for The Barn at Effingham in Surrey. Dating from the Seventeenth century it was moved from Berkshire and reconstructed in its present position in 1928.'

This offers another possible origin for The Barn but as with Womersley (above) no further evidence has been located.

ELHG received an account by a friend of Anthony Diamantidi of visiting him at The Barn in 1982, so it is possible that The Barn did not sell in 1980 or was taken off the market. It seems that in the last years of his life Diamantidi was moving between Vevey and Effingham, looked after by a woman named Catherine who was described to ELHG by one of his acquaintances as 'his house-mate and caretaker'.

He died in Switzerland on 12 August 1985. Later owners of Grove Paddock have told us that Diamantidi returned to visit that cottage in the 1980s, which it would be pleasing to think indicated his affection for the village, a tone previously set in his letters to the Parish Council during the battle to save the Common. A number of acquaintances of Anthony Diamantidi have kindly shared their personal memories of him with ELHG, with common themes being his generosity, thoughtfulness and charm, as well as being extraordinarily well-connected, a man, to quote from one correspondence, with a 'relentless spirit for living a life well-lived'.

Effingham also has cause to be grateful for his actions in saving and renovating several old properties which otherwise might have been demolished. Indeed one could make an argument that by transporting other old houses to the village, these were at least saved for posterity too. It is fair to say that Anthony Nicholas Diamantidi's great contribution was to create this brief but rather wonderful small Bohemia in the Surrey countryside, when one might have sauntered through Effingham and encountered quite casually any number of celebrities one might otherwise have only ever seen in magazines.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: from the British Newspaper Archive : Mary Evans Picture Library

Figures 2, 4, 8: from the British Newspaper Archive

Figure 3: from the sale plan of Warren Farm and part of Manor Farm, 1921; courtesy of Surrey History Centre
[SHC Ref: 1676/1]

Figures 5, 6, 7: by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figure 9: from *The Times Archive*

Figure 10: photograph taken by Jeremy Palmer

Figures 11, 13: from Newspapers.com

Figures 12a-d: from ELHG archives

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the several former acquaintances of Mr Diamantidi who made contact with ELHG and provided additional input to us for our writing of this article.

APPENDIX I

Article reporting Diamantidi's investment in oil stock, 1957

Contacted 'Umpteen' Ere Taker Located For Indonesia Deal

Special to The Star

New York, July 17 —

Anthony Nicola Diamantidi, who is turning over his interest in large tracts of potential oil lands in Indonesia for stock in New British Dominion Oil Co. worth about \$11,000,000, is a small, soft-spoken man. There is not much left of his thinning white hair, and he gives his age as 75.

In his suite at the Hotel Elysée on East 54th St., this "man behind the scenes" in operations involving millions is a striking contrast to the usual conception of a Wall St. tycoon.

"I really retired a number of years ago," he said, "but I returned to active life when the Indonesian government granted me these oil rights and wanted me to develop them."

Unlisted Industrials

(Select list by Intercity Securities)

	Bid	Asked
Alberta Gas Trunk Line	18.50	19.50
Cdn. Delhi Pete	11.75	12.25
North. Ontario Gas Shs.	18.75	19.75
North. Ontario Gas Un.	33.00	35.00
Que. Natural Gas Shs.	25.50	26.75
Que. Natural Gas Units	122.00	126.00
Trans-Can. Pipe Shares	37.25	38.25
Trans-Can. Pipe Units	145.00	149.00
Westcoast Trans VTC	46.00	47.00
Westcoast Trans Units	213.00	219.00

tread on one another's feet. But in North and South America there are hundreds of companies.

"However, even over on this side of the Atlantic I approached umpteen companies with little success. The biggest barrier was fear of the stability of Indonesia. Another objection was the absence of proper legislation on foreign investments, particularly the non-existence of a petroleum law.

Got Group Interested

"Finally I got a group interested, headed by the Empire Trust. I had incorporated Sea Oil as holding company and I worked out an arrangement with the New British Dominion to issue 4,000,000 shares which

Figure 11a Diamantidi's oil dealings; *Toronto Star*, 17 July 1957.

Continued on next page

Exchange Interest

Sea Oil and General Corp., of New York—90 per cent. owned by Mr. Diamantidi—and its subsidiary Baud Corp., N.V., of Holland and Indonesia plans to exchange its interest in exploration rights to 2¼ million acres in Sumatra, Java and Borneo for 4,000,000 shares of New British Dominion. The plan, which involves a stock increase from 4,000,000 to 12,000,000 shares, will be voted on by New British shareholders July 31.

Empire Trust Co., of New York, is involved in the financing through its subsidiary Empire Resources Corp., as is the New York investment firm of Shearson, Hamill and Co.

Fifty per cent. of any profits from the venture would go to the Indonesian government.

For Many Years

"My wife and I have owned the Baud corporation in Indonesia for many years . . . it's been in the same family since 1824, producing tea, rubber and sugar," Mr. Diamantidi explained. "We never went into oil . . . I don't know a great deal about oil even now, but when the government granted me exploration rights and wanted my help I thought I'd give it a go.

"The thing was to get the capital. I couldn't raise it in England or France. In Europe, there's only British Petroleum and Royal Dutch, who don't

we will put in our group which will guarantee us a half share in the profits from the development of the Indonesian rights. I have no intention of putting the shares on the market. It will simply be held by Sea Oil as a guarantee, since it will be a controlling interest in New British.

"One reason I picked a Canadian firm with no previous foreign interests is that, although New British is Canadian, it is 80 per cent. held over here. For another, Empire Trust has been interested and connected with New British for several years. The company has never paid a dividend, but Empire Trust respects their management and they do have the knowledge and know-how to carry on the exploration."

Mighty Expensive

"Oil exploration is a mighty expensive proposition," remarked Mr. Diamantidi. "We'll need \$2,000,000 for the next 12 months of our program, and in the next five years, \$15,000,000 will be required for exploration alone"

Gen. Thomas Wilson, deputy undersecretary of commerce in Washington until last January, is now in Jakarta negotiating final details with the Indonesian government. He's vice-chairman of Sea Oil.

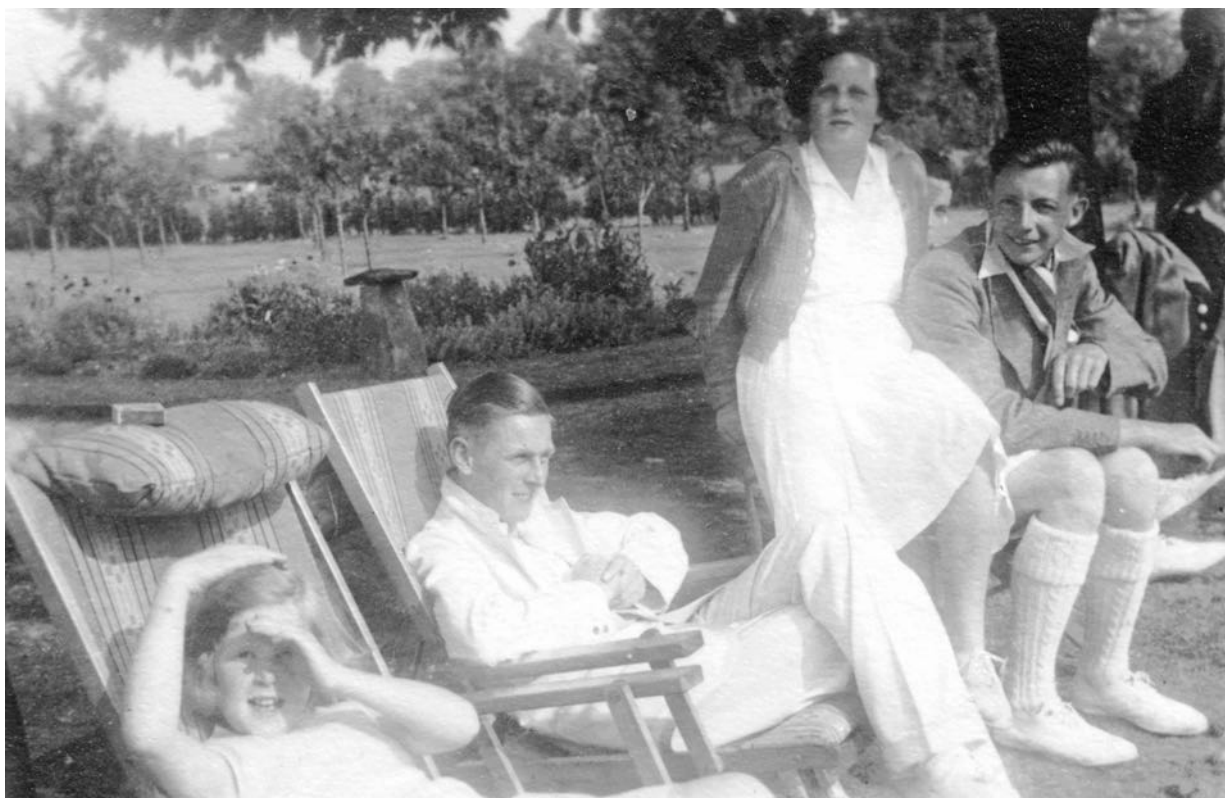
"If everything works out, I hope to be back in retirement by September," Mr. Diamantidi commented.

Figure 11b Diamantidi's oil dealings; *Toronto Star*, 17 July 1957.

Continued from previous page

APPENDIX II

Summer party at The Barn, Sunday 7 July 1935



Figures 12a, b Two photographs of the Nicholson family at The Barn; summer party on Sunday 7 July 1935.



Figures 12c, d Two more photographs of the Nicholson family at The Barn; summer party on Sunday 7 July 1935.

APPENDIX III

Article reporting the damage action filed by the Russian Ballet Development Co Ltd, 1961

Russian Ballet Fire Loss . . .

Damages Set At \$300,000

Russian ballet performances that thrilled thousands of Montrealers in the pre-war years are recalled by a \$300,000 damage action filed recently in Superior Court here.

The action involves fire-damage claims in connection with the handsome costuming and decors for more than a score of ballets in the repertory of the late Col. Wassily de Basil's

By LEON LEVINSON

famous "Original Ballets Russes."

According to the action taken by the Russian Ballet Development Co. Ltd. of London, England, the precious ballet equipment was placed in storage here in 1940 at the warehouse of J. B. Baillargeon Express Ltd. on Ontario St. by the great director

and impresario, "due to war conditions in Europe."

The brilliant company with its cast of 80 and a repertory of 120 ballets left the articles in storage here when it set off on a tour of South America. It never returned to Montreal.

In the post-war years Col. de Basil carried on the company, until his death in Paris in 1951 of a heart attack.

In December, 1958, when the costumes and decors had been in storage here for 18 years, the warehouse of J. B. Baillargeon was swept by a fire. The Ballets Russes property in an annex of the building at 423 Ontario St. East suffered "enormous damage."

It is the contention of the plaintiff company (owners of the goods) that the Baillargeon company was negligent in failing to provide proper protection for the stored goods.

It is alleged that the building was not fireproof and that no operating sprinkler system was available.

Through counsel C. Antoine Geoffrion, QC, the plaintiff company declares that it was never advised of the damage to its property and that it was only by chance that company director A. N. Diamantidi learned of it several months later.

The cases and trunks containing the costumes and sets were allegedly left at the fire site during the winter of 1958-59, under a floor covered with ice "a foot thick." When this thawed in the spring, water dripped from the ceiling and added greatly to the damages originally caused by the flames.

Total damages to the goods are set by the action at the \$300,000 figure.

Figure 13 Negligence claim filed by the Russian Ballet Development Co Ltd, *The Gazette (Montreal)*, 10 January 1961.

Andrea Basil Malandrinos – Versatile Film Actor of Effingham

PHILIP ALEXANDER MALANDRINOS and CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

Andrea Basil Malandrinos was one of the several distinguished actors who took up residence in Effingham in the first half of the twentieth century. His performing in theatre, film and television was very extensive and varied, frequently alongside actors of international fame and always receiving excellent reviews. We are fortunate in being able to illustrate this article with many excellent photographs showing him in action.

Background

Andrea was born in Liverpool on 14 November 1888 to parents Basil Andrea Malandrinos and his wife Julia (née Sergiades). Many websites mistakenly give Andrea's birthplace as Greece. His GRO birth registration is [Toxteth Park 8b 225, 1888 (Q4)]. His first sister Euphrosine was born about two years later [Toxteth Park 8b 152a, 1890 (Q4)].

The 1891 Census finds the family living at 52, Fern Grove in Toxteth Park and Basil occupied as a corn broker with his birthplace entered as Athens. Julia's birthplace was given as Alexandria. In 1901 they were living a short distance away at 30, Brompton Avenue, with three servants. Basil was still occupied as a corn broker and merchant but additionally was holding the post of Consul-General for Greece in Liverpool. By now he and Julia had produced a second daughter Aspasia who was probably born on Christmas Day 1893 [Toxteth Park 8b 177, 1894 (Q1)]. The 1911 Census finds the family still in Brompton Avenue but now at No. 30, which may or may not have been the same house as before but renumbered. Basil was still Greek Consul-General and was occupied as a general merchant, whilst Andrea was working as a clerk in a cotton factory.

In that same year, when the annual Catholic Charity Ball was held, Basil's wife attended (among many other dignitaries) with her daughter (it is not stated which one) and were described as follows [*The Queen*, 11 March 1911]:

'Mrs Malandrinos, wearing pale heliotrope satin with touches of gold, chaperoned her daughter, whose white silk frock was sashed with pink.'

Their attendances at these Balls in other years were similarly reported, as for example in 1912 [*The Queen*, 2 March 1912]:

'Mrs Malandrinos also wore black with gold lace; Miss [Euphrosine] Malandrinos also wore black satin, with a peplum of gold wrought net; Miss Aspasia Malandrinos was in pale blue.'

A fulsome account of Basil was published in the *Liverpool Post and Mercury* on 5 December 1916. It explains that Basil had been appointed Consul-General in 1893 and gives examples of the charitable fund raising he had undertaken 'for the benefit of Greek subjects temporarily in distress in their native land'.

Before long Andrea became Vice-Consul for Greece, deputising for his father. In 1916, however, in the middle of the Great War, the crisis engulfing the governments of Britain and Greece over the supposed neutrality of Greece led to the resignation in September of the Greek Minister in London and also of both Basil and Andrea from their Consular positions in Liverpool. The Consul-Generals for London and Manchester also resigned [*The Belfast News-Letter*, 5 December 1916]:

'Greek Minister and Consuls Resign

M. Basil A. Malandrinos, Greek Consul-General at Liverpool, and his deputy, M. Andrew [sic] B. Malandrinos, have resigned in consequence of the anti-Ally attitude adopted by King Constantine and his Government. M. Malandrinos, who is doyen of the Consular Corps in Liverpool, informed our correspondent yesterday that while his colleagues, the Greek Minister and the Greek Consul-Generals in London and Manchester had acted quite independently of each other in resigning, it was really the only course open to them having regard to the pronounced pro-Ally sympathies entertained by Greeks.'

Appendix I presents in full the above-cited article in the *Liverpool Post and Mercury* in which Basil's resignation was reported.

Some of these resigning individuals were subsequently reinstated when the political situation in Greece (as seen from their point of view) improved. In January 1917 Basil was re-appointed as Consul-General for Liverpool.

The Press published many other accounts of Basil's good works and public statements during this turbulent decade.



Figure 1 Greek Consul Basil Andrea Malandrinos.

Musical and theatrical beginnings

A few newspaper accounts exist which provide a little insight into Andrea's early interests in music and the dramatic arts. His early acting evidently began with Merseyside's amateur dramatics group, the Green Room Society. One report also stated that during his period as acting Consul he ran an amateur gypsy orchestra and conducted it (under an assumed name Ibrail Sztereizi) because he could not play any instrument. It was composed of Consular officials and raised a good deal for charities. From newspaper reports we know that he was involved in amateur acting in Liverpool at least as early as 1912.

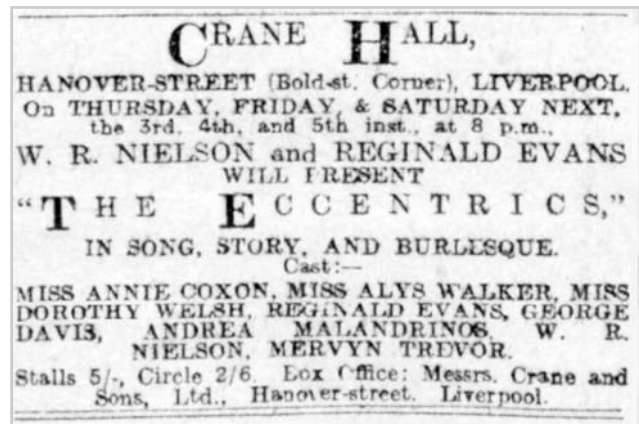


Figure 2 Andrea performing at the Crane Hall;
The Liverpool Echo, 1 February 1916.

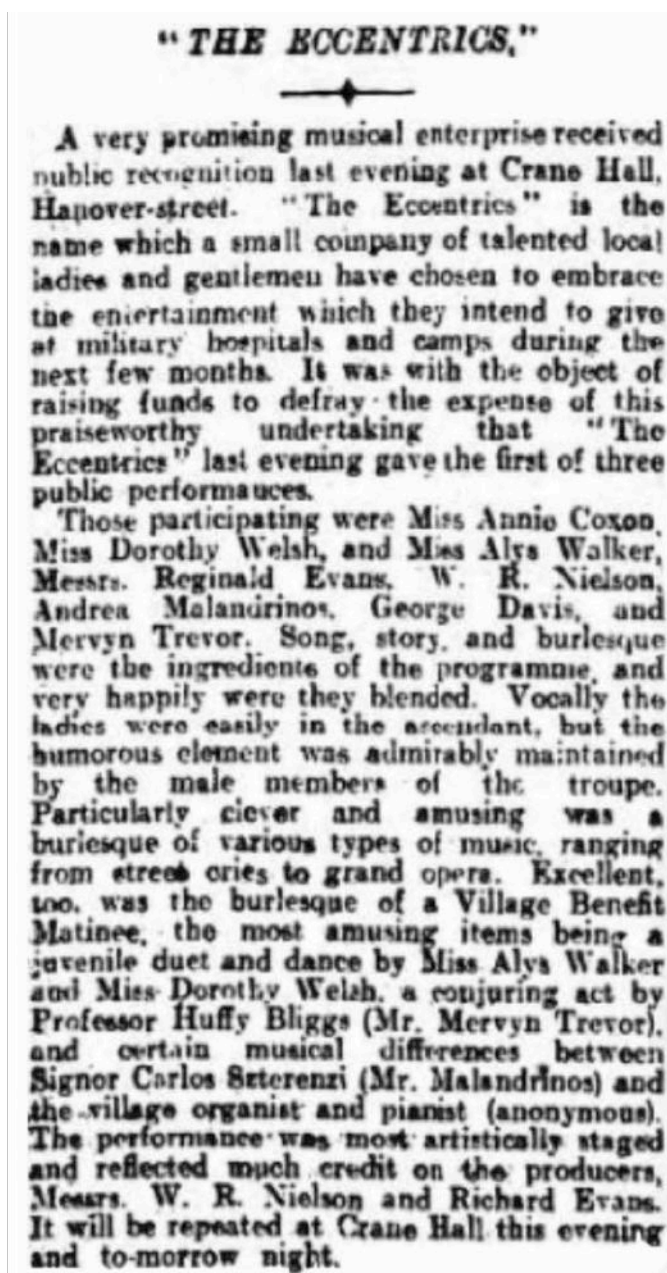


Figure 3 The Crane Hall, Liverpool.

Figure 4 Review of *The Eccentrics* in which Andrea performed at the Crane Hall; *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 4 February 1916.

The Crane's Music Hall in Liverpool's Hanover Street had opened in 1913, being constructed above the ground-floor music shop run by the Crane brothers. In its early years the Hall was used especially by small amateur dramatics groups.

The review in Figure 4 indicates that the performance was staged by ‘a small company of talented local ladies and gentlemen’ whose intention was to take the show to military hospitals and camps, funds for which were to be raised by this appearance at the Hall. It is not wholly clear as to Andrea’s contribution – we are told only that:

‘Song, story and burlesque were the ingredients of the programme, and very happily were they blended ... the most amusing items being ... certain musical differences between Signor Carlos Szterenzi (Mr. Malandrinos) and the village organist and pianist (anonymous).’

Two weddings in Liverpool

On 12 February 1918 Andrea married Mary Kathleen (née) House at the Greek Church of St Nicholas. It appears to have been a lovely wedding, with the church ‘beautifully decorated with spring flowers and giant palms’ and ‘singing by a splendidly-trained male choir’, all amidst the light of numerous candles [*Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 13 February 1918].

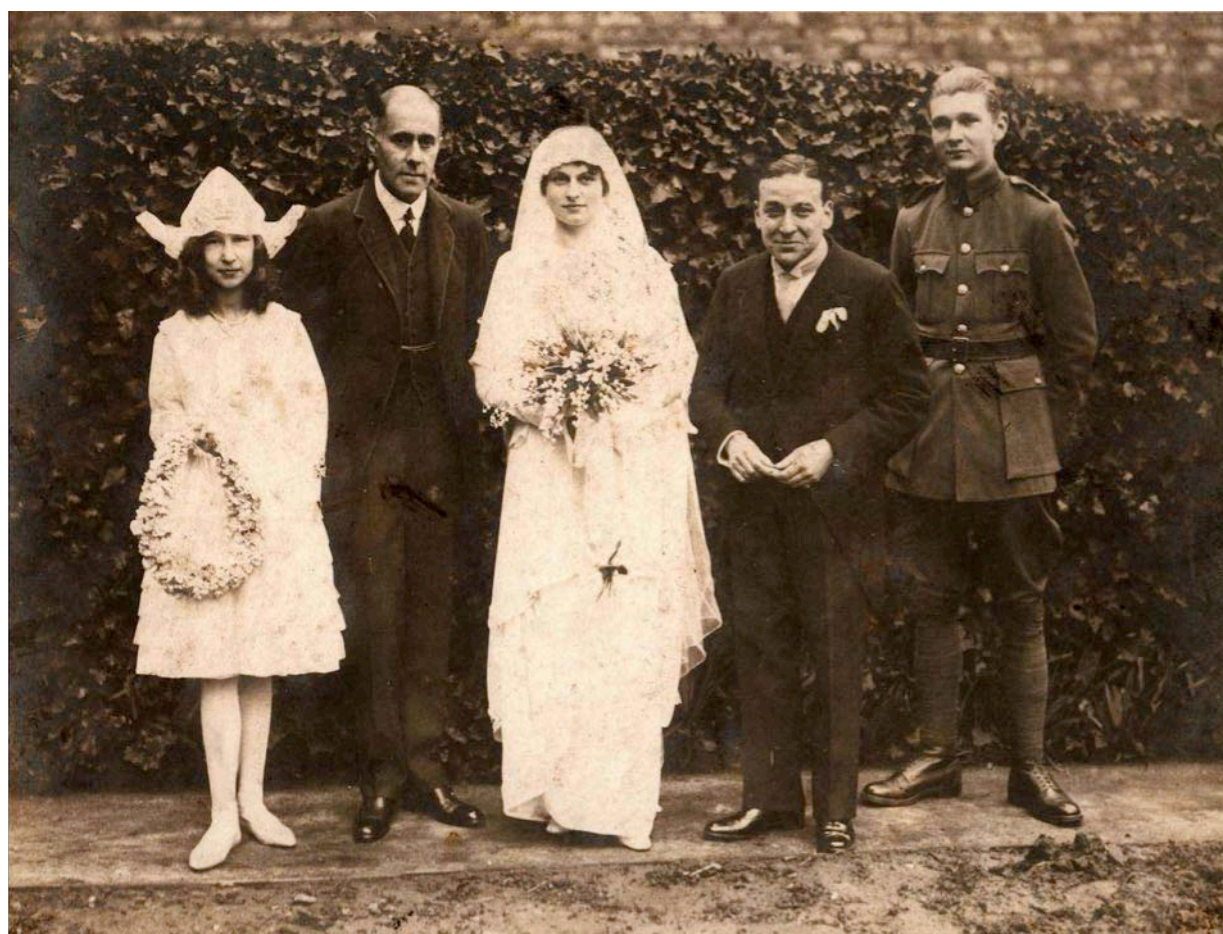


Figure 5 Marriage of Andrea and Kathleen; 12 February 1918.

Just over a week later, on 21 February, his sister Euphrosine married Lt Cyril Groves Banner of the Royal Engineers at St Luke’s Church. Andrea acted as one of the stewards. The bride’s outfit was described as follows [*Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 22 February 1918]:

‘... a dainty gown of white georgette over soft pink ninon, with panels handsomely embroidered with silver. The beautiful Brussels lace that formed the court train was shown to perfection over a lining of pale pink. A narrow wreath of heather and orange blossoms secured the long veil, and the bridal bouquet was of white carnations, heather, and lilies tied with the regimental colours.’

The Twenties

Very little is known of Andrea during this decade. In the spring of 1920 he appeared in a production of Somerset Maugham’s play *Jack Straw* put on at the Crane Hall by the Green Room players, and he was mentioned in a newspaper article about the event [*The Liverpool Echo*, 28 April 1920]:

‘... other helpful contributors to the general success were Mr A. B. Malandrinos ([as] Count von Bremer) ...’

On 5 December 1921 Andrea’s father Basil died and was interred in a private ceremony at Toxteth Park Cemetery on the 7th. The Probate Calendar stated that his effects were valued at £8,747 and described Basil as Greek Consul-General and corn broker ‘of the Adelphi Hotel and of 8, Fenwick Street’, although his domestic address in the burial register was given as 30, Brompton Avenue. Administration was granted to Julia and Andrea, the latter described as a shipping insurance broker.

In October 1922 Andrea’s mother Julia died and was interred in the same grave on the 20th. The gravestone reportably bears inscriptions but is missing a cross.

In late 1925 the only child of Andrea and Kathleen, Basil Andrea, was born [Liverpool 8b 154, 1925 (Q4)].

In his Vice-Consular capacity Andrea was caught up in a very difficult and unfortunate legal entanglement in the spring of 1926. He had given assistance to a Mrs Calypso (née Jacovides) Sakellarios, a resident of Liverpool, to make a trip to Egypt with her parents against the will of her Greek husband, a rich cotton merchant named Constantine Alexander Sakellarios. Calypso, who was some fourteen years younger than him and already a wealthy heiress, claimed that her husband was insufferably domineering. Andrea considered that it was his duty to assist her and did so by helping her, her young child and her parents to get away from England by crossing over firstly to Ireland. Subsequently the family reached Egypt from where Calypso then initiated divorce proceedings against Constantine.

The latter then sued her parents and Andrea for conspiring to entice his wife away from him. The case came to court at the Liverpool Assizes on 27 April 1927, almost a year after the originating event, before Mr Justice Roche and in front of a special jury. Andrea had decided to defend the case against him through the advocacy of King’s Counsel Mr Hemmerde, the Recorder of Liverpool. Mr and Mrs Jacovides chose not to defend themselves and did not attend the hearings, which extended over three days. On 29 April the jury found in favour of Constantine, awarding him damages of £6,750 and apportioning the award such as to require Andrea to pay one third of it, that is, £2,250. ‘The judge remarked that if all self-opinionated husbands were forsaken, there would be many empty homes’ [*The Auckland Star*, 11 May 1927]. The imposition of the damages upon Andrea was deferred by the judge in order that a check could be made that the jury’s apportionment in this case was lawful, the issue being whether the entire damages could be so divided as opposed to each defendant being individually liable for that whole amount. The outcome of the check is not known to us. A long report of Andrea’s defence is presented in Appendix III.

From our present-day perspective it may appear extraordinary that Andrea should have had this claim brought against him, even more so that the verdict was cast in Constantine’s favour; however, this episode took place before women had even been granted the vote.

A month or so later Andrea was again a defendant in a court hearing for his alleged default in settling a tiny outstanding charge of £18 owed to an outfitter. Andrea did not attend but a witness, apparently appearing on his behalf, stated that Andrea had ‘no income beyond a proportion of his Consular fees’, at least half of which had to be transmitted to the Greek Government. ‘Unfortunately, during the past twelve months he had had nothing else to live upon’ [*The Liverpool Echo*, May 16th 1927]. The court ruled that Andrea should have to repay the £18 at the rate of £2 per month. How he was to pay the colossal damages from the former case was not stipulated.

It is presumed within the family that in the end Andrea had to pay those damages and did so having been refused any assistance in that respect from the ungrateful Jacovides family. Independently of this case, it seems odd that Andrea’s finances should have been in such dire straits at this time, for he had surely been the beneficiary of his father’s estate the value of which had been four times greater than the amount of these damages. He had been occupied in shipping insurance back in 1921, but that position may have been one established by his father and may have ended when his father died.

A year later Andrea was continuing his interest in the performing arts. On 22 October 1928 *The Liverpool Echo* advertised his appearance ‘on the stage’ at the Palais de Luxe, billing him as ‘The Celebrated Greek Tenor with Local Associations’. On 7 December he was similarly advertised as appearing on stage at the Avenue Super Cinema, again described as ‘The Celebrated Greek Tenor’ and accompanied by pianist ‘Nadini’. Such appearances were typical of the silent film era.

The Thirties

The transition from the Twenties to the Thirties marked a transition also for Andrea, as his public singing became largely displaced by his new focus upon stage and film work. Newspaper articles often comment

that he was aided in this by his fluency in six languages. A surviving note in his own hand lists his languages as 'English, Broken English, German, French, Greek, some Italian and Spanish'.

Perhaps the earliest newspaper reference to his film work is the article published in *The Bioscope* in early 1930 discussing the forthcoming all-British 'talkie' entitled *Greek Street* being produced by the Gaumont-British Picture Corporation. Andrea was one of the actors mentioned – he played the part of 'Carlo', apparently a restaurant worker:

'Another interesting engagement is that of Andrea Malandrinis, well known as a tenor singer at fashionable restaurants' [*The Bioscope*, 22 January 1930].



Figure 6 Andrea playing 'Carlo' in *Greek Street*, *The Bioscope*, 21 May 1930.

In February 1930 he acted the part of 'Pedro' – perhaps not much different from 'Carlo' – in the film *Raise the Roof* starring the very well known actress Betty Balfour, famed as much for the quality of her legs as for the quality of the films she usually appeared in. Both *Greek Street* and *Raise the Roof* received excellent reviews, however.

In 1931 Andrea was engaged for a theatre production of James Bernard Fagan's play *The Improper Duchess*, with Yvonne Arnaud in the starring role of the 'Duchess'. His own role was that of 'Myrom B. Garcia', proprietor of the Paradise Hotel. In Fagan's play script 'Garcia' is described as '... a middle-aged, stoutish yellow-faced Italian American with black waxed moustache and hair going bald. He is over-smartly dressed in black morning coat, striped trousers, and white spats. He carries a bowler in one hand and mops his head with a coloured silk handkerchief with the other.' Andrea's acting in this play was well received, as shown by the following two reviews:

'In several notices of J. B. Fagan's play "The Improper Duchess", just produced in London, praise has been given to the performance of a member of the cast named Andrea Melandrin. This is the stage name of Andreas [sic] Malandrinos, the son of the late Greek Consul in Liverpool. Mr. Malandrinos was very popular here as an exceptionally witty amateur performer. After leaving Liverpool he tried the music-halls, but it is in film work that he has been mostly employed' [*The Liverpool Echo*, 27 January 1931].

'Real Tenor – Andrea Melandrino [sic], who is the excellent maitre d'hotel of "The Improper Duchess", is also a very fine tenor singer, and is not unlikely, one of these days, to be hailed as a second Maurice Farkoa. Before he came into the "profession" he was a representative of the Greek Government in the Consular Service' [*The Daily Mirror*, 6 March 1931].



Figure 7 Andrea with Betty Balfour in *Raise the Roof*; *The Bioscope*, 26 February 1930.

The photograph in Figure 8 was probably taken in Liverpool around 1930-31. At the left is Basil Andrea (junior), then aged about 5-6. The three women have not been firmly identified, although it is suspected that the one standing next to Basil is his mother Kathleen. The woman seated may be Kathleen's mother.



Figure 8 The Malandrinos family c1930-31.

The Improper Duchess, in which Winifred Oughton also acted, premiered at the Empire Theatre in Southampton on 12 January 1931 and then opened on 22 January at London's Globe Theatre where it continued through to the autumn making a total of 348 performances. In March of that year Andrea featured in the cabaret show presented at *The Daily Mirror's* Annual Dinner in Marylebone's Wharncliffe Rooms. The show subsequently went on tour, appearing for example at the Prince's Theatre in Manchester, where Andrea was reviewed as 'most appealing of the other characterisations' [*The Stage*, 18 February 1932].

In early 1932 he was singing with Joseph ('Jose') Norman's Cuban Rumba Band, these performances being broadcast on BBC Radio. A review of this was accompanied by the photograph of him in Figure 9:

'That Cuban Rhythm

A new rumba which is very attractive is *Manuella*. This is being sung at the New Gallery Cinema by Andrea Malandrino [sic], who tells me that audiences take to the number enthusiastically. Malandrino is actor and singer, too. He is playing in *And So to Bed* at the Globe, as well as appearing three times a day at the cinema, so he finds himself tolerably busy' [*The Daily Mirror*, 28 January 1932].



Figure 9 Andrea in *The Daily Mirror*, 28 January 1932.

In March 1932 he was appearing by ‘special engagement’ at Saturday Dinner Dances at the Queen’s Hotel in Birmingham, delivering ‘character vocal numbers including *The Rumba*’ [*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 17 March 1932]. In May he played a role in the romantic comedy *Fame in a Night* broadcast on BBC radio. He was on the London West End stage at the Wyndham’s Theatre later that year acting as ‘Enrique’ in Philip Leaver’s play *The Way to the Stars* [*The Stage*, 8 September 1932].

The following year saw him playing a part in a topical revue *Montmartre to Montparnasse*, broadcast on radio in March. He was back at the Globe Theatre in mid-June playing the part of the waiter ‘Anselmo’ in Ivor Novello’s play *Proscenium* in which he gave ‘a clever foreign character sketch’ [*The Stage*, 22 June 1933].

Andrea and Kathleen had first appeared in Surrey’s Electoral Registers in October 1932. They were living at that time at Shalford Park Cottage in Shalford. It was probably in this year that they had moved from Liverpool to southern England. By this time Kathleen must have been seriously ill. In the summer of 1933 she died aged just 38 [Hambledon 2a 211, 1933 (Q3)] from throat cancer, having previously undergone radical surgery. Her only child Basil Andrea was just seven years old.

Not long after losing his wife Andrea appeared in the play *Up In The Air* which opened at the West End’s Royalty Theatre on 15 November. He played the part of ‘Papa Robelot’ whose character was ‘made racy of the soil by Andrea Malandrinos, a typical Boniface of the French provinces’ [*The Stage*, 23 November 1933].

Productions featuring Andrea in 1934 included *Holiday in Europe*, *Wonder Bar*, *One Night in Venice* and *The Show Goes Over*, all in the form of radio broadcasts. The cast for *Wonder Bar* included two other Effingham-connected actors, Gwen Farrar and Norah Blaney. He also took parts in several films, including *Say It With Flowers*, *My Song for You*, *The Admiral’s Secret*, *Late Extra* and *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. The next year saw a mix of radio and film work, but Andrea also was back on the stages of the West End. On 20 May 1935 he played the role of ‘Gomez’ in *Double Error* and was well reviewed:

‘... excellent character performances, foreign and Scots, came from Andrea Malandrinos, as the impresario Gomez, and from ...’ [*The Daily Mirror*, 6 March 1931].

and on 16 October he took the role of ‘Jacques’ at The Playhouse in the production of *A Butterfly on the Wheel*.

We do not know how much income Andrea was receiving from this stream of small-part engagements. His son, now aged ten, was attending a private school, Stoke Park Preparatory School housed in the mansion of Stoke Park, Guildford and there must have been significant fees to pay. By October 1935 Andrea had moved out of Shalford Park Cottage and was now living in the village’s inn *The Seahorse*, possibly to obtain a lower level of rent. Electoral Registers indicate that Andrea remained at this inn until at least 1938.

1936 seems to have been a particularly busy year for him as he appeared in at least four different London theatres. The first of these occasions was at The Garrick where he played the role of ‘Riccio’ in *Page From a Diary*:

‘... and good work is done by Andrea Malandrinos (as a major domo) ...’ [*The Stage*, 23 January 1936].



Figure 10 The Seahorse in Shalford.



Figure 11 From *Page From a Diary*;
The Tatler, 29 January 1936.



Figure 12 From *St Helena*;
The Tatler, 8 April 1936.

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Just two months later he was on the stage at Daly's Theatre, now in the role of 'Cipriani' in a play, involving twelve different scenes, about Napoleon's incarceration on St Helena:

'Praise must also go to the very natural maitre d'hotel of Andrea Malandrinos ...' [*The Stage*, 26 March 1936].

In this same year Andrea played the role of restaurant head waiter 'Giuseppe' in the British-made film *The Amazing Quest of Ernest Bliss* starring Cary Grant.



Figure 13 Frame from the film *The Amazing Quest of Ernest Bliss*, in which Andrea appears and provides a good example of his command of Italian. A short clip from the film is presented on the website of Effingham Local History Group (ELHG), from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GWmULjZDjMI>.

He appeared in at least fourteen other films released during 1936. On August, back on the stage, he acted as a hotel proprietor in the play *Zero* staged at the Embassy Theatre in Swiss Cottage and then in December he was at The King's Theatre in Hammersmith in the play *Muted Strings*.

It may have been at about this time that the photograph in Figure 14 was taken, showing Andrea with his son Basil Andrea (junior) who here looks about 10-12 years of age. Andrea seems to have been doing some gardening. The location is unknown but may have been Shalford.



Figure 14 Andrea with his son Basil Andrea.

In 1937 he appears to have had just one stage role, in the play *Think of a Number*, presented at Brighton's Theatre Royal in May and at London's Comedy Theatre in December. He acted in at least twelve films during this year besides seven or more dramas broadcast on radio.

A similar pattern of work was undertaken in the following year, with over a dozen films and a few radio broadcasts together with a performance in October at the Richmond Theatre of *Behind the Schemes*. Such reviews as there were during 1938 made only fleeting references to Andrea. The photograph in Figure 15 shows him in the 1938 film *Crackerjack*.



Figure 15 Andrea in *Crackerjack*; 1938.

from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueXKDokcpIE>

During 1939 Andrea did very little film work and most of his activity was on the stage, although he also featured in two works broadcast on radio. In January he acted in Beatrix Thomson's play *Sons of Adam* at His Majesty's Theatre and in *The Last Barricade* at Belfast's Opera House. In June he obtained this review for his part in *The Bridge of Sighs* at St Martin's Theatre:

'An excellent humorous little sketch of a Latin Grocer, with six bambinos to feed, is provided by Andrea Malandrinos' [*The Stage*, 22 June 1939].

In September he was at the Wimbledon Theatre acting in *French Without Tears* and in November he had a part in *The Snare of the Fowler* at the Palace Court in Bournemouth. At the close of 1939 he appeared in *May Day* at the Richmond Theatre:

'Andrea Malandrinos manages to convey the atmosphere of elusive political intrigue ...' [*The Stage*, 14 December 1939].

By this time he had moved to Effingham, where he would live for the rest of his life.

Coming to Effingham

Andrea has not been found in the Electoral Registers for 1939, which applied to the year starting in mid-October 1939. He was registered as residing in Shalford in the preceding year. It is, however, certain that by mid-September 1939 he was living in Effingham, for he was shown there with his son at Grove House in the 1939 National Register. His occupation was entered as 'Actor (Travelling)'. Also present at that address was his unmarried sister Aspasia having occupation 'Assistant Stage Manager'.

Some residents who had been children at this time remembered that there was a pet monkey in Andrea's household, one claiming that it belonged to Aspasia, which was to be seen occasionally around the village perched on Andrea's or Basil's shoulder. The late Effingham resident Betty Crouch resident recalled the following episode, which had occurred when as a young girl she was sent to buy some bacon and, on arriving at the shop, saw that Basil was also there, with the monkey:

'Mrs Bridger's was a grocery shop ... and the bacon was all laid out in front of you. One time when I went to get the grocery my mother asked why didn't I bring any rashers and I said I wouldn't do because Mr Malandrinos' monkey had spent a penny all over it and I didn't fancy it! So she was quite relieved I think.'

Grove House had been purchased in the 1920s by another Greek, Anthony Nicholas Diamantidi. Previously the house had been known for decades as 'The Villa' and it was Diamantidi who changed its name. He and Andrea were known to be close friends and may have known each other before either came to Effingham. During the 1930s Diamantidi made several attempts to sell the property, whilst he was also

much engaged in other property developments and investments in the area. He may have managed to sell it by the late 1930s. This issue has a bearing upon where Andrea was living. During the main years of the War there was no electoral registration, but in the later 1940s and the 1950s, at least, Andrea was shown in the registers to be living at Grove House Cottage which is remembered by at least one resident to have been a 'little lodge' adjoining Grove House. There is some fairly good evidence that this was the building highlighted green in the map in Figure 16.

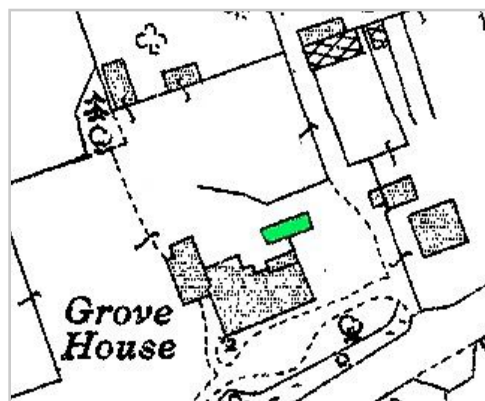


Figure 16 Probable location (in green) of Grove House Cottage.



Figure 17 Grove House (western side) in the 1930s.

Wartime

Local newspaper reports establish that very soon after War was declared Grove House was used, possibly through requisitioning, 'to accommodate cases of minor infectious ailments and awkward or dirty families' [*The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 4 November 1939]. How such use might have affected Andrea's occupancy of the adjoining cottage we do not know. Diamantidi had caused several other houses to be built in the village and may have made one of these available to Andrea.

During the first few years of the War most of Andrea's work was in films. He appeared in at least nine released during 1940-43. In 1943, however, he played at The Old Vic in *Blow Your Own Trumpet*, a new comedy written by Peter Ustinov and produced by Michael Redgrave, being mentioned in the Press as follows [*Liverpool Daily Post*, 26 July and 3 August 1939]:

'A Liverpool man who had the distinction of appearing in one of the first British "talkies" is at the Playhouse this week in the Old Vic production of "Blow Your Own Trumpet. He is Mr. Andrea Malandrinos, whose father was Consul-General for Greece here for many years. Although he had some experience of the cotton market and shipping as a young man, Mr. Malandrinos's heart was in the stage.'

'Mr Andrea Malandrinos is delightfully human as the restaurant owner Lorenzo ...'

It seems that the last two years of the War offered fewer opportunities, with Andrea appearing in just a few films, these including *Champagne Charlie* in 1944 in which he played 'Gatti' whilst Tommy Trinder took the lead role. The cast also included Stanley Holloway who, after the War, would officiate at one of Effingham's village fêtes, possibly through his acquaintance with Andrea.



Figure 18 Tommy Trinder (at left), Andrea and Stanley Holloway (at right) in *Champagne Charlie*, 1944.

Post-war work

Once the War was over Andrea's engagements quickly resumed their pre-war pace. During the next twenty-five years he appeared in at least a hundred films and at least sixty television appearances, besides doing some significant stage work. The dramatisations of the early 1950s were frequently concerned with the portrayal of British wartime heroism, an example being the 1952 play *Albert R.N.* in which Andrea had a part. It was presented at the West End's Saville Theatre in July and then at the King's Theatre in Southsea in August:

'... and Mr. Andrea Malandrinos enjoys himself hugely as a grotesquely unwilling latecomer to the Nazi Party' [*The Tatler*, 13 August 1952].

'Andrea Malandrinos, one of London's best character actors, gives a wholly realistic and most likeable performance' [*The Stage*, 7 August 1952].

In 1955 he acted in the top hit British film *The Cockleshell Heroes* and two years later in *The Prince and the Showgirl*, starring Laurence Olivier and Marilyn Monroe.

He had a part in the Beatles' 1965 film *Help!* and in 1967 acted with Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise in *The Magnificent Two*.

In television he featured in several popular series such as *Z-Cars*, *The Avengers* and *The Saint*.



Figure 19: From *Albert R.N.*; *The Tatler*, 13 August 1952.

Under Licence from the Mary Evans Picture Library © Illustrated London News Ltd. / Mary Evans.



Figure 20 Andrea (at left) with John Barrie and Alan Lake in *The Saint*; 1960s.



Figure 21 Andrea (at right) with José Ferrer in *The Cockleshell Heroes*, 1955.

ELHG is fortunate in having had the opportunity of scanning many of Andrea's own original prints, showing him 'in action'. These are in the possession of this article's first-named author, Andrea's grandson Philip Alexander. A selection of the scans is shown in Appendix IV.

Memories

Little is known of Andrea's life beyond his work. No evidence has been found that he involved himself in Effingham's organisations or social life. He was possibly just too tired. One resident, who lived virtually next to Effingham Junction station, recalled that after a day's work in London Andrea would typically catch

the last train from Waterloo to the Junction where a taxi would be waiting to take him to his home in the village.

He did not live all of his post-war years at Grove House Cottage – his residence there seems to have ended around 1958-59. Diamantidi was still in Effingham in the Fifties, living at one of the properties he had built there, The Barn near The Street. It is possible that Andrea lived in that house for a time. Some of his photographs have address information on their reverses and among them are instances where his address is given as The Steps, further down The Street. However, his descendants know that he lived for a long time at the Effingham Golf Club, sometimes in the main building but at other times in a caravan he had in its grounds.

One resident also remembers that Andrea functioned as a local agent for Diamantidi and that the former's son Basil operated a market garden on the land where subsequently Effingham's shops in The Street were built.



Figure 22 Andrea with his son Basil Andrea, possibly in Effingham; undated.

It is known within the family that in 1970 Andrea took a fall when returning to his caravan, having slipped on some stairs. He was not found until two days later and was taken to hospital, but died there from hypothermia aged nearly 82 [GRO Ref: Surrey Mid E 5g 22, 1970 (Q3)]. He appears not to have left a Will.

Retrospect

It is not known why Andrea had mostly been engaged for small parts when by all accounts he was a highly gifted actor amply capable of portraying a wide spectrum of fictional characters. Among the great numbers of reviews that refer to him not one has so far been discovered giving anything less than a positive assessment.

It may be that he preferred these highly concentrated but limited roles rather than the greater exposure and more numerous retakes typical of major roles. Or, it may be that he would like to have had more substantial parts but was sometimes denied them through being typecast as the supposedly accented, small-statured, subservient foreigner which he often played. Be that as it may, he was another of Effingham's very fine and well-known actors. Appendix V, listing about 300 works in which he appeared, is by no means a complete account but is a sufficient testament to his versatility and to the consistent engaging of his talents by serious producers decade after decade.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1, 5-8, 14, 18, 21, 22, 26-49: from Philip Alexander Malandrinos

Figure 2: courtesy of the British Library Board: ©Illustrated London News Group

Figure 3: from the internet, unattributed

Figures 4, 9, 23-25: by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figure 10: from Google Street View

Figures 11, 12, 19: under Licence from the Mary Evans Picture Library

Figures 13, 15: from YouTube: public domain

Figure 16: Ordnance Survey 25" map, 1934; National Library of Scotland

Figure 17: from the Mary Rice-Oxley Postcard Collection

Figure 20: from the Internet Movie Database (<https://www.imdb.com>)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ELHG gratefully acknowledges having had the opportunity in 2020 of scanning the collection of photographs relating to Andrea in the possession of the Malandrinos family.

APPENDIX I

*Basil Andrea's resignation as Greek Consul-General in 1916***GREEK OFFICIALS RESIGN.****MINISTER AND CONSULS.**

Reuter learns that the Greek Minister in London, being no longer able to identify himself with the policy pursued by his Government, has tendered his resignation.

The Greek consul-general in London has also resigned, with the Greek consuls at Manchester and Liverpool.

The Greek consul in Liverpool is Mr. B. A. Malandrinos, who, like his colleagues, relinquished his office in consequence of the official attitude of the Greek Government.

The deputy consul of Liverpool, Mr. Andrew B. Malandrinos, son of Mr. B. A. Malandrinos, has also resigned.

The Greek consular service in Liverpool has been established since 1852. The first consul here was M. D. N. Gismacopulo, and he was succeeded by D. Th. Ralli and M. A. Ralli (members of a well-known local firm, one of whom has been High Sheriff of Denbigh), and E. D. Barff. Mr. Malandrinos was appointed to the office in 1893, which he has held up to now, a period of twenty-three years. During that time he has organised or assisted in various movements which had for their object

the benefit of Greek subjects temporarily in distress in their native land. Among these might be recalled the Zante and Almyros earthquakes in 1893 and 1894. A sum of over £2,000 was then collected from the Liverpool public under the inspiring energy of Mr. R. D. Holt, Mayor of the city. In 1897 over £1,500 was collected through the instrumentality of the "Daily Post" and other newspapers for the Greek Red Cross Society, during the Greco-Turkish war. Over £2,000 was also collected among the Greek colony in Liverpool for the relief of the sufferers in that war. Again in the war of 1912-14, against Turkey and Bulgaria, over £4,000 was collected for a similar purpose. These successful efforts were due to the activities and influence of Mr. Malandrinos and the committee over which he presided. Many other minor efforts were also successfully undertaken.

In other charities which were of a national or local character, and especially for the hospital charities of Liverpool, Mr. Malandrinos was always a conspicuous figure. In this respect he has a most excellent record, and his popularity with all classes of society was great. The loyalty he exhibited towards the Allies since the great war commenced is well known, and it was no doubt to some extent owing to his fine devotion to England and the other allies that so many Greeks in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, and elsewhere joined the British colours and showed great bravery in action. Not a few died on the battlefield, while others were wounded.

Mr. Malandrinos since the outbreak of the war has, as indeed all Greeks in England have been, a warm supporter of the policy of M. Venizelos, which he considers the right policy for Greece. It was with the utmost reluctance that Mr. Malandrinos resolved upon the resignation of his office.



MR. MALANDRINOS.

Figure 23 Basil's resignation; *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, 5 December 1916.

APPENDIX II

Wedding of Andrea Basil Malandrinos and (Mary) Kathleen House on 12 February 1918

A GREEK WEDDING.

—♦—

MALANDRINOS—HOUSE.

—

The Greek Church (St. Nicholas) was the scene of a picturesque wedding yesterday, when Miss Kathleen House, daughter of the late Mr. Frederick House, was married to Mr. Andrea Basil Malandrinos (Vice-Consul for Greece), son of Mr. Basil Andrea Malandrinos (Consul-General for Greece in Liverpool). The church was beautifully decorated with spring flowers and giant palms, which showed with artistic effect in the light of numerous candles. The singing was by a splendidly-trained male choir under the conductorship of Mr. W. Robertson, and was unaccompanied by any musical instrument.

The ceremony was performed by the Most Rev. Archimandrite Nichiforos Viannoulis, D.D., and the duties of best man were efficiently carried out by Mr. Theodore Candagli (Consul for Greece in Manchester).

The bride, who was given away by her brother, Mr. Terence House, wore a graceful gown of ivory crepe de chine that hung in soft classic folds revealing a Grecian border embroidered in silver, Greek key pattern, with short train hanging from one shoulder, and thick silver rope girdle. A narrow wreath of tendrils of white heather and orange blossoms secured the long tulle veil, and the bridal bouquet was a huge posy of lilies of the valley tied with blue and white satin streamers, the Greek national colours.

Miss Betty Poulson was sole bridesmaid. She was a dainty little figure with a frilly frock of creamy Brussels net over shell pink crepe de chine. She wore a winged Dutch cap of lace and net with tiny pink roses and narrow ribbon. Instead of a bouquet, she wore slung on her arm a wreath composed of pink rose petals.

Among those at the church were Mr. and Mrs. B. A. Malandrinos (the bridegroom's parents), Mrs. M. Balli, Mr. and Mrs. A. Sergiades, Mr. and Mrs. F. Poulson, the Misses Malandrinos, Major J. Macfarlane, and Mr. Gallati.

Figure 24 Marriage of Andrea Basil to Kathleen House; *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 13 February 1918.

APPENDIX II (continued)

Wedding of Euphrosine Malandrinos and Lt Cyril Groves Banner on 21 February 1918

MILITARY WEDDING.

BANNER—MALANDRINOS.

A war wedding of unusual interest was celebrated yesterday at St. Luke's Church. A large and fashionable congregation assembled in the beautifully-decorated church, where the numerous charming toilettes formed an uncommon picture of lightness and colour. It was an interlude of gaiety greatly enjoyed by the busiest of present-day workers. The bride was Miss Euphrosine Malandrinos, elder daughter of Mr. B. A. Malandrinos, Consul-General for Greece, and the bridegroom was Lieutenant Cyril Banner, Royal Engineers, son of the late Mr. Samuel Banner. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. J. R. Darbyshire, M.A., vicar, and the musical portion of the full choral service was conducted by Mr. Walter H. Windus, A.R.C.O., whose organ recital included March Nuptial (Guilmant), Andantino (Lamare), Serenata (Moskowsky), Allegretto (Wolstenholme), and Mendelssohn's Wedding March as the wedded couple left the church.

The bridegroom was accompanied by Mr. George Banner as best man, and the stewards (who wore badges of the bridegroom's regimental colours formed with tulips, violets, and mimosa) were Mr. A. B. Malandrinos (Deputy Consul for Greece), Lieutenant Victor Banner,



"Post and Mercury."

LIEUT. AND MRS. BANNER,

Photographed after the Greek ceremony.

Figure 25a Marriage of Euphrosine to Cyril Banner; *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 22 February 1918.
continued on next page ...

APPENDIX II (continued)

Wedding of Euphrosine Malandrinos and Lt Cyril Groves Banner on 21 February 1918

Lieutenant S. Burns, Lieutenant A. Isaac, Mr. G. H. Addinsell, and Mr. W. S. Rhodes.

The bridal party was met at the church door by clergy and choir, who led the way to the chancel singing "The Voice that Breathed o'er Eden." The bride, who was given away by her father, wore a dainty gown of white georgette over soft pink ninon, with panels handsomely embroidered in silver. The beautiful Brussels lace that formed the court train was shown to perfection over a lining of pale pink. A narrow wreath of heather and orange blossoms secured the long veil, and the bridal bouquet was of white carnations, heather, and lilies, tied with the regimental colours. Following the bride were two miniature train-bearers—Colleen Bartholomew and Strati Xydi. The little girl was quaint and pretty in a short frock of lace and net over pink and a cute little cap of lace and tiny rosebuds, and the boy was graceful and bonny in a pale blue suit. Miss Aspasia Malandrinos (sister of the bride) was sole bridesmaid. She wore an effective gown of eggshell blue draped with blue and gold brocade and a becoming hat of black tulle. She carried a bouquet of pink double-flowering cherry blossom tied with the Royal Engineers' colours—red, blue, and gold. The bridegroom gave her, as a souvenir, a gold wristlet watch.

After the ceremony a reception was held at the Midland Adelphi Hotel, where some five hundred guests were received by Mrs. Malandrinos (mother of the bride, who was dressed in figured ninon with panels of soft silk, and carried a bouquet of pink carnations) and Mrs. Banner (mother of the bridegroom, wearing a becoming gown of smoke grey chiffon velvet that harmonised well with her bouquet of pink carnations). A telegram of congratulation was received from the Greek Minister in London, who regretted his and Madame Gennadius's enforced absence. The numerous wedding presents on view included a silver salver engraved with the city's coat of arms from the Lord Mayor.

Relations of the bride or bridegroom present included Mr. and Mrs. George Banner, Mr. and Mrs. Andrea Malandrinos, Mrs. Bartholomew, Mr. and Mrs. A.

Sergiades, Mr. and Mrs. Mavroudis, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Addinsell, Mrs. Hatch, and Mrs. Sinclair. Among the guests were the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, Lady Russell, Captain and Mrs. McFarlane, Mr. and Mrs. Burton Chadwick, Mr. and Mrs. Pickmere, Mr. and Mrs. Litler Jones, Mr. P. Corkhill, Mrs. H. Rutherford, Mrs. F. Wilson, Mrs. Spartalli, Mrs. Fachiri, Mrs. Rupert Bremner, Mrs. W. H. Williams, Mrs. Duranowski, Mrs. H. Mounsey, and members of the Consular Corps, Liverpool.

Lieutenant and Mrs. C. Banner left for North Wales for a short honeymoon tour. The bride travelled in a handsomely tailored suit of elephant grey artistically touched with blue, and finished with a set of beautiful skunk furs, the gift of her father.

Figure 25b Marriage of Euphrosine to Cyril Banner; *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 22 February 1918.
continued from previous page ...

APPENDIX III

Andrea's defence in the conspiracy case – transcribed from The Liverpool Echo, 29 April 1927

OUT-OF-DATE VIEW OF MARRIAGE.

Recorder On Heading For Disaster.

CONSUL SHADOWED.-----
MR. MALANDRINOS' STORY OF HOTEL EXPERIENCE.-----
RICH WIFE'S TRIP.

Mr. Malandrinos, the Greek Vice-Consul in Liverpool, today, gave his version of Mrs. Sakellarios' trip to Egypt, via Dublin, when the case in which he is a defendant was resumed before Mr. Justice Roche at the Liverpool Assizes.

Mr. Hemmerde, K.C., the recorder of Liverpool, made some strong remarks on the Greek view of marriage as a partnership in which the man held all the shares.

MR. HEMMERDE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Hemmerde, resuming his address to the jury today, said he should suggest that if Mr. Malandrinos believed Mrs. Sakellarios was acting of her own volition and then assisted her, he could not possibly in those circumstances, acting in good faith, be found to have taken any part in a conspiracy to deprive the husband of his wife's society.

Referring to Mr. Dumbell's evidence that Mr. and Mrs. Sakellarios lived together in perfect happiness, Mr. Hemmerde said a man did not show his worst behaviour to his wife in the presence of an intimate friend of five years and an acquaintance of twenty.

Against that there would be read the evidence of the wife herself, and he (Mr. Hemmerde) imagined that the jury would hesitate a great deal before they would prefer the evidence of a friend of the family to the evidence of the wife herself.

Mr. Malandrinos would not deny for a moment that in some ways he might have been helpful to them. It was his business as vice-consul to help his compatriots. He had no interest in the matter and no axe to grind. He believed that this lady had a perfect right to leave her husband, and that she had good reason for doing so.

A MARRIAGE VIEW.

'I shall ask you with some confidence,' continued Mr. Hemmerde, 'to say that this man (Mr. Sakellarios) has brought these troubles upon himself; that he has not got the real modern view of marriage. He approached his marriage from the point of view that it is not a partnership, but that it is a sort of one man company in which he owns all the shares. His view of the matter is

"I can take assistance in my business from my wife and her people. I can at any rate promise to give her my home, but although she owns my home and her finance controls my business, and although her parents and her doctor back her up in her idea that it would be an excellent thing for her child to go to Egypt, and she herself very much wants to go, I am at perfect liberty to say 'I am the man. I say, No. My decision is irrevocable. That is my view of marriage'."

A man who tries to enforce such a view of marriage in 1927 is heading for disaster. He says "When I open my mouth let no dog bark." His whole view of marriage is out of date and antiquated.'

CONSUL'S EVIDENCE.

Mr. Andreas [sic] Basil Malandrinos, in the witness-box, said he had been Greek vice-consul at Liverpool since 1921, succeeding his late father, who had been consul-general for many years. The position was an honorary one, but he receives a certain proportion of fees. He had known Mr. Sakellarios for some years.

Prior to March, 1926, he had met Mrs. Sakellarios once or twice at church, and she and her husband had visited him at his home in North Wales. He had also lunched with Mr. and Mrs. Sakellarios at their home.

'On March 8,' continued Mr. Malandrinos, 'Dr. Jacovides, his wife, and their daughter called at the Consulate.' [Mrs. Sakellarios was Dr. Jacovides' daughter.] 'Mrs. Sakellarios explained to me that she was very anxious to go away with her mother and father for a holiday. She said there had been an arrangement made when she was married that every year she should go to Alexandria for three or four months. She asked me to do what I could to help her to go. She told me her husband was a very difficult man to live with, that he was very domineering, and would not let her live her own life. She added that he refused to allow her to go to Alexandria. At that interview Mrs. Sakellarios did the talking, and I never saw the slightest sign of pressure being brought on her to leave her husband.'

Mr. Malandrinos added that he was told Mr. Sakellarios had borrowed £6,000 from his wife and that it had not been returned.

CUSTODY OF THE CHILD.

'I pointed out to Mrs. Sakellarios and her parents,' continued Mr. Malandrinos, 'that I was not anxious to intervene, as it might make matters worse. I suggested they should go and see solicitors, and referred them to Messrs. Rutherford.

Mrs. Sakellarios was advised that the custody of the child was in the hands of either the father or the mother and they had a joint interest in the child. The question was raised as to whether the money could be recovered and whether it could be used as a lever to effect a settlement in the event of a compromise not being arrived at. At that time there was no suggestion about permanently leaving the country, but only that they should have a holiday in Alexandria. I said that if everything else failed I would do what I could to effect a compromise.'

Up to March 16 he had heard no suggestion that the parties should leave the country. On March 16 Dr. Jacovides called at the consulate and told him there had been a terrible disturbance at the house the previous night, Mr. Sakellarios insisting that he and his wife should leave. Mr. Sakellarios, he said, was abusive and excited, and rushed out of the room, saying he was going for the police. Mrs. Sakellarios tried to stop him, and he badly bruised her arm.'

Mr. Malandrinos related how later that morning he telephoned Mr. Sakellarios imploring him to make some sort of compromise for his own sake and that of the Greek community. 'I added,' continued Mr. Malandrinos, 'Your father-in-law has told me that if you don't he will demand the £6,000 back. Unless you make some sort of settlement they will attempt to ruin you.'

Mr. Malandrinos said he did not recollect saying anything to Mr. Sakellarios about a divorce. His only interest in the matter was to avoid a scandal. 'My relations with Mr. Sakellarios,' said Mr. Malandrinos, 'were always friendly.'

Mr. Singleton.— Is he an easy man? — Yes, as long as you agree with him.

Mr. Malandrinos, continuing, said he accompanied Dr. Jacovides later to solicitors, who suggested that the parents should go to an hotel and await events. Mr. Malandrinos related how, in response to a telephone message, he went to the Adelphi Hotel, where he found Dr. and Mrs. Jacovides, Mrs. Sakellarios and her child and a nurse. He had nothing to do with taking the rooms. Dr. Jacovides and he went to Lewis's to buy a Primus stove and articles for the baby, and on returning he noticed Mr. Sakellarios hurrying towards Copperas Hill at a tremendous pace. 'Whenever I went into the hotel hall,' continued Mr. Malandrinos, 'I noticed an individual following me about. I asked the porter "Who is this man? He seems to be following me about." He replied: "He is a private detective." I was very annoyed and suggested ringing up the police.'

When I told Dr. Jacovides and his party that a detective was watching them, the ladies were terribly upset. Mrs. Sakellarios was afraid her husband might come and make a terrible scene, and that he might do her some injury or try to take away the child. Dr. Jacovides was very loath to move — he suggested staying to fight it out. But his daughter implored him tearfully to get out of the country as quickly as possible, because of her fear of losing her child. Dr. Jacovides said the child was of no importance.'

Witness eventually went with Dr. Jacovides to buy tickets to Dublin, and the party left the hotel by the side door for the Landing stage.

LETTER FROM NURSE.

Miss Milligan, the nurse who accompanied Mrs. Sakellarios on the journey, gave witness a note addressed to her father, but he did not post it and tore it up some time afterwards. Mr. Malandrinos added that before these proceedings he had no idea that Dr. and Mrs. Jacovides were putting pressure on their daughter to leave her husband. He was merely carrying out ordinary consular duties.

Mr. Justice Roche.— Ordinary consular duties in extraordinary circumstances.

Cross-examined by Mr. Singleton, Mr. Malandrinos agreed that he kept in touch with Dr. Jacovides by letters and cables.

Mr. Singleton.— When did the affairs between you cease to have a consular interest and become merely private? — When they left the country.

Questioned about the letter given to him by Miss Milligan, Mr. Malandrinos said he tore it up after her father visited him to inquire as to her whereabouts.

Did you tell him you had either posted it or given it to the stationmaster at Holywell to post? — I did.

All a subterfuge? — Yes.

Did you realise he was very anxious about his daughter? — I thought he was seeking information for Mr. Sakellarios.

You did everything throughout this case to hide where these people were going? — Quite right.

Is it part of your duty as a consular official to help a married woman to get away from her husband? — If the married woman requests me to do so.

Do you think, in your official capacity or in any capacity, it is right that a child of that age should be taken out of the jurisdiction without the father's consent — Yes.

His Lordship.— In defiance of the courts of this country — No.

Mr. Singleton.— You were determined, notwithstanding the wishes of the father and the advice of the solicitors, to get them away, even though, if there had been time, they could have been stopped by the process of law? — Yes.

COPIES OF THE CABLES.

Further questioned, Mr. Malandrinos said he thought copies of some of the cables he sent to Dr. Jacovides might be found in his office, with an account of the cost.

His Lordship.— You ought to have disclosed this long ago. If you are wise you will tell your solicitor to send one of his clerks and ask him to bring the account quickly.

Mr. Singleton.— You knew the husband had instructed solicitors on March 16, and was doing all he could to prevent his wife and child from leaving the country? — Yes. Is he a man, in your view, fit to be trusted? It depends on what you mean. In ordinary business relationships? — Certainly. Did you know of any differences or unhappiness between the husband and wife before the mother-in-law and father-in-law arrived? — No.

LETTER FROM SHIP.

Further questioned, Mr. Malandrinos said it gave him ‘a certain amount of shock,’ though he was not altogether surprised, to learn, that divorce proceedings were contemplated. Mr Singleton read a letter, written on board ship, by Dr. Jacovides, on April 22, 1926, stating:

‘Regarding the questionnaire put to the nurse, as she is getting more and more attached to our family, we have deemed it necessary to submit it to her at Alexandria, where we expect she will reply favourably, relieving you from having taken part in our departure, I thus hope to furnish you and Mr. Rutherford with all the necessary means to successfully deal with the extravagant claims of this madman.’

In reply to Mr. Singleton, Mr. Malandrinos said the ‘madman’ was Mr. Sakellarios. Was that a proper description? — Mr. Malandrinos' reply was not audible. Mr. Singleton read further extracts from the letter:

‘We have already succeeded in convincing the nurse that her father is not at all anxious about her, but that it is inspired and dictated by Sakis (Sakellarios) that it was he who had sent her all the telegrams and appeals, and upon being convinced, she has been completely tranquillised and has accused Sakis for his methods. She is more and more against this man and will not hesitate to testify against him, should need arise.’

‘It looks,’ commented Mr. Singleton, ‘as if they had done a little persuading of the girl?’ ‘It may be,’ replied Mr. Malandrinos.

Mr. Malandrinos, replying to counsel, said he had no reason to suspect Mr. Sakellarios of infidelity to his wife.

Counsel.— There are some funds, I gather, to which the child will become entitled? — I don't know. I have heard it stated here.

SOLICITORS' ADVICE.

Mr. Malandrinos, in reply to further questions, said that on March 8 Messrs. Rutherford, solicitors, had advised that the child could not be taken out of the country without the father's consent.

On March 16 when you helped Mrs. Sakellarios and the child to get away, without her husband's knowledge, did you realise that their intention was not to return? — No, I thought it might be not to return. It depended on whether there was a compromise afterwards. What names were given when the tickets were obtained at Cook's? — I don't remember. I should say ‘Jacovides.’ Was the name Jacobs or Jacobson given? — Not by me. Will you swear it was not? — I think so, yes.

APPENDIX IV
Andrea in various acting roles



Figure 26 In *The Prince and the Shogirl*, 1957.



Figure 27 With Laurence Olivier in *The Prince and the Showgirl*, 1957.



Figure 28 With Ernie Wise and Eric Morcambe in *The Magnificent Two*, 1967.



Figure 29 (Left of centre) in *Up to his Neck*; 1954.



Figure 30 With Patrick McGoochan in *Danger Man*; c1960.



Figure 31 With Michael Caine in *The Magus*, 1968.



Figure 32 With Tommy Steele; undated.



Figure 33 Production and date unknown.

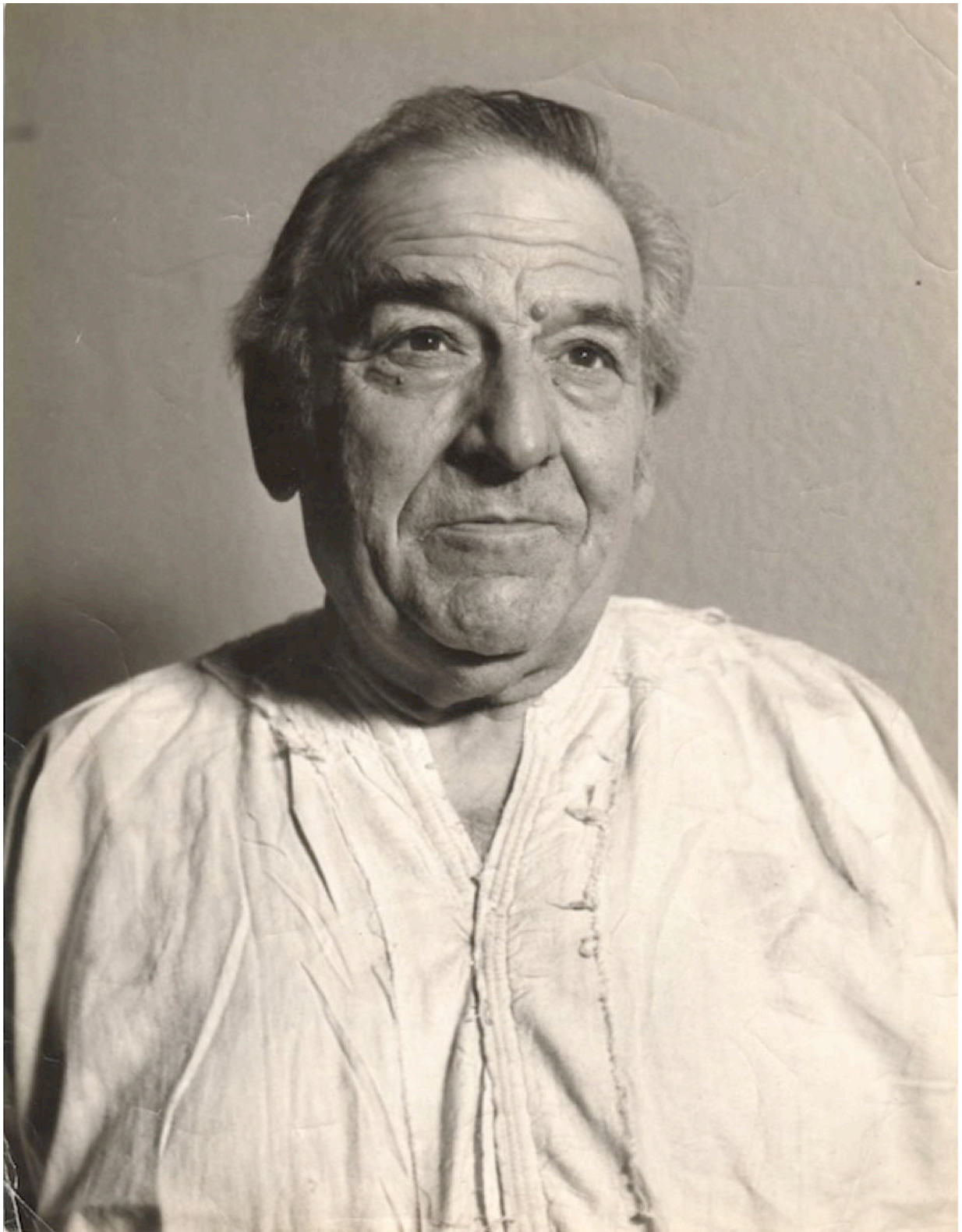


Figure 34 Production and date unknown.



Figure 35 Production and date unknown.



Figure 36 Production and date unknown.



Figure 37 Production and date unknown.



Figure 38 Production and date unknown.

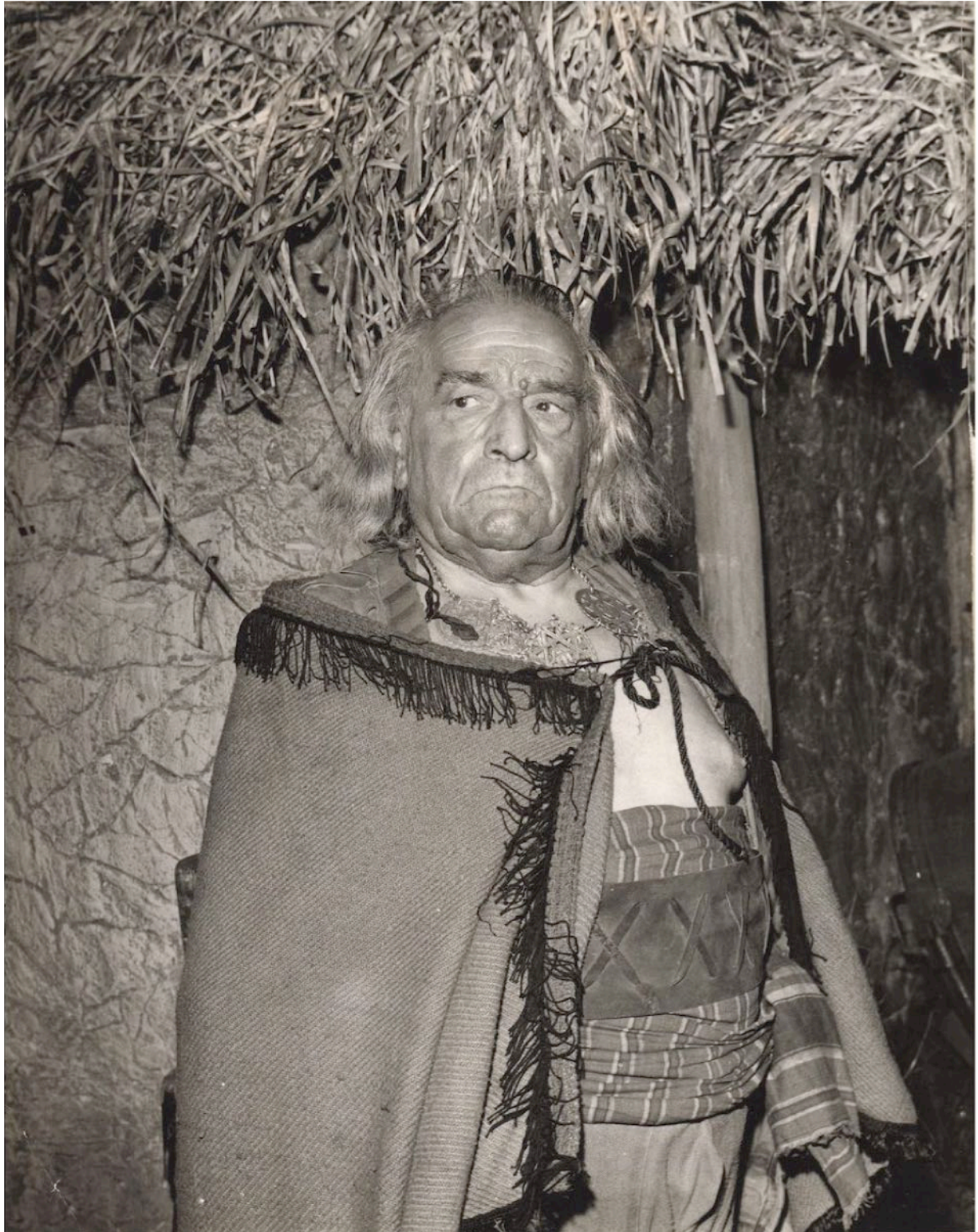


Figure 39 Production and date unknown.



Figure 40 Production and date unknown.

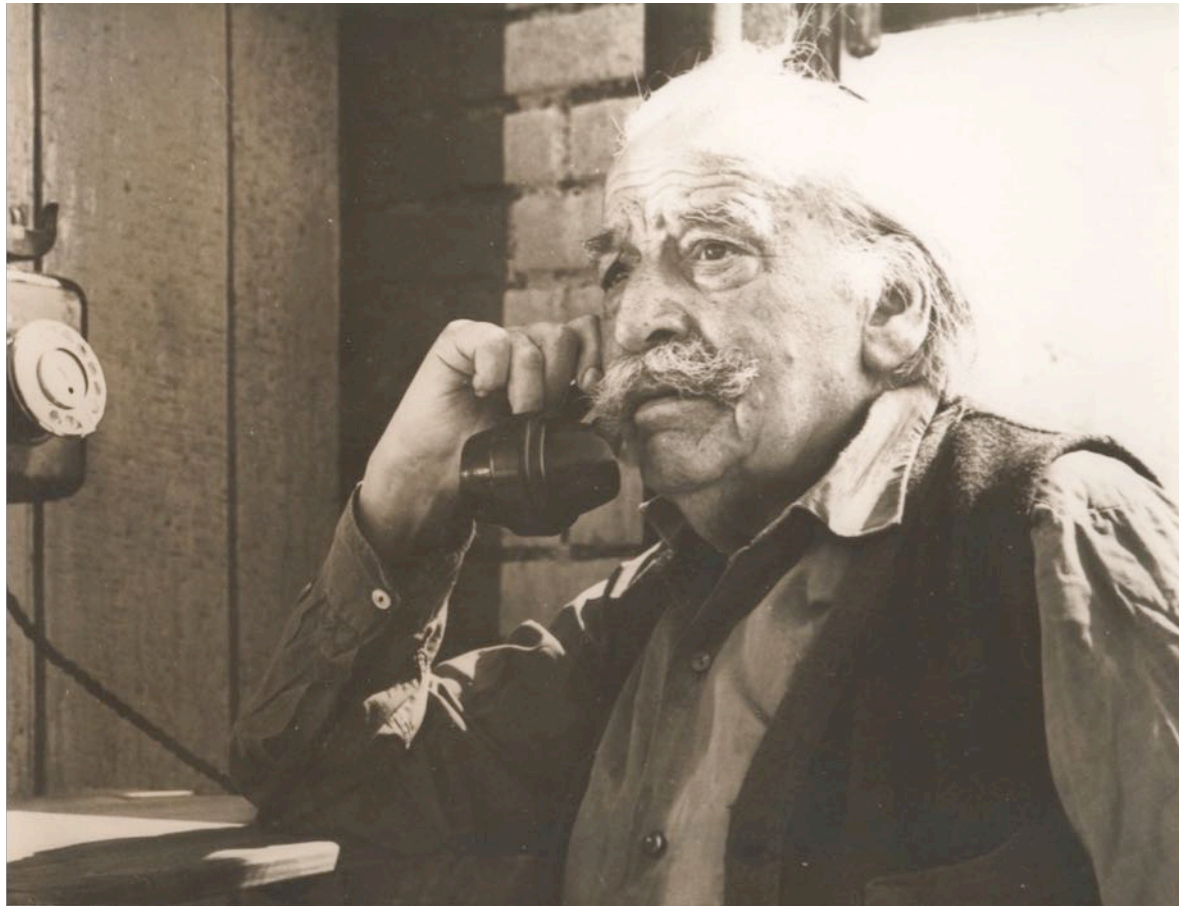


Figure 41 Production and date unknown.



Figure 42 Production and date unknown.



Figure 43 Production and date unknown.



Figure 44 Andrea as a French peasant in *Mosquito Squadron*; 1969.



Figure 45 Production and date unknown.

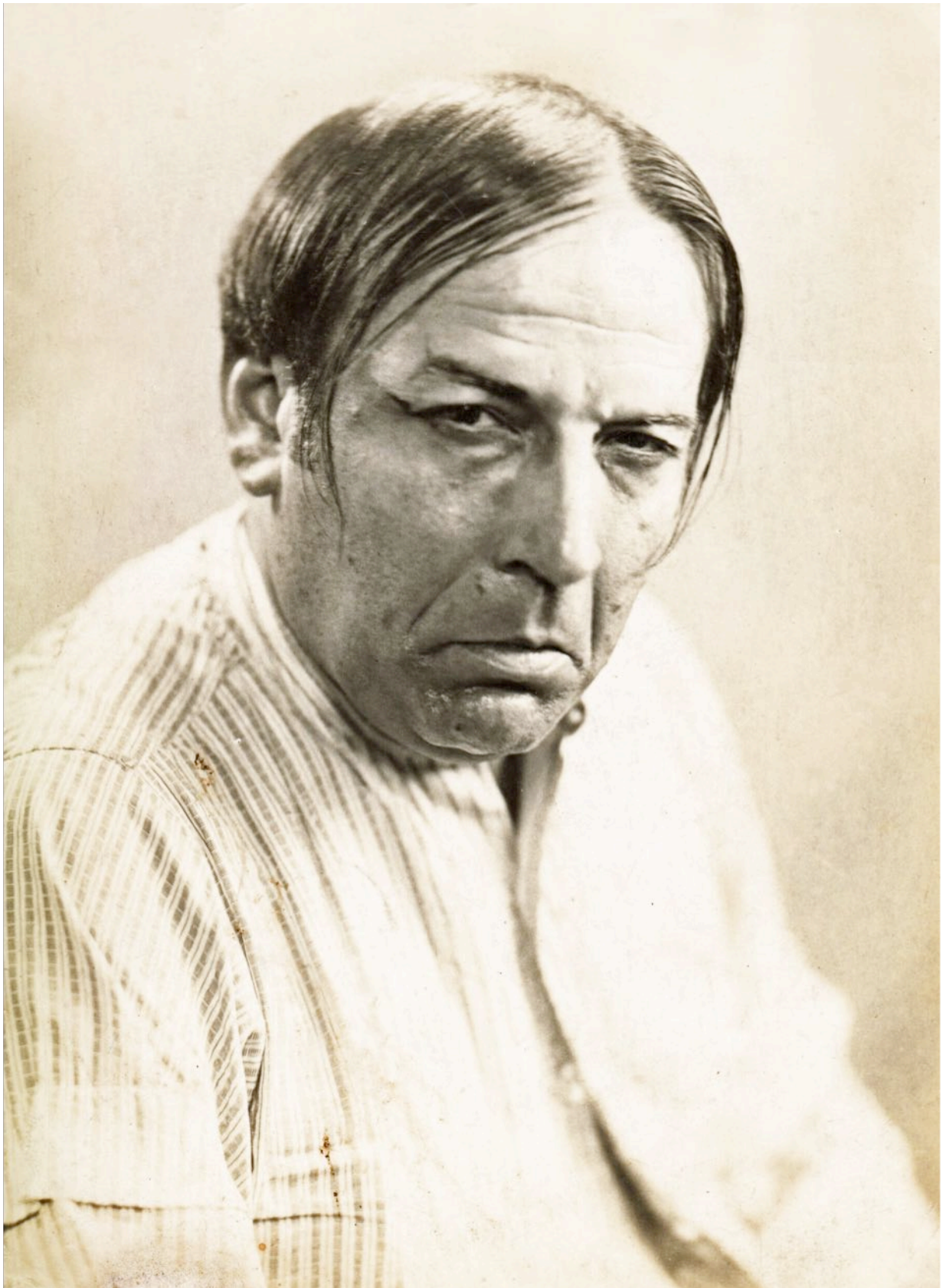


Figure 46 Production and date unknown.

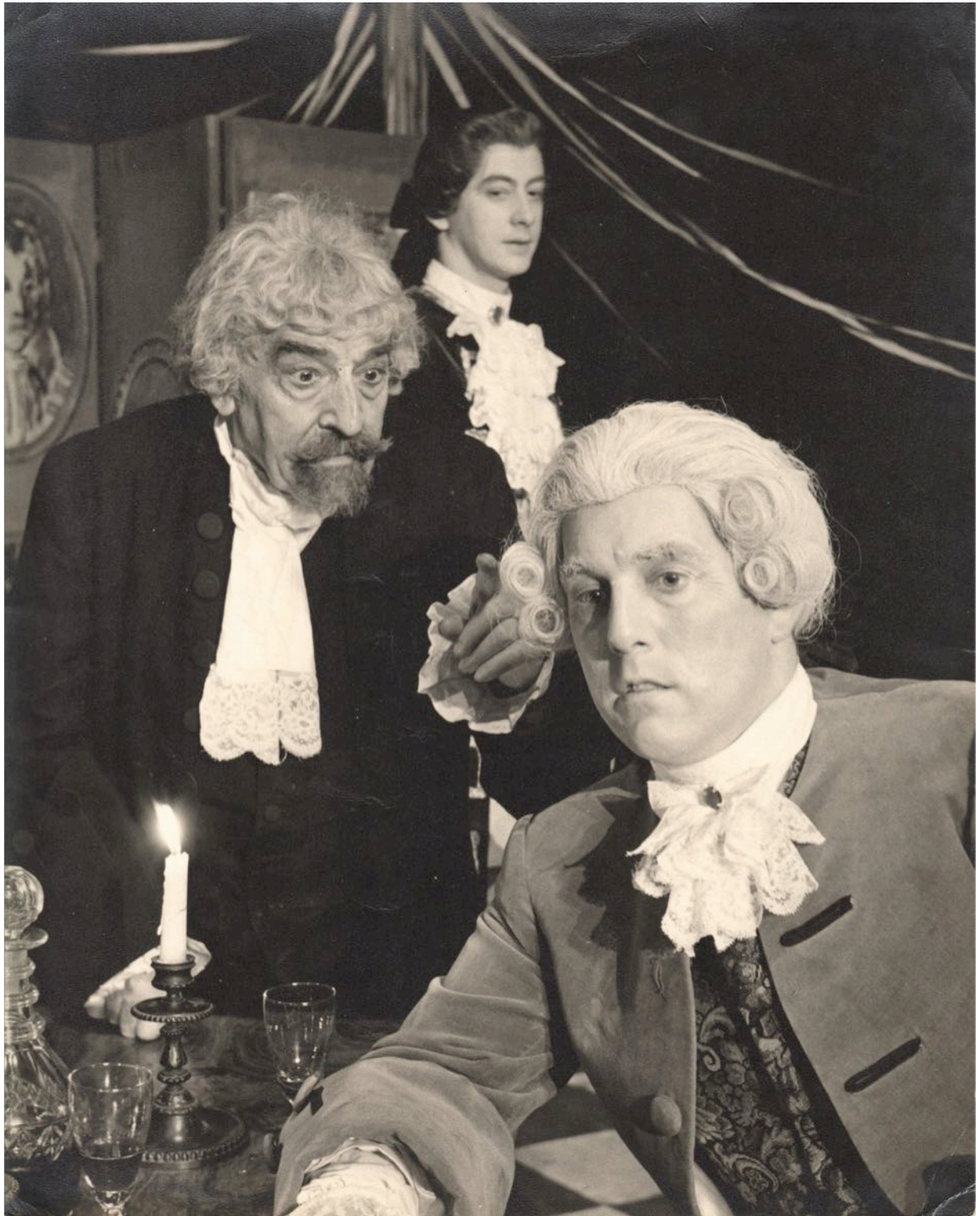


Figure 47 Perhaps in *She Stoops to Conquer*, date unknown.



Figure 48 Andrea as Father Bonifacio in *Vendetta*, 1958.



Figure 49 Production and date unknown.

APPENDIX V

Some of the productions in which Andrea performed

1930 Greek Street / Latin Love	FILM	1950 Her Favourite Husband	FILM
1930 Raise the Roof	FILM	1949 Down Our Street	TELEVISION
1931 Mischief	FILM	1950 Point of Departure	STAGE
1931 The Improper Duchess	STAGE	1950 The Purple Fig Tree	STAGE
1931 And So To Bed	STAGE	1951 Night Without Stars	FILM
1932 The Phantom Fiend	FILM	1951 Captain Horatio Hornblower R.N.	FILM
1932 The Lodger	FILM	1951 Chelsea Story	FILM
1932 Cuban Rumba Band	VOCAL	1951 The Lavender Hill Mob	FILM
1932 Fame in a Night	RADIO	1951 Rainbow Square	STAGE
1932 The Way to the Stars	STAGE	1951 The Debutant's Father	TELEVISION
1933 Up in the Air	STAGE	1952 Salute the Toff	FILM
1933 Don Quixote	FILM	1952 Song of Paris	FILM
1933 On Secret Service	FILM	1952 13 East Street	FILM
1933 The Golden Cage	FILM	1952 Bombay Waterfront	FILM
1933 The Medicine Man	FILM	1952 Bachelor in Paris	FILM
1933 Spy 77	FILM	1952 Hammer the Toff	FILM
1933 The Lost Chord	FILM	1952 Albert RN	STAGE
1933 Two Wives For Henry	FILM	1953 Paul Temple Returns	FILM
1933 Send 'em Back Half Dead	FILM	1953 Sea Devils	FILM
1933 Montmartre to Montparnasse	RADIO	1953 Gilbert Harding Speaking of Murder	FILM
1933 Proscenium	STAGE	1953 The Captain's Paradise	FILM
1934 Say It with Flowers	FILM	1953 Innocents in Paris	FILM
1934 My Song for You	FILM	1953 Always a Bride	FILM
1934 The Admiral's Secret	FILM	1953 A Day to Remember	FILM
1934 The Bedroom Diplomat	FILM	1953 By Hook or by Crook	TELEVISION
1934 Road House	FILM	1953 The Great White Bird	TELEVISION
1934 Virginia's Husband	FILM	1953 Heidi	TELEVISION
1934 Vagabond Violinist	FILM	1953 Libel	TELEVISION
1934 The Man Who Knew Too Much	FILM	1954 Calling Scotland Yard: Falstaff's Fur Coat	FILM
1934 Wonder Bar	RADIO	1954 Twist of Fate	FILM
1934 One Night in Venice	RADIO	1954 The Teckman Mystery	FILM
1934 The Show Goes Over	RADIO	1954 The Love Lottery	FILM
1934 Holiday in Europe	RADIO	1954 You Know What Sailors Are	FILM
1935 Death Drives Through	FILM	1954 Up to His Neck	FILM
1935 Royal/Regal Cavalcade	FILM	1954 Beautiful Stranger	FILM
1935 Vintage Wine	FILM	1954 For the Sake of a Throne	TELEVISION
1935 Late Extra	FILM	1954 Crime on Our Hands : Episode 1.2	TELEVISION
1935 King of the Damned	FILM	1955 Night Plane to Amsterdam	FILM
1935 Play Up the Band	FILM	1955 Contraband Spain	FILM
1935 Midshipman Easy	FILM	1955 Postmark for Danger	FILM
1935 The Invader	FILM	1955 Blonde Blackmailer	FILM
1935 Mystery of the Seven Cafes	RADIO	1955 The Cockleshell Heroes	FILM
1935 Double Error	STAGE	1955 Stolen Time	FILM
1935 A Butterfly on the Wheel	STAGE	1955 Miss Patterson	TELEVISION
1936 Prison Breaker	FILM	1955 The Vale of Shadows	TELEVISION
1936 Limelight	FILM	1955 A Garden in the Sea	TELEVISION
1936 Secret Agent	FILM	1956 Portrait of Alison	FILM
1936 The Amazing Quest of Ernest Bliss	FILM	1956 A Touch of the Sun	FILM
1936 Secret of Stamboul	FILM	1956 Checkpoint	FILM
1936 Gypsy	FILM	1956 Port Afrique	FILM
1936 The Spy in White	FILM	1956 Potts in Parovia	FILM
1936 The Improper Duchess	FILM	1956 Ill Met by Moonlight	FILM
1936 Under Proof	FILM	1956 The Man Who Made People	TELEVISION
1936 Love in Exile	FILM	1956 The Ten Strangers	TELEVISION
1936 Tropical Trouble	FILM	1956 The Man From the Sea	TELEVISION
1936 Southern Roses	FILM	1956 Falstaff's Fur Coat	TELEVISION
1936 The Gay Adventure	FILM	1956 Spanish Sauce	TELEVISION
1936 The Invader	FILM	1956 The Warning Note	TELEVISION
1936 Land Without Music	FILM	1956 Send for Potts!	TELEVISION
1936 St Helena	STAGE	1956 Without Love	TELEVISION
1936 Page From a Diary	STAGE	1956 Call Back Yesterday	TELEVISION
1936 Zero	STAGE	1956 The Bridge	TELEVISION
1936 Muted Strings	STAGE	1957 The Prince and the Showgirl	FILM
1937 Non-Stop New York	FILM	1957 Night Ambush	FILM
1937 Sunset in Vienna	FILM	1957 There's Always a Thursday	FILM
1937 A Romance in Flanders	FILM	1957 The Beasts of Marseilles	FILM
1937 Prison Breaker	FILM	1957 Just My Luck	FILM
1937 Twenty Million Sweet-Hearts	FILM	1957 Seven Thunders	FILM
1937 Command Performance	FILM	1957 Mrs Wickens in the Fall	TELEVISION
1937 Midnight Menace / Bombs Over London	FILM	1957 Onion Boys : Episode 1.1	TELEVISION
1937 Backstage/Limelight	FILM	1957 The Schirmer Inheritance : Episode 1.4	TELEVISION
1937 The Show Goes On	FILM	1958 Orders to Kill	FILM
1937 Gypsy	FILM	1958 Links of Justice	FILM
1937 Non-Stop New York	FILM	1958 Tank Force	FILM
1937 The Price of Folly	FILM	1958 Vendetta	TELEVISION
1937 Havana Nights	RADIO	1958 Tragedy in a Temporary Town	TELEVISION
1937 The Man of Destiny	RADIO	1959 Beyond This Place	FILM
1937 Daisy Miller	RADIO	1959 Web of Evidence	FILM
1937 Broadway	RADIO	1959 The Boy and the Bridge	FILM
1937 Patriotism Ltd	RADIO	1959 Tommy the Toreador	FILM
1937 The Man of Destiny	RADIO	1959 Mr Fox of Venice	STAGE
1937 Think of a Number	RADIO	1959 The Girl From Rome	TELEVISION

1937 Think of a Number	STAGE	1959 The Girl From Rome	TELEVISION
1938 I See Ice	FILM	1959 Cooked-up Murder	TELEVISION
1938 The Sky's the Limit	FILM	1959 Three Dancing Turtles	TELEVISION
1938 The Man With 100 Faces	FILM	1960 The Boy Who Stole a Million	FILM
1938 Suicide Legion	FILM	1960 Sands of the Desert	FILM
1938 What Would You Do, Chums?	FILM	1960 Surprise Package	FILM
1939 Two Days to Live	FILM	1960 Roman Gesture	TELEVISION
1938 Over the Moon	FILM	1960 The Raffael Case	TELEVISION
1938 Miracles Do Happen	FILM	1960 Next Time You'll See Venice	TELEVISION
1938 Trouble in Panama	FILM	1960 View From the Villa	TELEVISION
1938 Who Goes Next	FILM	1960 The Key Witness	TELEVISION
1938 Stardust	FILM	1960 The Song of a March Hare	TELEVISION
1938 I See Ice	FILM	1960 A Woman in Paris	TELEVISION
1938 The Last Barricade	FILM	1961 A Weekend With Lulu	FILM
1938 Crackerjack	FILM	1961 No, My Darling Daughter	FILM
1938 St Louis Blues	RADIO	1961 Tarnished Heroes	FILM
1938 The Gang-Smasher	RADIO	1961 The Avengers	FILM
1938 Money, Money, Money!	RADIO	1961 The Far Distant Dead	TELEVISION
1938 Behind the Schemes	STAGE	1961 Time Remembered	TELEVISION
1938 Broadway	TELEVISION	1961 Bid for Glory	TELEVISION
1938 The Constant Nymph	TELEVISION	1961 The Colonel	TELEVISION
1939 Under Proof	FILM	1962 A Weekend With Lulu	FILM
1939 Alfred Tennyson	RADIO	1962 The Battleaxe	FILM
1939 Don't Tell England	RADIO	1962 In Search of the Castaways	FILM
1939 French Without Tears	STAGE	1962 The Saint	FILM
1939 The Last Barricade	STAGE	1962 The Parents	STAGE
1939 The Snare of the Fowler	STAGE	1962 Masquerade in Spain	TELEVISION
1939 May Day	STAGE	1962 The Runaround	TELEVISION
1939 Bridge of Sighs	STAGE	1962 Crown in Danger	TELEVISION
1939 Sons of Adam	STAGE	1963 Come Fly With Me	FILM
1940 War and Order	FILM	1963 Where Angels Fear to Tread	STAGE
1940 21 Days Together	FILM	1963 Hot Money	TELEVISION
1940 Room for Two	FILM	1963 My Brother's Keeper	TELEVISION
1940 Crook's Tour	RADIO	1963 Hot Ice	TELEVISION
1941 Cafes des Exiles	RADIO	1963 Where Angels Fear to Tread	TELEVISION
1942 Flying Fortress	FILM	1964 Treasure Hunt	FILM
1942 Thunder Rock	FILM	1964 Corporal McCann's Private War	FILM
1942 We'll Smile Again	FILM	1964 The Isle of Monte Cristo	FILM
1943 The Peterville Diamond	FILM	1964 The Yellow Rolls-Royce	FILM
1943 The Bells Go Down	FILM	1964 Sophia	TELEVISION
1943 Up With the Lark	FILM	1965 Finesse in Diamonds	FILM
1943 Blow Your Own Trumpet	STAGE	1965 San Ferry Ann	FILM
1944 The Way Ahead	FILM	1965 Sound an Alarm (Z-Cars)	FILM
1944 Champagne Charlie	FILM	1965 Help! (with Beatles)	FILM
1944 Her Man Gilbey	FILM	1965 The Persistent Parasites	TELEVISION
1944 English Without Tears	FILM	1965 You're Not in Any Trouble, Are You?	TELEVISION
1945 Bell for Adano	STAGE	1966 The Sandwich Man	FILM
1946 The Magistrate	TELEVISION	1966 Where Angels Fear to Tread	FILM
1947 White Cradle Inn	FILM	1966 Thirteen Against Fate	FILM
1947 Dual Alibi	FILM	1966 Finders Keepers	FILM
1947 A Man About the House	FILM	1966 Locate and Destroy	TELEVISION
1947 High Fury	FILM	1966 The Consul	TELEVISION
1947 The Adventures of Dusty Bates	FILM	1966 The Paper Chase	TELEVISION
1947 The End of the River	FILM	1967 The Magnificent Two	FILM
1947 While The Sun Shines	FILM	1967 The Mummy's Shroud	FILM
1948 My Brother Jonathan	FILM	1967 The Fearless Vampire Killers	FILM
1948 One Night With You	FILM	1967 The Gadic Collection	TELEVISION
1948 Balalaika	FILM	1968 The Magus	FILM
1948 Donkeyman	FILM	1968 Hammerhead	FILM
1948 Sleeping Car to Trieste	FILM	1968 The Retreat	TELEVISION
1948 Look Before You Love	FILM	1969 Mosquito Squadron	FILM
1948 Libel	TELEVISION	1969 The Oblong Box	FILM
1948 Reunion	TELEVISION	1970 Hell Boats	FILM
1949 Forbidden	FILM	1970 Man of Violence	FILM
1949 The Gay Lady	FILM	1970 Underground	FILM
1949 For Them That Trespass	FILM	1970 Antique Death: Part 2	TELEVISION
1949 Trottie True	FILM	1970 The Hermit	TELEVISION
1949 The Spider and the Fly	FILM	1970 The Plastic Eaters	TELEVISION
1950 The Taming of Dorothy	FILM	1970 Twelfth Night	TELEVISION

Mendelssohn, the Bishop's Grandmother and Slaters Oak

SUSAN MORRIS

A longstanding mystery was set in place in 1973 when Effingham historian Monica O'Connor recorded being told that some unnamed Bishop had claimed that Mendelssohn had composed one of his 'Songs Without Words' at Slaters Oak. This article examines the plausibility of the claim, taking into account the known movements of Mendelssohn and of potentially relevant connections he had with others, and puts forward a much more credible interpretation of what O'Connor had been told.

Introduction

In *The History of Effingham in Surrey* by Monica Mercy O'Connor and Effingham Women's Institute published in 1973, there is on p94 the following statement:

'Colonel Hughes told the writer [Monica O'Connor] that he had had a visit from a Bishop who told him that Slaters Oak was the home of his (the Bishop's) grandmother and that Mendelssohn composed one of his *Songs without Words* there. It has not been possible so far to confirm the statement about Mendelssohn, but it may be true as Mr. Deryck Cooke of the BBC informed us that it is not known where Mendelssohn wrote all the *Songs without Words*.'

This article is the account of how in 2022 the above statement was tested for the likelihood that Mendelssohn had indeed visited Effingham and composed some of his most popular work here. If true, even if it only amounted to an enforced overnight stay during an interrupted journey, this would be rather exciting.

Slaters Oak

If Mendelssohn did visit, what would Slaters Oak have been like at that time ie 1830-1850 roughly?

The plot on which the house stands is approximately 4 acres. As we can see from 19th century Ordnance Survey maps, it was originally an 'island' site on Effingham Common, and would still have very much been so in those two decades. The main north-south track across the Common ran to the east of the 'island' (not to the west as now), and an early main entrance door still exists in a courtyard on the eastern façade of the house. This usage had changed by 1871, in other words long before the arrival of Effingham Junction station in the late 1880s. By 1871



Figure 1 Slaters Oak (left of centre) in the 1842 Tithe Map, with Norwood Farm to the right.

evidently the most direct route for people and vehicles moving between the village and the northern gate to the Common, the 'White Gate', was a track to the west of the property. The siting of Effingham Junction Station alongside this track in the late 1880s meant that it gradually handled more and more traffic, eventually becoming the Effingham Common Road we have today. Today Slaters Oak is off that road, and it no longer presents as an island in the midst of open common.

The property must originally have been established by enclosing an area of common. Because of its area of approximately 4 acres, Monica O'Connor theorises that Slaters Oak has Elizabethan origins, reflecting a prohibition on the building of any new house with *less* land than that in order to deter a recent proliferation of squatters settling on common land: *An Act against the erecting and maintaining of cottages*, 1588. Who 'Slater' was remains a mystery, but the current first known instance of the name appears in a document dated

23 September 1678 [Effingham East Court manor, Steward's papers 1677-1692, Add. Ms 23752, British Library]. O'Connor cites the date as 4 April 1684, but this relates to a transaction about a different property not mentioning Slaters Oak but rather 'land on the north common' involving William Mascall, John Skynner and William Elyot.

Comparing the layout of Slaters Oak in the Tithe map of 1842 with later Ordnance Survey maps shows that the property was remodelled between then and 1871, assuming a Z-shaped layout. Between 1871 and 1896 the buildings remained pretty constant in layout and extent.

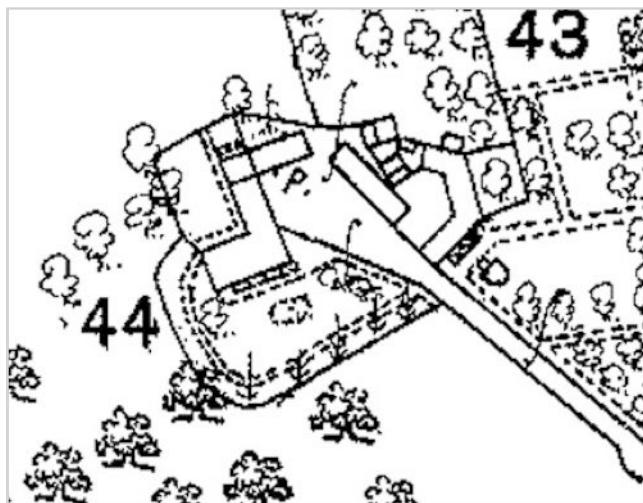


Figure 2 Slaters Oak in the 1871 25" OS Map.

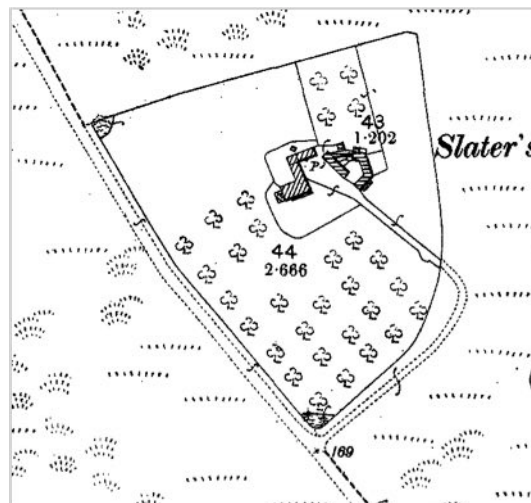


Figure 3 Slaters Oak in the 1896 25" OS Map.

The size and appearance of the house today is much affected by the extension and remodelling of the south-facing range made in c1907 [Surrey History Centre (SHC) Ref: 5118/5/2/1/829]. The drawings submitted with that planning application give an indication of the exterior views of some of the pre-existing structure (see Figures below). Recent occupiers have confirmed to Effingham Local History Group (ELHG) that in the past the house had been much altered and adapted internally. Consequently it is now very difficult to know how old those pre-1907 elements were, and exactly what living at Slaters Oak was like for mid-nineteenth century occupants. We can however perhaps be confident that it was more in the category of farmhouse than historic country house.

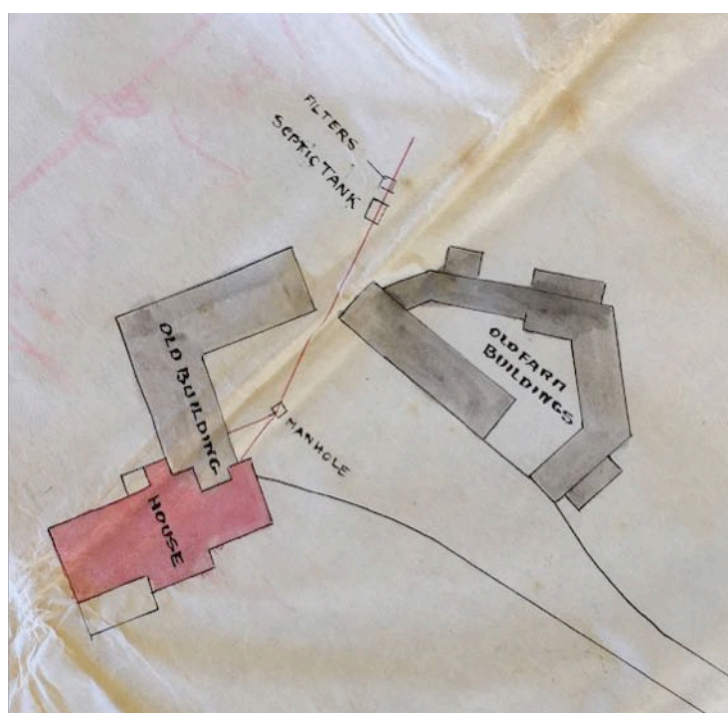


Figure 4a The block plan of Slaters Oak in the 1907 planning application, showing the broadly Z-shaped layout.



Figures 4b, c Two more views of the pre-existing structure at Slaters Oak from the 1907 planning application. In the details of the façades, the uncoloured parts are the original house and the pink ones are areas proposed for extension and re-modelling. One can see that the earlier house had a lower roof-line and was plainly built. The non-symmetrical layout of the windows in the older part shows that previous alterations had already been made. The new extension will have diamond-paned windows to match the older part. The façades of the most northerly range of the 'Z' were not affected by the proposals so not drawn, but according to the floor plans, this run incorporated a store room and larder off the kitchen, a stables and a coach house.
Above, the west-facing elevation; below, the east-facing elevation.



Felix Mendelssohn

Jacob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, customarily known as Felix Mendelssohn, was born in Hamburg in 1809. A child prodigy, by the age of 9 he was already performing in public and producing finished musical compositions. As an adult he was multi-talented: not only as a musician but as poet, artist, athlete, linguist ... He died in 1847 aged only 38 after, seemingly, a series of strokes or brain haemorrhages.

His musical output had been immense, but for the purposes here we are especially interested in his hugely popular *Lieder ohne Worte*, or *Songs without Words*. These were short piano pieces published in several groups between 1829 and 1845. Attractively varied in mood, they were just challenging enough for competent amateurs. Huge numbers of copies of the sheet music were sold and played in homes across Europe.

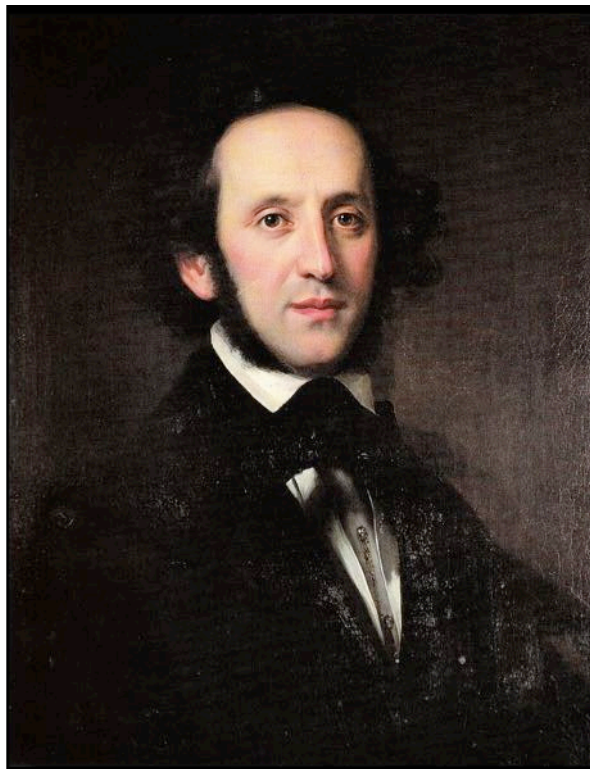


Figure 5 Felix Mendelssohn, painted in 1846 by Eduard Magnus (public domain).



Figure 6 Felix's wife Cécile, painted in 1846 by Eduard Magnus (public domain).

Mendelssohn came to England on ten separate visits between 1829 and 1847, amounting to some 20 months in total. An obvious first step in the search for The Truth about whether he had passed through Effingham was to see whether anything further had been discovered about his movements since Deryck Cooke's opinion of 1973. In 2019 Dr Chris Hogger, a member of ELHG, contacted the Mendelssohn scholar Professor R Larry Todd to enquire whether, in the light of further research into Mendelssohn's time in England, it could now be known whether Mendelssohn had visited Slaters Oak. Prof Todd replied that ostensibly the situation had not changed: there was still no definitively conclusive information that he either had or had not. We would have to go the long way round. Who would have been living at Slaters Oak at the time of Mendelssohn's visits to England? Who was the Bishop that had spoken to Col Hughes, and who was the Bishop's grandmother?

Col Hughes

Two things that could be settled with relative ease were the envelopes of time within which Col Hughes had (i) apparently been visited by the unknown Bishop, and (ii) had himself conveyed the anecdote to Monica O'Connor.

Electoral Roll evidence first places Col Charles William Hughes (1896-1970) and other family members at Slaters Oak in 1946. Along with the Colonel at that time were:

- his father George Harold Hughes (1866-1947)
- his mother Annie Woolf Hughes (1871-1958)
- his older brother Major Harold Victor Hughes (1892-1966).

Both parents are buried in Effingham at St Lawrence.

In 1925 Col Hughes had married Florence Mary née Curry in Hampshire. A son, John Philip Victor Hughes, was born in the Southampton district on 20 October 1926. Colonel and Mrs Hughes appear to have separated before Col Hughes came to Effingham. Florence died at Epsom in 1958 and was buried in

the Effingham Parish Council Burial Ground. The Colonel's brother Major Hughes died in 1966. It is not currently known where Major Hughes – and later Col Hughes – were buried.

It is a pity that currently we have no photograph of the Colonel, for he is someone to whom Effingham owes considerable gratitude. As mentioned above, Slaters Oak is an ancient property and has an interesting role in the history in the parish. It is one of four on Effingham Common which have retained their commoners' rights. From 1955 onwards the Hughes brothers were active in defence of the openness of the Common when it was seemingly under threat of permanent enclosure by Robert Calburn, the lord of the manor. Col Hughes shared the determination of Adrian Estler, the owner of Leebrook nearby, that it should not be fenced off. It is recorded that on more than one occasion the Colonel went out at night to cut wire fences put up by Calburn's tenant farmer, even appearing in court in 1959 after one particularly dramatic physical altercation which caught the nation's interest.

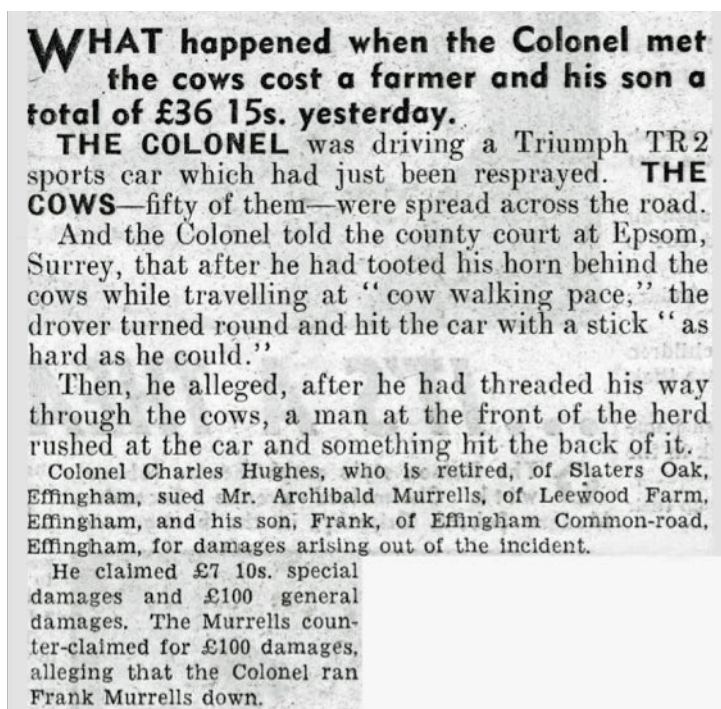


Figure 7 *The Daily Mirror* reports on the quarrel between Col Hughes and Mr Murrells, 23 June 1959.

See Appendix IV for the full article.

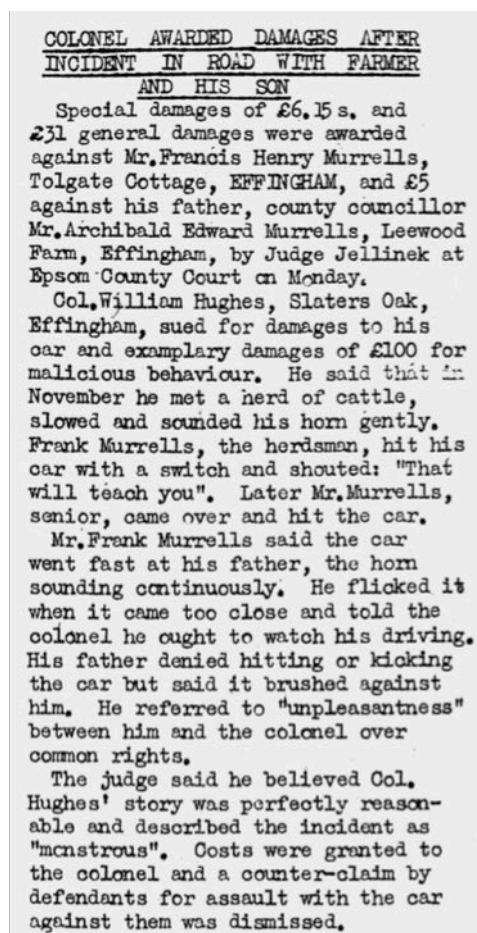


Figure 8 A summary of the issues and the verdict from *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 27 June 1959.

Col Hughes was also one of the claimants prepared to go to court to get the commoners' rights of his own property registered, but he died before December 1975 when the case was eventually heard. Fortunately the new owner of Slaters Oak, Ray Davies, had been prepared to continue with the claim where Col Hughes left off. A relative, John Hughes, also appeared at the hearing. He was a highly respected figure in the racecourse world, Clerk of the Course at Aintree and heavily involved in the battle for the survival of the course and of the Grand National, and that these still exist today is attributed largely to his stupendous efforts. Effingham Parish Councillor Derek Hubbard was one of the driving forces behind the campaign to get the Common registered and as Clerk of the Course at Fontwell for 36 years was in the same profession as John Hughes. Hubbard attended the hearing. He recalled that

John Hughes was at that time involved in saving Aintree Racecourse and the Grand National threatened with closure. John found time to come down to give evidence of his trips as a boy on his bicycle to his Uncle at Slaters Oak and his memories of various activities there then. After his evidence the Judge thanked John and wished him well with the Grand National.'

[Letter dated 2 January 2011 written to the author by Hubbard from Vine Cottage]

John was successful in his aim and in reviving the fortunes of Aintree. When he died suddenly on 2 September 1988 aged only 61 his passing was mourned nationally by the racing fraternity. A memorial

service was held for him at St Martin in the Fields, London, at which such sporting luminaries as Cliff Morgan and Derek O'Sullivan spoke. A new annual race at Aintree was named in his honour. He was buried at the church of St Giles, Ashted on 8 September 1988.

In theory, the visit of the Bishop to Effingham could have taken place at any time between the Colonel's arrival in 1946 and his death in 1970. Research for *The History of Effingham in Surrey* began in 1967. Presumably then the telling of the anecdote to Monica occurred between 1967 and 1970, at which latter date Monica would have been 66 and Hughes 73.

Knowing roughly when and by whom the anecdote was captured, the next line of attack was to inspect owners of Slaters Oak between 1829 and 1847, the years of Mendelssohn's visits to England, for signs of anyone who might have hosted him there.

Robert Fish and John Martin

The first candidate is Robert Fish (Senior) (1755-1844). Robert Fish (Senior) is first detected in the Effingham Land Tax record for 1789 as the occupier of 'the Lower Farm and Banckes' which he was holding from the manor of Effingham. He held both until 1795 but thereafter Lower Farm only, until 1809/10. It is not clear that he actually lived in either of these. In 1796 he began to acquire a steadily expanding portfolio of other properties around the village including, in 1810, a 'house and garden' that he appears to have fully owned in his own name and to have occupied for many years, at least until 1831 which is the end of the known sequence of Land Tax records. Judging by the value of its rent as assessed for tax purposes, initially £3, but later £2 10s, this was a village centre property; it was certainly not a farm. It accords with Electoral Register evidence locating Mr Fish in 'Effingham Street'. This is not the place to go into the history of all Mr Fish's holdings and tenancies, but suffice to say he became connected with Slaters Oak in or just before 1821. In that year (as stated by Monica O'Connor; source not seen) Effingham East Court manorial court recorded that Ann (née Burgess) Martin, who would have been acting as Executrix on the wishes of her late father James who had died in 1819 [The London Archives; Ref Number DW/PA/05/1819/002], 'surrendered' Slaters Oak to Robert Fish. The Burgesses had been at Slaters Oak since 1777, but in 1819 there was no male heir to take it on. Land Tax records corroborate this transfer from Burgess/Martin to Fish. From 1821 onwards Slaters Oak was owned by Mr Fish but as we have seen, not occupied by him. The occupier is given as 'Martin'. In subsequent years the entry was expanded to 'John Martin'. John Martin was the name of Ann Martin's husband (they married in 1791) but whether *this* John Martin is he, or a child of theirs, or by complete coincidence an unconnected individual, remains unclear. A further enigma is that in 1827 Robert married as his second wife Elizabeth née Martin. Their only son Robert Fish (Junior) was baptised in 1831.

There is no sign of a 'Bishop Fish' or a 'Bishop Martin' who could have been descended from or related to either of these families.

The Tilleys

The transfer of Slaters Oak from Robert Fish (Senior) to the next name of interest, Thomas Tilley, took place or was at least publicly formalised, in 1834. It is described by Monica O'Connor as follows:

'Robert Fish ... came again to the same court [General Court Baron of Miles Stringer, lord of the manor of Effingham East Court, held on 27 June 1834] and in consideration of £395 paid by Thomas Tilley of Effingham Lower Common, Horse Dealer, Robert Fish surrendered the property to Tilley who was admitted tenant by copy of Court Roll at the will of the Lord, heriot 2s, yearly rent 12d.'

[*The History of Effingham in Surrey*, 1973, p94]

Fitting reasonably well with this timetable, the Electoral Register captures a Thomas Tilley as the occupier of a copyhold property on Effingham Common from 1835 to 1853. There is however not full clarity about which 'Thomas Tilley ... Horse Dealer' it was that Mr Fish Senior had sold to, and which Thomas Tilley it was who, in due course in about 1853, would sell Slaters Oak on.

A 'Mr' Tilley is detectable in the Effingham Land Registry records for 1805-24, occupying the property called Walton Poor. This seems to be the first Tilley in Effingham, George. George was born in 1763 in Stoke next Guildford. He married Elizabeth Marlow in Wisley in 1786 but was widowed and in 1820 he married his second wife, widow Elizabeth née Stevenson at Effingham. George was buried at St Lawrence in 1843, and Elizabeth in 1844.

A 'Thomas' Tilley, George's son, was baptised at Wisley in 1790. He married in 1813 to Anne (probably née Chapman, baptised in Dursley, Gloucestershire in 1787) and their children began arriving: George baptised in Chessington in 1814; Henry in 1817 baptised in Effingham as were all the subsequent children:

Harriet 1818, Thomas 1819, Anne 1820, Mary Ann 1821, William 1823 and Anthony 1827. In all the baptism records of his children, Thomas is described as a 'husbandman'; in other words his farming business was principally with animals rather than agriculture.

In 1819 when he would have been about 29 'Thomas Tilley' took up occupancy of a 'House and orchard' owned by John Chippen. The location of this property has so far not been pinpointed. Thomas remained there at least until 1830 so far as can be seen from Land Tax records, and we do not know when he gave it up. His arrangement with Robert Fish for Slaters Oak was made around 1834/35.

The 1841 Census is not conclusive for locating the two Tilley families it records. In one of these was Thomas's father George Tilley (Tilly) aged '75'. From its placement in the entries, it *looks* as if this household was in the centre of the village.

In the other household the head was Thomas, 'Farmer'. Setting aside children who were elsewhere and/or had not survived, in 1841 this unit comprised:

- Thomas Tilley age '45', born in the county, farmer
- Anne Tilley age 50, not born in the county
- George Tilley age 25, the eldest son
- Mary Ann age 15
- Anthony age 10
- Harriett [sic] Ledger age 2; born in Weybridge, daughter of a John and Sarah Ledger; John was a master blacksmith.

The Tithe map property survey of 1842 reveals that 'Thomas Tilley' was evidently occupying three Effingham dwellings over two sites. At Banks Farm / Whitehall there were two adjacent 'cottages with garden' sublet from Joseph Bonsor. According to O'Connor, these cottages had been built of re-used materials from an uninhabitable old house 'early in the nineteenth century'. Elsewhere at Slaters Oak, there were 'farm buildings, yard and orchards' held and occupied by 'Thomas Tilley'. Potentially, however, by 1842 there were two Thomas Tilleys of suitable age to be holding these properties: the one previously mentioned baptised in 1790, and his third son Thomas Tilley baptised in 1819 who married in December 1842 to Ann Mills at Byfleet (after her death he remarried in 1854 to Caroline Beard in Kingston).

There were also other Tilleys apparently resident in Effingham the location of whose dwellings has not been specifically recorded. In June 1842, Thomas and Anne's second son Henry married Elizabeth Brett in Effingham, where both were said to be residing and Henry was a baker. In 1848 the fourth son, William, married Ann Healy Nash at which time William was said to be a brewer living at Effingham Common. In the 1851 Census, William was a grocer and draper then at a property in Effingham Street. His brothers, also in trade, were by now further afield. George the eldest of them was a brewer in Walton, Henry was a master baker employing 2 men also in Walton, Thomas was a master brewer in Twickenham and Anthony was a grocer and baker in Norbiton.

At the time of the 1851 Census, Thomas and Anne, now both aged '60', were still in Effingham and with them was their motherless grandson George, age 1. We cannot know for sure whether they were at Slaters Oak or elsewhere in Effingham, although it *looks* as if they are listed amongst householders on the Common. Thomas is described as 'Late farmer'. In 1853, Anne died and was buried at St Lawrence. Thomas's whereabouts from then on, and the place and date of his death, are unclear. No Will is known. But this date (1853) would seem to correspond with the transfer of Slaters Oak to its next occupants.

The Effingham Tilleys, industrious and seemingly solid as they were, were clearly farmers and tradesmen. It is hard to think of Mendelssohn staying with them and settling down to compose. There *was* however a 'Bishop Tilley' (1884-1969). He was born in Market Harborough, Leicestershire. Could he have been a descendant? The only drawback is that he was not a man of the cloth: 'Bishop' was his forename! One wonders how often the poor man had to explain that. In the 1939 National Register, Bishop Tilley's occupation was listed as 'Clicker Boot trade'.

The Webers

After the Tilleys the next occupants of Slaters Oak were the Webers: Dr Frederic William (or Friedrich Wilhelm) Weber MD (1808-1886) and his wife Helena Louisa née Benecke. They married in Camberwell, London on 10 August 1846 when Weber was 38 and Helena a minor aged 18.

A letter written many years later in 1891 (see Appendix II) claimed that Slaters Oak was a wedding present to Helena – although from whom is not known – and that the newlywed Webers spent their honeymoon there.

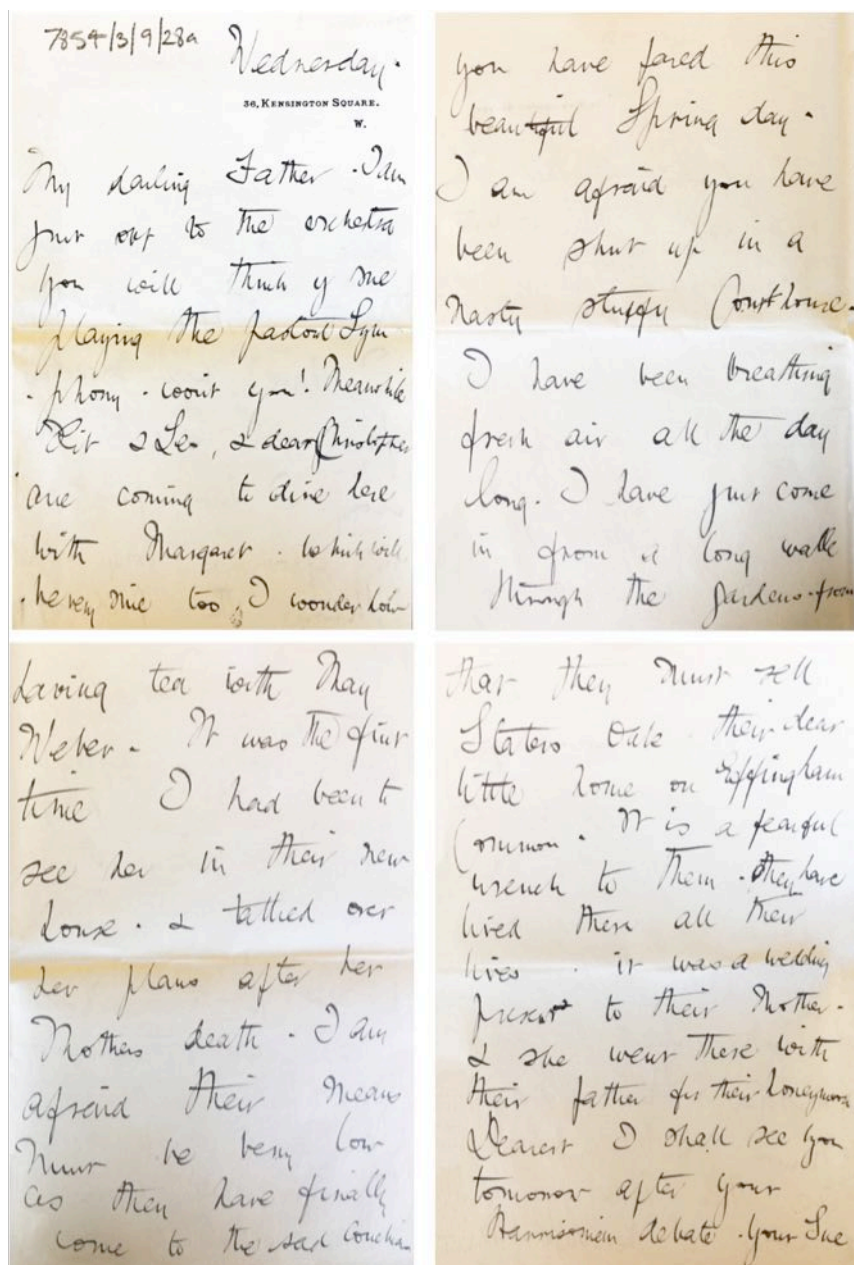


Figure 9 Letter from Susan Lushington to her father; 4 February 1891.
(See Appendix II) SHC Ref: 7854/3/9/28a-b.

This statement was made by Susan Lushington, a friend of the Webers' youngest daughter, May Weber. The Lushingtons' country house, Pyports at Cobham, was very near Slaters Oak and it is clear the two families were well acquainted, even friends. In a chatty letter to her father Vernon Lushington, Susan included the news that the Weber daughters now definitely had to leave Slaters Oak and mentioned the 'wedding present'. Thus the anecdote comes at some distance from the actual event. Furthermore, as surmised above, in the 1851 Census, Thomas and Ann Tilley were probably still at Slaters Oak, in other words well after the honeymoon of the Webers. We might muse whether the gift of Slaters Oak was intended as a country retreat for the Webers, Dr Weber maintaining his medical practice in London. Perhaps its orchards, its privacy and any historic fabric lent it charm, as well as its relatively close proximity to London even in pre-railway times. Perhaps the new couple retained the Tilleys *in situ* to manage the land or act as caretakers on a regular basis, until such time as the family should next be in residence. Perhaps the wedding gift was the money to buy a country retreat, not the house itself. There is some evidence that Dr Weber himself at least paid over the money for it.

Monica O'Connor notes the transfer of ownership from the Tilleys to the Webers being recorded in the manorial court. This took place very much later than 1846:

'On 23rd November, 1853 Thomas Tilley of Walton, Gent., came before the Deputy Steward of the Manor, and in consideration of £800 paid by Frederick [sic] Weber, M.D., of London, surrendered Slaters Oak to him. Dr. Weber, however, was not satisfied with the title, so Thomas Tilley, Gent., and George Tilley of Walton, Brewer, entered into a bond for his [Weber's] quiet enjoyment of the property.'

[O'Connor's source currently unknown]

There is nothing to say that it this not Thomas Snr, still alive and competent, now a widower living in Walton with one of his sons. He would be about 63. Alternatively, the 'Thomas Tilley of Walton' could have been Thomas Snr's son Thomas, entering the bond alongside his brother George, the brewer of Walton. Perhaps these two were acting in some capacity of Administrators or Executors after their father's demise. The date of 1853 when Weber attended the court may not be unduly significant. Formalities in the manorial court could only be carried out when the court itself was summoned. By this era it was often called only periodically, even at intervals of a few years. If Frederic – or technically Helena – was given the actual property in 1846 by an unknown person who had acquired it from the Tilleys, and in every real sense it was theirs, the transaction still had to be cleared in the manorial court with Miles Stringer, Lord of the Manor. But a gap of 7 years is a stretch for this interpretation.

What do we know about Frederic Weber and Helena Benecke? On both sides, they had extremely interesting cultured backgrounds. And – spoiler alert – we find that probably before they had connections with each other, and well before they had connections with Effingham, each of them separately had links with Mendelssohn.

Frederic's background

Frederic William Weber, or 'Friedrich Wilhelm' as he was by birth, was a very close contemporary of Mendelssohn although Mendelssohn was born in Hamburg, Germany and Weber in Trieste, Austria. He studied medicine and from 1837 was settled in London where he became a naturalised British subject and a very successful medic. The following biography is offered by the Royal College of Physicians, of which he was a senior member:

'Frederic Weber

b.1808 d.10 March 1886

MD Pavia (1835) FRCP (1848)

Frederic Weber, a native of Trieste, studied at Heidelberg and Pavia, taking the M.D. degree of the latter University in 1835. For the next two years he made a round of the hospitals of Parma, Leipzig, Berlin, Paris and London. During his visit to London, Sir Thomas Watson and other members of the profession persuaded him to settle there and, with his charm of manner and his knowledge of Continental spas to help him, he succeeded in establishing himself in consulting practice. His first appointments were as physician to the St. George's and St. James's Dispensary and as assistant physician to the Middlesex Hospital. He took a keen interest in the Harley Street Institute for Invalid Ladies, with which he was associated for no fewer than forty-six years. Various embassies, too, employed him as their physician. He was a Censor of the Royal College of Physicians from 1859 to 1861. Weber was endowed with a fine voice and considerable musical talent.

G H Brown'

[*Med.-Chir. Trans.*, 1887, lxx, 8]

<https://history.rcp.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/frederic-weber>

Frederic was also a friend of fellow German composer, pianist and critic Robert Schumann (1810-1856), another close contemporary. Given Frederic's love of music it would be natural to wonder whether he was related to the German composer Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826; born in Schleswig Holstein, died in London), but if so it is currently not apparent. At some point Frederic was engaged to the highly acclaimed English soprano Clara Anastasia Novello (1818-1908), although the circumstances of this are only briefly alluded to in contemporary records and remain obscure. The engagement seems to have been broken off in 1840.

Frederic was to become greatly admired as a singer by Mendelssohn. When the two first met is not known but they certainly encountered one another at a social gathering in the London house of the Benecke family, and as discerned by Prof Todd, this was probably on 27 September 1840 [Dr Larry Todd, *pers comm* with Dr Chris Hogger]. Weber's singing made a highly favourable impression on Mendelssohn.

Helena's background

The head of the Benecke family was Friedrich Wilhelm Benecke (1802-1865). His wife was Elizabeth Henriette (née Souchay) Benecke (1807-1893), often known as Henriette. Ten children were born to this couple between 1828 and 1847. The eldest daughter, Helena (sometimes given as Ellen) Louisa Wilhelmina née Benecke, would become the wife of Frederic Weber but, as yet, that would be well in the future. In September 1840 Weber would have been 31 (perhaps with a freshly broken heart) and Helena only 12.

The Beneckes were not only friends but also relations of Mendelssohn. Helena's *mother* Henriette was aunt to Mendelssohn's wife, Cécile Charlotte Sophie née Jeanrenaud (1817-1853) whom Mendelssohn married in 1837. In 1860 Helena's *brother* Carl Victor Benecke would marry Mendelssohn's daughter Marie (his first cousin once removed).

The website of the Camberwell Society describes the well-to-do Beneckes and the extremely pleasant circumstances in which they lived:

'The Beneckes were one of the many wealthy German families who had moved to Camberwell, attracted by its clean air, rural setting and good road link to the City of London. Charles Booth says in his *Survey* that their sons were "more English than the English in dress and games". Even so, services at the Lutheran Church they built in Windsor Walk in 1855 were in German. Felix Mendelssohn himself came from an illustrious Jewish family – his grandfather was the great Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn – but his father had converted to Christianity along with all but one of his siblings.

The Beneckes' house ... was situated in what is now Ruskin Park, across the road from the Fox on the Hill. Fortunately, we have a map that was drawn in that same year by J Dewhurst with all the buildings marked. It shows just how rural Camberwell was. From the Beneckes' house, Felix might well have been able to see the greenery of Camberwell Green. And had St Giles' Church not burnt down in the previous year, he would have had a view of its tower. Between the road Denmark Hill and Grove Lane, it was all fields, pastures and gardens. East of Camberwell Grove it was country till Lyndhurst Square in Peckham. Only to the north of Camberwell Green does this rural landscape turn urban. This was what inspired Mendelssohn to compose what Benedict described as a "sparkling and delicious melody".'

[http://www.camberwellsociety.org.uk/?post_id=342&title=felix-was-here]



Figure 10 Dane House (front view), 168 Denmark Hill, the home of the Benecke family; 1906. The London Archive LCC Photograph Library Cat No SC_PHL_01_244_76_12288.



Figure 11 Dane House (rear view), 168 Denmark Hill, the home of the Benecke family; 1906.
The London Archive LCC Photograph Library Cat No SC_PHL_01_244_76_12283.

The following sequence of extracts from written sources relating to the years 1840-1846 illustrates aspects of the friendship and relatedness of the Mendelssohn, Benecke and Weber families. We see a wealthy, cultured and affectionate group of family and friends who were socialising not only in London but also on the continent where their paths also met. We will come across a valuable reference to *Songs without Words*. Unless stated otherwise, the texts below are based on electronic translations from the original German in the collected letters of Felix Mendelssohn and the references are to that work: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Sämtliche Briefe*, by Münnich, Schiwietz and Wald, publ Barenreiter, 2015.

The first extract comes from a month after the gathering at the Beneckes' house on 27 September 1840 mentioned above. From back in Leipzig, Mendelssohn wrote the following to his friend Carl Klingemann in London:

26 October 1840

Letter 2839, Vol 7, p311 and notes p665

'You must say hello to the Beneckes a thousand times and tell them that I love them very much, more than I could ever tell them and that they may believe it. God, could the three of us (I mean with Cecile) take a walk out from there, into the countryside, on a Sunday morning!'

A day later Mendelssohn wrote to his mother Lea Bartholdy Mendelssohn in Berlin:

27 October 1840

Letter 2842, Vol 7, p315 and note p666

'The two Beneckes are also very nice people, I wish you knew the woman in particular, you would like her very much. I spent a lovely Sunday there; they live far out in the countryside, in Camberwell; and we found so many acquaintances from our homeland, such a real German, nice household there, that it was very pleasant for me. In the evening, Dr Weber sang my songs so extraordinarily beautifully that I had

never heard them before; also the slumber scene by Rinald von Gluck, and some Beethoven – they have now got him, Klingemann à la tête allied with Mme Benecke, and have driven out his exclusive Bellinism [Vincenzo Bellini 1801-35, composer of operas], and now it is really fabulous how eager he has become for the other music, how wildly he sings it, how wonderful his voice sounds with it. If he were a little more musical, I would prefer him to all the other tenors I know. He is now a busy doctor and hardly ever sings in any society except at the Beneckes'; his relationship with Clara Novello has been completely broken off. I have never in my life seen a beautiful career so wantonly smashed to pieces and to pieces as this girl did to hers; in England no one wants to know anything about her; one has hardly ever heard her sing, because she absolutely wanted to be treated like Malibran [Maria Malibran 1808-1836, famous Spanish singer of both soprano and contralto roles, famous for her dramatic presentations and strong personality], to sing her arias, to get her money's worth; people laughed at that, and she went to Italy to try her luck on the stage; unfortunately, one can predict with certainty that she will have a bad success. Her brother, the publisher, gave me Burns' works - that is proof of success, I tell you – it is great. But enough chatting.'

If she were allowed to be present with the grownups at this gathering, it may mean that Weber knew his future wife Helena at least from when she was 12.

The next extract is simply Mendelssohn sending a piece of music to his friend Klingemann in London, and refers in passing to Weber:

24 January 1841

Letter 2990, Vol 7, p436 and note p737

'It's probably not suitable for Dr Weber, but I would still like to send you something and I don't have anything else to do today, so please take it.'

Next there are several engaging and more detailed contemporary accounts of a period in 1842 when Mendelssohn stayed with the Beneckes at Dane House. He (and his wife Cécile) arrived in England for his seventh visit to England, in late May. They had a busy schedule. On 20 June he was received at Buckingham Palace by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. He needed to be near town because of his commitments, but being in central London during the summer heat was not pleasant. By 1 June he and Cécile had removed to Camberwell to stay with the Beneckes and their children. They remained there until 12 July and by all accounts had a very happy time. While there, Felix wrote *Song without Words* No 6 in Book 5 (Opus 62), sometimes called *Spring Song* or *Chanson du Printemps* or *Camberwell Green*, which he apparently gave to Clara Schumann as a birthday present.

The most timely account of the stay was written by Cécile. Taking advantage of some 'heures tranquilles' while Mendelssohn was away in London for the evening playing for the Queen, she wrote vividly to her mother and siblings in Frankfurt about some of her experiences there, giving us a glimpse of the family and its lifestyle. She touches in passing on the two eldest daughters, who would include Helena, then at a very difficult 'in between' age. The letter was written in French. Some but not all misspellings have been corrected. As this extract begins Cécile is explaining that the Benecke children there remind her of her own, whom she is missing. She and Felix were to have five: Carl, Marie, Paul, Lili and Felix.

15 & 17 June 1842

Letter 3554, Vol 9, p426

'Seeing Aunt Henriette's children play, especially watching little Otto, who has a singular resemblance to Charles in his appearance, I think of them a lot. The little Beneckes are charming children; especially little Lilli, who is Felix's favorite, is very graceful. The two eldest are already very tall, and have surpassed their mother in height, but neither will be as pretty, I believe. They have a very pleasant expression and are very fresh, but they are still in the critical age, where no girl is pretty. Victor is a handsome boy, but very shy, he doesn't talk to anyone & loves nothing as much as his donkey, Teddy is very small for his age, no longer as pretty as he used to be, & very mischievous. Otto looks like Victor, but he is much more pleasant, caressing, & obedient & kind. Little Mathilde is very lively, even naughty, very healthy but a Pimpernüsschen next to my little Paul.

All these children lead the life of a king, and God grant them a future as happy as their childhood. Aunt Henriette gave us a charming party last Sunday. It began with a dinner, attended by Mr & Mrs Moscheles, Mr & Mrs Horsley with two sons & a daughter, Auguste Schlemmer Mr Steinkopf Miss Schwabe Dr Sween & a few others I have forgotten. An English dinner is very funny, don't you think? This one was extremely grandiose, many dishes were brought back without being touched; after dinner we lost ourselves in the garden, and little by little many people arrived; there were more than 70 people. After we played in the garden for a long time because the weather was superb, we made some music. Mr. Benedikt, who has a Neapolitan for a wife, played a trio with a Mr. Mohr from

Fft & Haussmann. Then Mr. Moscheles played alone, and Felix, and then these two began to fantasize together with four hands which greatly amused the whole company. There was plenty of good food and drink to eat, and we left around midnight very happy. I go to society almost every day, so it's a bit too much. However, we are so polite that it is difficult to refuse. I speak English haphazardly, and they are kind enough to assure me that if I lack words, my accent is at least good.

The other evening I was in a charming little house, where there was a company of around fifteen people; but with a refined elegance, like the whole house. The ladies all had several skirts on top of each other, which is the latest fashion for old and young people, necklines down to the stomach, and with short sleeves. I must give you the description of a lady who protects me a lot, her husband is a member of parliament and very rich, but this woman made us laugh so much with her dress that we had to leave the room. In her 60s she wears a blonde wig, on the top of which is planted a small pink cap with flowers, a silk dress with wide yellow & lilac stripes, dotted with yellow bobbles, and black blondes, neck bows & arms of same red shoes, a stentorian voice & drinking wine like six men.'

The following extract makes clear Mendelssohn's strong attachment to the Benecke children. In 1892, Henriette Benecke reminisced with one 'F G Edwards' about the time the Mendelssohns were her guests. It seems to record that as well as the *Song without Words*, Mendelssohn also composed some other music specially for the children:

'I may perhaps be allowed to supplement this incident by some further details which Mendelssohn's hostess, Mrs Benecke, kindly gave me when I visited her in 1885. We were seated in the room which Mendelssohn used as his study, overlooking the beautiful garden, and in which he wrote the *Lied* ... [*Chanson de printemps*, Opus 62, No 6]. Over the old grand pianoforte, upon which he had often played, was a beautiful oil-painting of him. In the course of a most interesting conversation, Mrs. Benecke said that Mendelssohn and his wife intended staying only a few days till they should find apartments near the concert rooms, as Mendelssohn had engagements with the Philharmonic Society, &c. One day on his return from town he said, "Those lodgings in London are so stuffy after this pleasant house; may we stay *here* all the time?" The request was readily granted, and the sojourn of a few days extended to six or seven weeks. As to the picnic, Mr. Benecke thought at the time that the reason of Mendelssohn's absence from the party was owing to some previous musical engagement in London. On the long drive to Windsor Mrs. Benecke said to Frau Mendelssohn: "Why did not Felix come with us today?" She replied, "I think he has something in his mind that he wants to write down." "But," said her hostess, "there is nothing for his dinner, only cold meat and rice milk – just the children's dinner." "Oh, never mind," replied Frau Mendelssohn; "he likes nothing better than rice milk. He will be all right." On their return home, Mendelssohn, full of spirits, was waiting in the garden-drive to receive them, and greeted them with a hearty welcome. When they were all assembled in his temporary study he played the lovely "*Lied in A*" (No. 30), saying "This is what I have been doing while you have been away." He was very fond of romping with the children, and they with him; and the quaver rests in the bass of this *Lied* and the frequent staccato notes in the treble, represent the constant withdrawal of his hands from the pianoforte in order to defend himself against the repeated attacks of the little ones, who, being alone with him, wanted to drag him away from the pianoforte and into the garden for a romp. The autograph MS is dated "London, June 1, 1842," the day of the picnic.

Mrs. Benecke told me of other incidents of this visit. She gave a small musical dinner party, at which William Horsley (the glee writer), Moscheles, Benedict, and others were present. After dinner one of the guests suggested that there should be "some playing" (pianoforte). "Oh, yes," said Mendelssohn, "we'll have some playing!" And he at once marched the musicians off to play – not the pianoforte – but the game of "Hen and chickens" in the garden. Horsley, who was not so young as the others, was in fits of laughter as he stood at the window watching the overgrown boys at their "play", Mendelssohn being the life and soul of the game.

Although Mendelssohn was 33 at the time of his visit to Denmark Hill, he revelled in a game of leap-frog, played with the tutor to Mr. Benecke's sons; and he once practised the horizontal bar so vigorously as to take the skin off his hands. He composed for the children a very humorous "Bear's dance" with the following title: "The real, genuine, warranted Barentanz, as performed with unbounded applause at the Denmark Hill Chamber Concerts, composed and dedicated (by permission) to the Gooseberry-eaters of Benecke Castle, by their humble colleague and servant, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, usually called Peter Meffert." This comical little piece, dated "London, 11th July, 1842," is on a rapidly reiterated pedal bass (the lowest F on the pianoforte), and each hand plays at the extreme ends of the keyboard throughout. At the end is the direction: "Da capo [= play from the top again], very often."

[‘Reminiscences of Mendelssohn’ by F G Edwards, *The Musical Times*, 1 August 1892, pp 466-7, quoted in *Mendelssohn Remembered* by Roger Nichols, publ Faber & Faber, 1997.]

Perhaps, at age 14 during Felix's stay, Helena might have been too old for such romping. But it appears that two of the younger ones were particularly favoured by Mendelssohn. These were Johann Eduard Wilhelm

or ‘Teddy’ born in 1833, and Elise Cornelia or ‘Lilly’, born in 1835. Prof Todd also mentions additional compositions written during the stay at the Beneckes’ house:

‘Felix sought to capture in both pieces [that he was composing while at Camberwell, the *Song without Words* Opus 102, No 1 in E Minor being the other] a childlike naiveté, a quality he explored more thoroughly in eight keyboard miniatures recorded in sixpenny music books of two of the children, Teddy and Lilly. The composer prepared six of the pieces for publication as *Kinderstücke* in 1846, but their release was delayed until December 1847, one month after Felix’s death, when they appeared in England from Ewer & Co. as Op. 72, with the surely unauthorized title “Six pieces for the Pianoforte, composed as a Christmas present for his young friends, by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy.”’
[*Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, R Larry Todd, publ Oxford University Press, 2005.]

By September 1842 the Mendelssohns had left London and were in Frankfurt staying with other members of the Souchay family. In the following extract from a long letter to his friend Carl Klingemann in London Felix remembers with great nostalgia and affection the jollity and informality of his stay with the Beneckes and again asks Klingemann to give them his love:

13 September 1842

Letter 3607, Vol 9, p41

‘Oh God Klingemann, how strange it is for me, as I am about to write a long sentence about Switzerland and all the delights of this unique little piece of the world, and as I think: You’d better say it orally. Orally then; that’s better! But it was wonderful there! Orally! – We returned from there 8 days ago today; the day after us John and Thekla Souchay arrived from Dresden, and are staying about as long as we are, i.e. another 6-7 days. They are very well and cheerful, as is the whole house. Last night Mme. Souchay gave a big party where Hiller played and Mme. Hiller sang and I played and Schlemmer suddenly brought the Rothschilds (the Parisian girl who had just married at the age of 17) and Aloys Schmitt didn’t play and Miss Fischbach was beside herself and Sprenkel was driving back and forth and this morning we couldn’t even have breakfast in the study because there were so many glasses and cups there, with Mozart’s four-handed pieces mixed in. What is unclear to you here is something every child in Denmark Hill understands. And now when I come to Denmark Hill (I mean just in words) I feel a little weird, almost moved – I never really know who to think of first because they have all grown so incredibly dear to my heart. All of them are great people, good ones who must make God happy. You can give them my regards. And tell them that they have no idea how much I love them, and how every day and every hour, and especially at the best of times, up in the Alps, where it was so beautiful, or in the evening when I put on my slippers after a long walk, or early in the morning when I got up and there was a bright, cloudless day outside the window, how I thought of them and was happy about them. You can address this declaration of love to Benecke or his wife, or so on to Otto, and each time you will reach the person it is intended for in a very special way. I have wanted to write eight letters to them for a long time, because one is not enough and I have something special to talk about with each of them; it will happen soon – but up to now the silence has continued, which you could also call piquant, or other unforgivable – but as I said, what do the letters say? Nothing at all – after all, you know what is best.’

Here is an extract from a long letter written early in the following year, 1843, by Mendelssohn to his host, Cécile’s aunt, Elizabeth [Henriette] in Denmark Hill, Camberwell. Most of it covers his intensely happy memories of staying with the family, but he also alludes to the death of his mother Lea Mendelssohn Bartholdy on 12 December 1842.

17 January 1843

Letter 3766, Vol 9, p163 and note p585

‘My dear, good aunt. That this should be the first time since those happy days in your house that I am writing to you! Strangely, the gratitude for everything I experienced with you, the most intimate, heartfelt love and joy with which those times then, and every day since, warmed and blessed me in my memory, had grown too close to my heart for it to have been enough for me to write a letter and paint the individual letters of thanks, joy, and happiness.

“They all know that just as well and better than you can write it down,” I thought to myself, “and they also know how happy they made you back then.” Then I thought again of one such Sunday afternoon, when I had been in town just two days before, wandering around and had been busy with business, negotiations, meetings, and all sorts of useless things, and when I finally came out again and, from the top of the garden steps, surveyed the entire lawn, full of well-dressed, happy, good, and educated people. The children came towards me right up to the steps, and I said to myself: This is what happiness looks like, and this is what it feels like. I wasn’t able to talk about all that back then; it was too new, too fresh for me, and I always thought it was better experienced than described. Now I have

decided to write to everyone in the house for Christmas and to send something with it: drawings to the girls and bridles to the boys, and you should have spring songs, such as you liked and as best as I could have thought of them.

You know what has clouded and robbed me and all of us of our Christmas joy this year. It took some time before I could recover from the confusion and shock of such a sudden loss, and such a gap in life that could not be repaired, and find my way around somewhat. God kept Cecile and the children quite healthy during this time, and I soon regained the strength to thank Him for everything and to be calmer, both outwardly and inwardly. Just being among people, participating in some of what people call entertainment, is still not possible, and the public performances that repeat themselves here every week, and whose direction I had to resume immediately afterward, are a real burden to me. But it does me good to think, all by myself, of all the good things I have enjoyed – the bad things too – in short, of my past life, as it was. As often as I do this from now on – no matter how old I get – you'll know that you and yours are very close and present to me. So I had to write this letter today, even though it's not worth it.

People had invited me back to England later this year, but I had to turn it down and don't intend to make a longer trip than, say, to Dresden from here. If you do come to Germany next year, that would be the first time I could hope to see you again, as much as I would love to meet Otto before he can fully pronounce parcel, and Lilli before her incredible joy in finding ripe strawberries is replaced by something else. I would also have liked to hear Teddy play another concert, ringing on the broken bell, and to be inspired by Bertini's Étude [A few bars of music score here] waking me from my sleep – but as I said, nothing will come of it. Perhaps by then Otto will have made at most a mistake in a Greek word which I can tease him about (*In English*: What is the cell of it?), and Lilli will enjoy embroidery or flower painting, and Victor will jump over a gate on horseback instead of riding behind the carriage on a donkey, and Teddy will play the hunting horn instead of the breakfast bell, and instead of Bertini I will be woken up by the greatest Beethoven sonata – all of that was fine with me. As long as it's the same people, the same kindness and piety and bravery, the same happiness, then outwardly things can and should change. But may heaven preserve for you the inner being, for you and all yours; I can now count myself among them too.

Now farewell, and remember me from time to time, and let us soon hear happy and pleasant news from you. Kiss all your beloved children for me – I'll write a few lines to Benecke. Always and forever

Yours

Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy'

Just as he promises at the end, Mendelssohn wrote an equally long and varied letter to Friedrich Benecke on the same day.

According to the Dulwich Society, the extended Benecke family were also visited by other notable musicians:

'Mendelssohn gave the piece [*Spring Song*, composed at the Beneckes'] to Clara Schumann as a birthday present. Later Berlioz came to visit another branch of the Benecke family on Denmark Hill and sang with the daughters of the house. He said the audience 'drank it up like consecrated milk'. Richard Wagner also visited the Beneckes.'

[<https://www.dulwichsociety.com/the-journal/autumn-2014/the-germans-of-champion-hill-by-sharon-o-connor>]

We now jump three years to 1846. In the next extract from a long letter sent by Mendelssohn to Carl Klingemann he has just finished exploring some ideas about major or minor keys when he turns to asking for news of his many friends in England. It comes from a time just before the marriage of Frederic Weber and Helena Benecke and alludes to some problem, although further details are so far unknown.

15 April 1846

Letter 5249, Vol 11, p267 and note p638

'What is happening with the postponement of Dr. Weber's wedding? I don't quite understand what Cecile told me about it. And when is John getting married? And when is Charles? And when is Sophy? And do you know how Bennett is doing? And when is Moscheles planning to move to Germany? Are the Alexanders okay? Is Grote back in London? Are the Sartoris still in Rome? What is Henry Greville singing? What is Henry Bishop saying? What is Lucy Gordon writing? What is Mr. Hawes up to? (You see I'm now in Queen Square, Pimlico.) Have you met Käthchen Eichhof, and how is she? And when will Satan take Mr. Ella, along with his musical union, and various other charitable institutions in England and on the Continent? I could go on asking questions like this for a long time. But just answer me soon; you know what I want to ask before I've even asked it.'

1846. Marriage solemnized in St Paul's Church in the Parish of Lambertwell in the County of Surrey

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
4	August 18 th	Frederic Weber Helena Wilhelmina Louisa Benecke	Officiary Bachelor Minor	Physician Printer	Poland Green St Green St London Surrey St	Louis Weber Frederic William Benecke	Merchant Merchant	

Married in the Church of St Paul according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England by me, G. L. L. L.
 This Marriage was solemnized between us, Frederic Weber and Helena Wilhelmina Louisa Benecke in the Presence of us, Charles Victor Benecke and William Edward Charles M. D.

Figure 12 Marriage record of Frederic Weber and Helena Benecke, 18 August 1846.

As mentioned above, when they married in 1846 Helena was still a minor aged 18. In 1851 the couple were living at 3 Norfolk Street in Westminster. At some point between 1852 and 1856 judging by the baptism records of their children they moved to a splendid six-storey terraced townhouse at 44 Green Street in the exclusive and wealthy Grosvenor Square area. All of their eight children were born in London, none in Effingham, which further suggests that Slaters Oak was the Webers' 'cottage' in the country. Luckily the 1861 Census captured the Webers at Slaters Oak. Frederic Weber MD then aged 52, a naturalized British subject, is there described as MD Pavia, Fellow and Censor of the Royal College of Physicians. With him is Helena age 33. In 1861 their known children were:

- Lewis William, age 13, born Reigate, 22 July 1847
- Edward, age 10, born London 7 August 1850
- Henrietta, age 9, born London 22 March 1852
- Charles Alfred, age 7, born London 14 November 1853
- Helen Caroline, age 5, born London 7 November 1855
(the only one of these children to marry, in 1898)
- Dora Eliza, age 3, born London 12 March 1858, died 1865
- Mary Beatrice, age 1, later known as May; born London 22 December 1859
- 4 servants
- Finally, a further son Frederick Herman was born after the 1861 Census

Also, at Slaters Oak in 1861 were Thomas Chambers, a Bailiff, and his wife, and two servants.

As one would expect, the Webers brought their daughters up to be musical. A report about winter evening entertainments in Effingham's village hall in December 1881 details a long list of 'turns' presented by residents amongst which 'The Misses H. and M. Weber, the accomplished daughters of Dr. Weber, delighted the audience with their exquisite duets and solos ...' including the duet 'My Bark is Bounding' by (presumably) Helen and May, song 'Home Sweet Home' by Helen, song 'Bluebells of Scotland' by Helen, and duet 'The Venetian Boat Song' by Helen and May [*The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 10 December 1881]. We may also perhaps wonder whether the Webers were responsible for an unusual item on the programme that evening: 'Mr Bion Reynolds, M.A., who came from town for the occasion, rendered some difficult pieces most effectively, especially his Bavarian mountaineer's song, with 'jadelling' [sic – presumably a mistype of yodelling].

The Webers occupied Slaters Oak from 1846/1853 until 1891 when the daughters reluctantly had to let it go (see Appendix II for extracts of letters written by Frederic and Helena's youngest daughter Mary (May), some of which discuss having to move out).



Figure 13 Photograph of 'May' (Mary) probably taken in the period 1875-1894.

Sadly, Dane House, the Beneckes house in Camberwell (later renumbered from 168 to 174) was demolished between 1907-10 for the creation of Ruskin Park. It used to stand near Champion Hill, where Ruskin Park is now, not at the present 168 Denmark Hill. While Dane House itself may have gone, the memory of the composition which took place there has been preserved. The following is from the website of the Heritage of London Trust:

'When the 18th century villas were demolished to lay out the new Ruskin Park in 1906, a sundial with inscription was placed at the location of the Benecke's house, paid for by the Benecke family. It commemorated Mendelssohn's visit and composition with the words 'Here stood the house where Mendelssohn wrote the Spring Song, 1842'. The bronze sundial was scored with a part-notation of the music. The terracotta base was decorated with Tudor roses. The Mendelssohn sundial was in very poor condition. The bronze sundial with its inscription is missing and the terracotta base has severe cracks and has been subject to poor-quality cement repairs. Heritage of London Trust and Lambeth Council joined forces to restore this base. The surface cement or mortar from past repairs was removed and missing material replaced with lime mortar. A replacement of the original bronze sundial was created based on surviving records and images.

The sundial stands in its new position inside the walled garden.'
[<https://www.heritageoflondon.org/projects/mendelssohn-sundial>]

The result of the foregoing is that we can convincingly associate Mendelssohn, and one of his *Songs without Words*, with the Beneckes and Frederic Weber, if not yet with Slaters Oak itself. But – what about the grandmother, and the Bishop?

We must rely on a lucky hit to make the link. In 1898 one of the Webers' children, their second daughter Helen Caroline (1855-1941), then aged 42, married as his second wife Edwin Waterhouse (1841-1917) aged 56, a chartered accountant who lived at Feldemore, Holmbury. In 1905 Edwin and Helen had a son, Theodore.

From his first marriage, Edwin already had a son, Nicholas, aged 23. Nicholas was destined to become Sir Nicholas Waterhouse (of Price Waterhouse). His father's re-marriage meant that Nicholas gained a stepmother and (although she was deceased) a step-grandmother. The step-grandmother was the Helena Louisa née Benecke at whose childhood home in Camberwell Mendelssohn had stayed whilst composing a *Song without Words*. Helena Louisa, and also her daughter Helen Caroline née Weber, had both lived at Slaters Oak.

More about the Waterhouses including photographs of them can be found in an article by Jeremy Palmer [<https://elhg.org.uk/discovery/lives/lives-the-waterhouses/>]. Suffice it to say that with his wife Audrey, Nicholas was destined to live from 1930 onwards in Effingham at Norwood Farm – just a few steps from Slaters Oak. Doubtless the coincidence of living next door to his step-mother's childhood home was a source of family interest. In 1930 Slaters Oak was the home of the predecessors to the Hughes family, which is to say Sir Guy Meyrick Mallaby Mallaby-Deeley and his family who lived there from 1927 to 1946. Who knows whether perhaps the Mallaby-Deeleys allowed Helen Caroline Waterhouse to revisit her former home – although it had gone through various owners and considerable re-modelling since Helen and her sisters had sold it in 1891-3. Helen Caroline was 75 and a widow by this time. She died in 1941 and was buried at the church of St Mary the Virgin, Holmbury St Mary.

And the 'Bishop'? Even he can conjecturally now be identified. Jeremy's article reveals that

'Sir Nicholas continued at Price Waterhouse until 1960, when at the age of 82 he finally retired. His retirement was commemorated by a visit to Norwood Farm by the Dean of Westminster Abbey, as Sir Nicholas had held the Auditorship of the Abbey from 1916.'

Sir Nicholas himself described this visit in some detail – it had clearly been a very memorable and enjoyable occasion. In his unpublished memoir *Reminiscences* is an account of it:

'Last month I had the great pleasure of a visit at Effingham from the new Dean (whom I had not previously met), and all the members of the Chapter who came to present me with two valuable volumes of "Ackerman's Westminster Abbey" (a copy of which in vellum Ackerman had presented to King George the Third), as a gift on my retirement. I felt almost as honoured by this visit as if I had been offered burial in the Abbey. The atmosphere was so friendly that I ventured to tell some stories and even let them know just what I, with my Quaker upbringing, thought of certain Church of England practices, such as the intoning of prayers etc! It was certainly a red-letter day for me and I was delighted when I found that the next number that was issued of the Westminster periodical *Occasional Paper* contained a page headed "A Visit to Sir Nicholas".'

The new Dean was Rev Eric Symes Abbott (1906-1983) [see Appendix III]. He had been elected to the post in 1959 and left his post as Warden of Keble College, Oxford to take it up in 1960. Most fortunately, the periodical mentioned by Sir Nicholas still exists, and the following was kindly supplied by Miss Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of the Muniments.

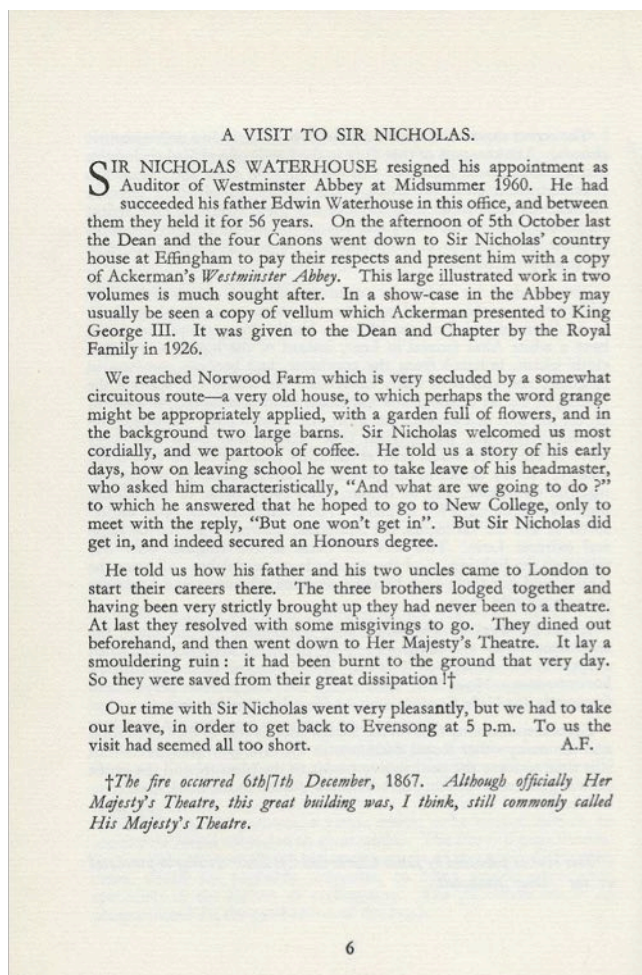


Figure 14 Eric Symes Abbott, Dean of Westminster, by William Dring, 1969; Kings College London Archives, © The Artist's Estate, Bridgeman Images.

Figure 15 The article in the Occasional Paper describing the visit to Sir Nicholas, written by Canon Adam Fox.

Conclusion

From all of the above we may surmise that:

- In 1960, a Dean, rather than a Bishop, came to visit Sir Nicholas Waterhouse at Norwood Farm. They reminisced about Sir Nicholas's family history.
- Sir Nicholas's step-mother had been Helen Caroline née Weber, and she had spent time at Slaters Oak from her birth in 1855 until she and her sisters let the house in 1891. More significantly, Sir Nicholas's step-grandmother had been Helena Louisa Benecke / Weber who spent time at Slaters Oak between her marriage in 1846 and her death in 1890. In 1842 when Helena Louisa was a girl in London, Mendelssohn had stayed with her family, and while there he wrote two of his *Songs without Words*.
- From 1946 Sir Nicholas's neighbour at Slaters Oak was Col Hughes. Either Sir Nicholas told the Colonel about the visit of the Dean, or perhaps the Colonel had even been present as a guest.
- Sir Nicholas died in 1964.
- Presumably at some time in the period 1964-1970 (in other words when Sir Nicholas was no longer around to corroborate, and more probably after 1967 when the research for *The History of Effingham in Surrey* began), Col Hughes and Monica O'Connor had a chat. Between them they remembered and recorded a version of the facts.

In summary, if we were to re-express this more accurately, the original text reading

‘Colonel Hughes told the writer that he had had a visit from a Bishop who told him that Slaters Oak was the home of his (the Bishop's) grandmother and that Mendelssohn composed one of his *Songs without Words* there.’

would become

‘Colonel Hughes told the writer that Sir Nicholas Waterhouse of Norwood Farm had had a visit there from the Dean of Westminster. Sir Nicholas told the Dean that Slaters Oak was the country home of his (Sir Nicholas's) step-grandmother, and that Mendelssohn had composed two of his *Songs without Words* at her childhood home in London.’

ILLUSTRATIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Jeremy Palmer, for discovering and sharing the unpublished memoir which includes the information about the Dean's visit to Sir Nicholas Waterhouse at Norwood Farm. This effectively cracked the case, making all the rest discoverable backwards. The memoir is *Reminiscences*, 1877-1960 by Nicholas E. Waterhouse, 1961, CT788.W38 R45 1961, part of the Wyndham Lewis Collection in the Burke Library, Hamilton College, New York.

Grateful thanks are also due to Prof R Larry Todd for identifying a specific date on which Weber, Mendelssohn and the Beneckes were all together, and also in pointing us to the *Sämtliche Briefe*, the ‘complete’ correspondence of Mendelssohn in 12 volumes, that revealed the strength of the relationship of the Webers and the Beneckes with Mendelssohn. Prof Todd also drew our notice to the following sources which have not been consulted for this article, but in due course may reveal more:

- ‘the *Mendelssohn-Werkverzeichnis* [*Mendelssohn Work Index*] by Ralf Wehner (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, 2009) – the first modern fully researched music catalogue of the works of Felix Mendelssohn. It lists the autographs of those pieces, including all the dated ones that have survived. If we could pin down when Mendelssohn might have visited Surrey, then it would be possible to check the dated autographs of the *Lieder ohne Worte* in case there are any correspondences. I'm dubious, though, that there are, but Mendelssohnian riddles often take unusual turns’.
- ‘the Mendelssohn pocket diaries are in the M. Deneke Mendelssohn Collection at the Bodleian Library (I believe the call numbers are g.1-10; there is a catalogue that was published by Margaret Crum in the 1980s with Hans Schneider in Tutzing.’
- ‘the Bodleian (which has one of the largest collections of Mendelssohniana in the world) also preserves the *Gegenbriefe* to Mendelssohn, that is, about 6000 letters to the composer. Margaret Crum also published a checklist of these letters by correspondent, which is indexed (also published by Hans Schneider, Tutzing). One could check to see if Weber appears there.’

APPENDIX I

Occupiers of Slaters Oak

Between the Webers and the Hughes family, the occupiers of Slaters Oak were

Mrs Slack 1891-1893
Miss F A Levien 1893-1907
Misses Gradwell and Richardson 1907-1927
Sir Guy Mallaby-Deeley and family 1927-1946

APPENDIX II

Extracts from correspondence

Mary 'May' Beatrice Weber (born London 22 December 1859) was the youngest but one of the Weber children. Surrey History Centre (SHC) holds several letters written by her to Susan Lushington of Pyports, Cobham, which record for instance her and her sisters' sadness about having to face the sale of Slaters Oak. Extracts from these letters have been reproduced below.

May's father Frederic died on 10 March 1886 aged 77 and was buried at West Norwood Cemetery. Their London family home up to this time had been the very spacious 44 Green Street, and at some point the ladies moved from there to 25 Leinster Gardens. Helena Louisa Wilhelmina died aged 63 on 8 October 1890, and on 13 October 1890 was buried in the same grave as Frederic. After their mother's death, the three sisters moved again, to 4 Blomfield Crescent in west London, today's Westbourne Grove area. In June 1891 the executors, presumably Frederic's two surviving sons, arranged for an auction to sell the contents of Slaters Oak, 'it being let'. The lease was taken up by a Mrs Slack, but in 1893 she moved on and at that point the property was sold to Miss Levien. Some of May's letters refer mournfully to this parting with Slaters Oak.

Susan Lushington who appears as a correspondent and friend of May was a sister of Katherine 'Kitty' Lushington, wife of Leo Maxse of Dunley Hill, Effingham.

Other letters in the SHC collection were exchanged between Lushington siblings and also mention the Webers in passing. Many of the letters are undated so the order in which they are given below is by no means guaranteed to be chronological.

19 June, no year

From May at Slaters Oak to Susan

'Dearest Susan,
I have only just got your letter sent on from L. S.[?] and that is the reason you did not see me yesterday. We came here last Saturday, & find the country very delicious after the bit of season we have had ... I shall hope to see you as soon as you come to Pyports, by the way how horrid it is to see the Labalmondiers in your house, not that I have any objection to them but I want you.'

7854/4/43/22/34

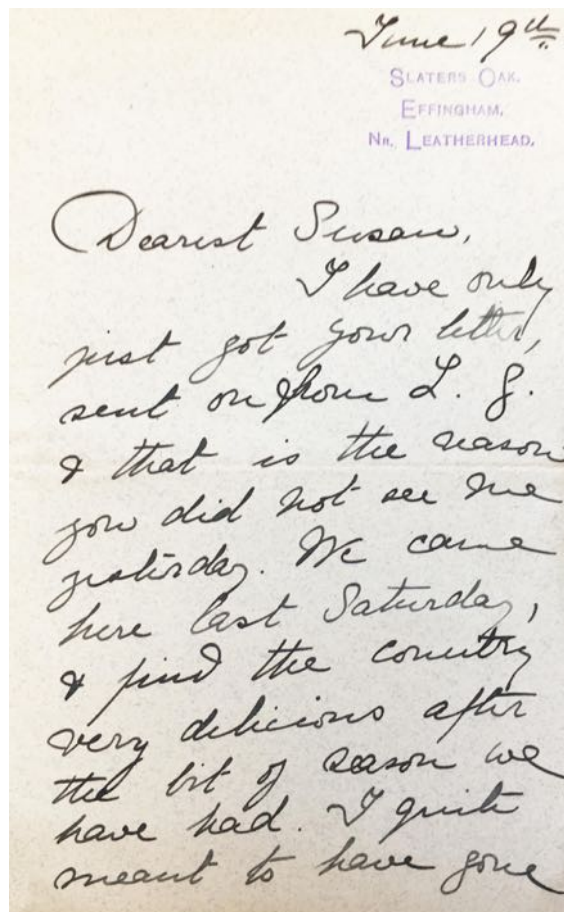


Figure 16 This letter paper is stamped with the Slaters Oak address.

No date

May at Slaters Oak to Susan

'Dearest Susie

Here we have been actually three weeks already, the time does go so fast, & we enjoy the drives & rides in this glorious country immensely ... Pyports looks so dreary when we pass & know you are not there.'

7854/4/43/22/33

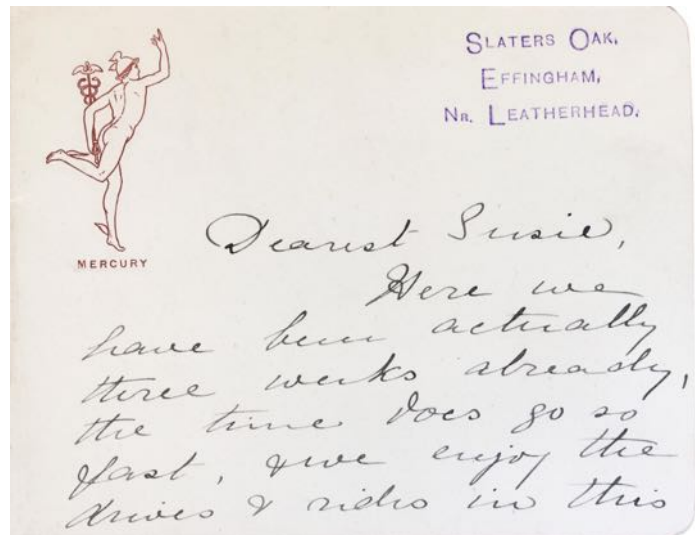


Figure 17 This notecard is headed with the address of Slaters Oak, and a charming figure of Mercury, messenger of the gods.

28 July, no year

May at Slaters Oak to Susan

This is also written on 'Slaters Oak' headed notepaper

May writes to say she is off to Scotland to stay with friends at Aboyne. She is also invited to the Lawsons and will be going to Miss Gurney's.

7854/4/43/22/35

22 May, no year, but probably 1887 after her father's death.

May at Slaters Oak to Susan Lushington

There is a reference to Katherine (Kitty) Lushington breaking off her engagement to Charles Howard to whom she was engaged for a brief period in 1887.

'Why have you gone back to calling me Miss W, I used to be May last year! I am indeed sorry to hear of your trouble dear Susie, it must be very sad for you all, especially your poor sister. I know how fond you are of all the Howards & can imagine how trying a separation from them must be, & feel sure the country will be far more congenial than town to you under the circumstances. We have let our town house for 5 months [presumably 44 Green Street] & are established here, so please let me know when you go back to Pyports.'

7854/4/43/22/36

18 November, no year

May D Weber, 44 Green Street, Grosvenor Square, W, to Susan Lushington

This is likely to be after 15 June 1888 from the reference to the death of Frederick William Crown Prince of the German Empire and the succession of his son William (Kaiser Wilhelm).

Thanking Susan for her letter.

'I am very sorry to hear that your sister has been so unwell & I hope that Malvern will do her good ... Helen has just come back from Italy ... Are you not sorry for the poor Crown Prince? It seems he has

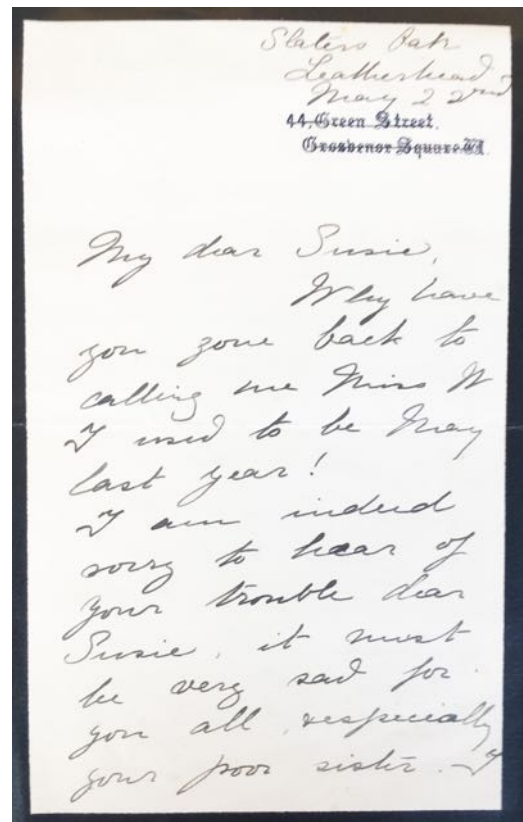


Figure 18 Mourning stationery with a black edge.

been ill for some years it is only that we English have not known of it before. The Germans have known it a long time & looked on William as the future Emperor. There is to be another demonstration on Sunday, & I expect there will be a collision between police, soldiers, & people like last week, it is very disturbing & one cannot see what is to be the end of it, & what the roughs think they can gain unless it is a better circulation from the exercise. The Park is nearly always full of rough fellows now, & police looking after them.'

7854/4/43/22/32

29 November, no year

May D Weber, 44 Green Street, Grosvenor Square, to Susan

'Saw your sister Margaret at the Herschel Concert on Tuesday'.

May had been travelling in Warwickshire visiting Kenilworth, Warwick Castle, Stratford, Evesham, Oxford.

'We stopped at the Randolph Hotel & were very comfy. I was much struck with Sir Joshua Reynolds window in the chapel at New [College], isn't it glorious?'

7854/4/43/22/37

21 September, no year but probably 1890

From May to Susan

Kitty Lushington became engaged to Leo Maxse in 1890 and they married at St Andrew's Church, Cobham on 23 December 1890. Kitty died in 1922 and a persistent rumour began that she was the 'inspiration', if that is the right word, for Mrs Dalloway in Virginia Woolf's 1925 novel of that name. Mrs Dalloway committed suicide by throwing herself off an upper balcony. 'Mrs Maxse' was Cecilia née Steel, the wife of Admiral Frederick Augustus Maxse of Dunley Hill, Effingham. This couple had separated long since but remained on amiable terms and never divorced. The two Maxse daughters were Violet and Olive.

'I am so glad to hear you are pleased at Kitty's engagement ... I did not even know there was a Mrs Maxse, as I had only heard of the two daughters, please tell me more!'

7854/4/43/22/29

25 October, no year

May at 25 Leinster Gardens to Susan

This letter has a black border for mourning; May's mother died 8 October 1890. May is reflecting on the fate of the three unmarried daughters, Henrietta, Helen and herself, now aged approx 38, 35 and 31 respectively.

'After our father died it was so different – he left us our mother to watch over & help, but now there seems to be nothing to live for! We three shall live together still, but we must move into a smaller house as soon as we can let this one, & we shall have to let Slaters Oak too! I wonder whether you can help me to find a place for our coachman whom we are very sorry to have to part with, he has been with us 20 years, but is only 45 and wants a quiet place in town or country, he is very recommendable in every way, is married and has no children. Perhaps you may know of someone wanting a man they can rely on without supervision.'

7854/4/43/22/30

9 December, no year – presumably 1890

May at 25 Leinster Gardens, Bayswater, to Susan Lushington

The letter has a black mourning border. 'Booth's book' is presumably the first of Charles Booth's 17-volume *Life and Labour of the People in London*. Volume 1 was published in 1889.

'I expect you are full of wedding preparations now, as I hear it is to come off this year still ... we shall be very busy moving into our new house next week ... 4 Blomfield Crescent ... It is just at the top of Westbourne Terrace, on the other side of the bridge. We would rather have been nearer to our friends on Campden Hill, Kensington Square &c, but could not find a decent house for the rent we can give, & so had to give up the position. It is a nice house with just the right number of rooms for us three. I am glad to say our coachman has got a place, he went into it straight from us, which was a comfort, it would so horrid to be out of work in the winter. We have been much interested in reading Booth's

book, though of course it is very sad, I only hope he may be able to do some good to the wretched unemployed for they need it sadly. I should like to hear your father on Parnell & Gladstone just now!' 7854/4/43/22/31

4 February 1891

Susan Lushington, 36 Kensington Square, to her father Vernon Lushington, Reading.

She is just leaving to join the orchestra in playing Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony. Kitty and Leo and Christopher [Howard?] are coming to dine with Susan and Margaret.

'I have just come in from a long walk through the gardens & from having tea with May Weber. It was the first time I had been to see her in their new house & talked over her plans after her Mother's death. I am afraid their means must be very low as they have finally come to the sad conclusion that they must sell Slaters Oak their dear little house on Effingham Common. It is a fearful wrench to them. They have lived there all their lives. It was a wedding present to their Mother & she went there with their father for their honeymoon.'

7854/3/9/28a-b

Perhaps the decision to sell Slaters Oak was staved off for a little while longer. The daughters did however have to clear out the family possessions. In June 1891 the executors advertised an auction of the contents because the house had been let; presumably the new tenant wanted it empty.

31 October, no year – ?1891

May answering Susan's letter.

'We are beginning to shake down in our new quarters ... I have had most of it to do as Helen [her older sister, the future wife of Edwin Waterhouse] started for Italy very soon after we got up to town ... I don't know of anyone wanting a country house just now but I will think of your friends at St Ives.'

7854/4/43/22/28

January 1893

Susan Lushington, 36 Kensington Square, to Vernon Lushington, Reading

She has been skating and to a ball. Visitors to their 'At Home' included Emma Vaughan, Hilda Barry, Christopher Howard, Claude Russell, Mr & Mrs Legge, Mrs Kemp Welch, Stella and Gerald Duckworth, May Weber, Margaret & Arthur Stanley, Myra Jerningham, Stephen & Diana Massingberd.

7854/3/9/48a-b

30 June 1893

Margaret Lushington, 36 Kensington Square, to Vernon Lushington, Oxford.

She has been practising music:

'Mildred & I went off to Shakespeare who I think was pretty pleased & gave me a most excellent lesson. He is such a delightful musician every note he played gives me joy.' She was later visited by Eva Ashton, May Weber, Maude & Gwen Parry, Mrs Leonbard Darwin, Mildred Massingberd, Mary Massingberd, Stephen Massingberd, Mr Fielding, Mr Ball, Hugh Norris & Gerald [Duckworth?]. Miss Wetton, Charley & Hubert Howard came to dinner after which they all went to see "The Taming of the Shrew" with Stella Duckworth and Gerald Duckworth.'

[‘Shakespeare’ was William Shakespeare who was a fashionable and sought-after singing teacher at the end of the nineteenth century. He taught at the Royal Academy of Music and was the author of ‘The Art of Singing’. Lucy Broadwood took lessons from Shakespeare in 1884.]

7854/3/8/65a-b

Shortly after this, ie by September 1893, the lease for Slaters Oak had come vacant again, and the property was finally sold to Miss F A Levien.

By order of the Exors.—Slater's Oak, Effingham Common (two minutes from Effingham Junction).
MESSRS. WATERER and SONS are instructed by the Exors., the property being let, to sell by Auction, upon the premises, as above, on **MONDAY, June 22nd, 1891**, at 11 for 12 o'clock, the whole of the **HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE**, comprising bedsteads, bedding, and usual bedroom appointments, linen, drawing room and dining-room furniture including mahogany dining tables, antique pedestal clock, pictures, carpets, china and glass, kitchen utensils, dairy utensils, &c. Also a valuable dark bay cob, pure-bred Alderney in-calf cow, three well-bred heifers, two sows, 10 store pigs, about 40 head of poultry well-built park phaeton, capital dog-cart, a spring cart, pony cart, and a useful manure cart, harness, saddles, &c.; small rick of prime meadow hay, chain harrow, chaff-cutting machine, oat crusher, ladders, 10 acres of standing grass, few greenhouse plants, garden seat, lawn mowing machine, tools, and numerous other effects.
 May be viewed the morning of sale, and catalogues obtained upon the premises, and of the Auctioneers, at either of their Offices, Chertsey, opposite the Booking Office, Weybridge Station, and opposite the Station Entrance, Walton-on-Thames. 6733

Figure 19 Advertisement for the auction of the contents of Slaters Oak in 1891; *West Middlesex Herald*, 13 June 1891. Note that by this time, proximity to the recently-opened Effingham Junction Station was a feature of the advertisement.

Slater's Oak, Effingham, Surrey, three minutes walk from Effingham Junction Station.
MESSRS. WATERER and SONS have received instructions from Mrs. Slack, who is leaving the neighbourhood, to sell by Auction, on the premises as above, on **WEDNESDAY, September 27th, 1893**, at eleven for twelve o'clock, the superior **HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, LIVE STOCK, HAY**, and other Effects, comprising tubular brass and iron French bedsteads, bedroom suites in pine, &c., marble-top washstands, chests of drawers, and the usual bedroom appointments; set of mahogany telescope dining tables, rosewood, card, and other tables, antique carved oak tables and chests, oak bookshelves, bamboo settee, mahogany Chippendale and other chairs, art squares and Kidderminster carpets, Axminster, black buck, and tiger skin rugs, kitchen utensils, 8-day dial, 20lbs. of superior orange Pekoe tea, direct from the plantation, an excellent fast grey pony, battlesden car, and harness, capital black mare with good action, three well-bred Ayrshire shorthorn and Jersey cows, pedigree terrier, small rick of new and stump of old meadow hay, nearly new 2-knife chaff cutter, American hand lawn mowing machine, garden implements, and other useful effects.
 May be viewed the day previous and morning of sale, and catalogues had of the Auctioneers, at either of their Offices, at Chertsey, Weybridge Station, and opposite the Station Entrance, Walton-on-Thames. 11617

Figure 20 Advertisement for the auction of the contents of Slaters Oak in 1893. It is not impossible that Mrs Slack had purchased the Webers' contents when she took on the lease in 1891. *West Middlesex Herald*, 18 Sept 1893.

APPENDIX III

Concerning Eric Abbott: the "Bishop"

The role of Dean of Westminster Abbey is a particularly special one and Abbott filled it with great success. He was somewhat more important than any old bishop. From *Wikipedia*:

"The Abbey ... is a Royal Peculiar meaning the dean answers directly to the monarch ... While dean, in addition to leading many national memorials and celebrations, he conducted three royal weddings: the wedding of Princess Margaret and Antony Armstrong-Jones, the wedding of Princess Alexandra and Angus Ogilvy, and the wedding of Princess Anne and Mark Phillips. After the death of Princess Margaret it was reported that she regarded Eric Abbott as "a father figure." He presided over the 900th anniversary of the founding of the abbey in 1965–1966. In the 1966 New Year Honours, he was appointed a Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (KCVO), although clergymen do not use the title "sir". Despite his unstable health, he served fifteen years as dean before retiring in 1974."

APPENDIX IV

When the Colonel met the Cows – The Daily Mirror, 23 June 1959

WHEN THE COLONEL MET THE COWS . . .

WHAT happened when the Colonel met the cows cost a farmer and his son a total of £36 15s. yesterday.

THE COLONEL was driving a Triumph TR2 sports car which had just been resprayed. **THE COWS**—fifty of them—were spread across the road.

And the Colonel told the county court at Epsom, Surrey, that after he had tooted his horn behind the cows while travelling at “cow walking pace,” the drover turned round and hit the car with a stick “as hard as he could.”

Then, he alleged, after he had threaded his way through the cows, a man at the front of the herd rushed at the car and something hit the back of it.

Colonel Charles Hughes, who is retired, of Slaters Oak, Effingham, sued Mr. Archibald Murrells, of Leewood Farm, Effingham, and his son, Frank, of Effingham Common-road, Effingham, for damages arising out of the incident.

He claimed £7 10s. special damages and £100 general damages. The Murrells counter-claimed for £100 damages, alleging that the Colonel ran Frank Murrells down.

continued on next page ...

He claimed £7 10s. special damages and £100 general damages. The Murrells counter-claimed for £100 damages, alleging that the Colonel ran Frank Murrells down.

Colonel Hughes, 63, said he was driving across Effingham Common on November 25 last year when he came up behind the cows.

He slowed from thirty-five to forty miles per hour to "walking cow" pace—about two to four miles an hour.

'Lot of Noise'

His car engine made a lot of noise, but the man at the back of the herd took no notice.

After about a minute, with the drover doing nothing to assist him to get through, "I gave one toot on the horn," said Colonel Hughes.

"The drover immediately turned round and hit my car on the wing as hard as he could with the stick in his hand. Then he came nearer and hit it less hard on the bonnet.

"He said: 'That will teach you manners, whoever you are.'

"I recognised him as Frank Murrells."

Colonel Hughes said he got out and said he would report the matter.

Frank Murrells, he alleged, replied: "Report it to who the hell you like."

'Bump on Car'

Colonel Hughes said he got back into his car and manoeuvred through the cows.

As he got to the other end of the herd, he saw Archibald Murrells, who rushed towards him and either kicked or hit the back of his car.

The Colonel said there was a bump on the car which would have to be repaired and re-cellulosed.

During the lunch adjournment, the judge and barristers went into a yard behind the court.

There, the judge listened while

2 FARMERS HIT SPORTS CAR

the Colonel revved and idled the engine of the car.

At the judge's request the Colonel gave a toot on the horn.

Frank Murrells, 30, who is in partnership with his father at Leewood Farm, said he was at the back of the fifty-strong herd and his father in front.

The car came up so close behind him that it touched his gum-boots, he said.

"The engine was revving up and down and the hooter was being continuously sounded."

He said he shouted: "Wait a minute," and swished his stick behind him, hitting the car on the opposite side to a dent which the judge had been shown.

Frank Murrells added that he hit the car only once.

'Straight at Me'

Archibald Murrells, 59, a county councillor, said he was standing at the gate of a field which the cows were going into when the car came up.

"I stepped out into the road and signalled him to slow down. He came straight at me and I jumped on to the grass verge," he said.

"The hood brushed my left arm as it passed. If I had not jumped out of the way he would have run me down."

"He was going very fast and came at me like a flying bullet."

Judge Lionel Jellinek awarded a total of £36 15s. damages with costs against Mr. Murrells and his son.

"I think it is monstrous that the Colonel should be unable to drive his car through a herd of cows without young Mr. Murrells hitting it three times with a stick," he said.

"Mr. Murrells, senior," said the judge, "gave the car a bang with his fist and behaved like a stupid child in a rage."

Colonel Hughes was awarded costs.

Effingham Celebrations – the Coronation of Edward VII in 1902

CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

The Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902 prompted celebrations across the land, besides the major events taking place in London. Initially scheduled for 26 June, the ceremony had to be postponed when Edward was taken into hospital to be operated on for an abdominal cyst. It took place instead on 9 August. There is not much surviving material to tell us how Effingham celebrated the event, but Parish Council Minutes, newspapers and school records afford us a glimpse.

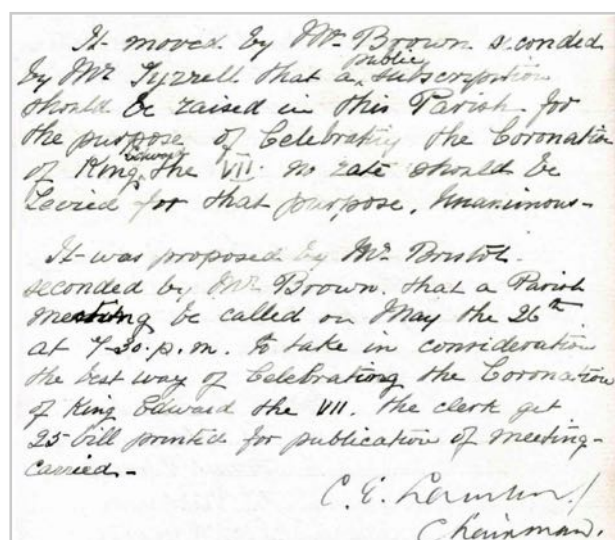
Introduction

Queen Victoria died on 22 January 1901, whereupon her eldest son Edward immediately became King and Emperor of India.

The Coronation of Edward VII and that of his wife Alexandra was planned to take place in the following year, on 26 June 1902, and the nation's towns and villages accordingly made elaborate preparations for celebrating the event on that day.

Effingham celebrations

In Effingham the Parish Council began planning in May, committing to raising money for the event from the parishioners, but by voluntary subscription only:



Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting of the Parish Council on 17 May 1902:

‘It [was] moved by Mr Brown seconded by Mr Tyrrell that a public subscription should be raised in the Parish for the purpose of Celebrating the Coronation of King Edward VII. No rate should be levied for that purpose. Unanimous.

It was proposed by Mr Bristol seconded by Mr Brown that a Parish Meeting be called on May the 26th at 7.30 p.m. to take in consideration the best way of Celebrating the Coronation of King Edward the VII. The clerk [to] get 25 bill[s] printed for publication of meeting – carried.’

C. E. Lambert
Chairman

Figure 1 EPC Minutes of 17 May 1902.

Effingham's National School (later St Lawrence) was also making plans. The head teacher now was Mr William Blaxland, successor to Mr Jestyn Griffiths. In the school's log book he recorded on 16 June that the school would close for a week for the celebrations:

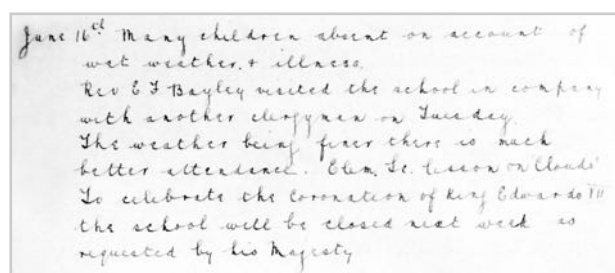


Figure 2 School log book entry 16 June 1902.

School Log Book 1862–1923; Entry on 16 June 1902:

‘Many children absent on account of wet weather & illness.

Rev E F Bayly visited the school in company with another clergyman on Tuesday. The weather being finer there is much better attendance. Elem. Sc. lesson on ‘Clouds’.

To celebrate the Coronation of King Edward VII the school will be closed next week as requested by his Majesty.’

Just a few days before the expected Coronation the local newspaper published details of the celebrations scheduled to take place in Effingham and nearby villages. For Effingham the published Programme was as follows:

Meat tea to the parishioners; sports and amusements; torchlight procession; fireworks and bonfire.

Then, to huge disappointment across the nation and, indeed, the Empire, it was officially announced on 24 June that the King had been taken ill with a peri-appendiceal abscess and had been operated on: the Coronation had been postponed.

Large delegations had arrived from abroad to take part in the formal proceedings and would now have to return home. In Britain there were many who had invested, and now stood to lose, significant amounts of money to rent sites along the processional route and to provide various services to the spectators. Later, very many cases would pass through the courts in pursuit of compensation for these losses.

In many towns and villages planned events were replaced or supplemented by hastily devised church services to pray for the King's recovery, and much pragmatism deployed to adapt arrangements to the changed circumstances. In other cases planned local celebrations were postponed altogether, as was the case in Effingham. Below is Mr Blaxland's log book entry on 30 June where he notes that all festivities had been postponed but the children had nevertheless been given 'cake & oranges etc'.

THE COMING CORONATION.
HOW SURREY WILL CELEBRATE THE EVENT.
THE PROGRAMMES OF FESTIVITIES.

LITTLE BOOKHAM.
 Date.—June 26th and July 2nd.
 Programme.—June 26th: Service in the Parish Church at 7 p.m. July 2nd: Fete in the Rectory grounds; cricket match for men and lads at 11 a.m.; music, sports, various amusements; bonfire, fireworks, fire balloons, etc.

GREAT BOOKHAM.
 Date.—June 26th and July 2nd.
 Programme.—Service in church on June 26th. July 2nd: Meat tea for the parishioners in Eastwick Park, followed by sports and various amusements, with torchlight procession in the evening; presentation of Coronation mugs to children.

EFFINGHAM.
 Programme.—Meat tea to the parishioners; sports and amusements; torchlight procession; fireworks and bonfire.

LEATHERHEAD.
 Programme.—Church services; children's procession, tea and presentation of mugs; sports and games for children; torchlight procession, with historical cars and costumes; bonfire and fireworks. Old people's treat on July 2nd.

Figure 3 Programmes for the local villages.

June 30th School re-opened but all festivities have been postponed through illness of his Majesty the King. distributed cake & oranges etc.

Figure 4 School log book entry 30 June 1902.

Special Coronation cups and plates had been obtained. Mr Blaxland recorded on 7 July that some of these had been distributed to the children:

July - 1902.
 7th School going on as usual with a good attendance. Miss Lightfoot sent coronation cups & plates for distribution among the children Tuesday afternoon

Figure 5 School log book entry 7 July 1902.

Nearby Ranmore provided an example of adapting activities to retain a degree of festivity, as seen in the cutting in Figure 6.

A new date was fixed for the Coronation – 9 August. For whatever reason, Effingham staged its own celebration a little earlier, on 31 July, as shown by the following entry in the Minutes of an Ordinary Meeting of the Parish Council held on 2 August:

The accounts of the Coronation Festivities held on the 31st of July was presented and passed at a General Meeting held previous to this meeting, and great credit was due to all Committees of the Coronation of the success of the Celebration.

C. E. Lambert
Chairman

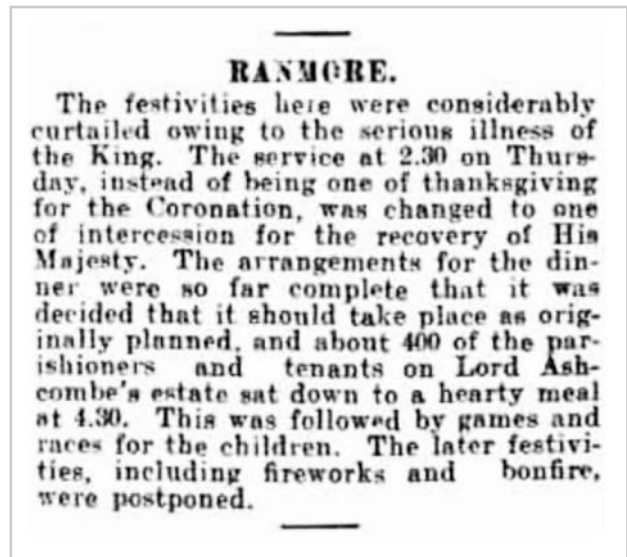


Figure 6 Ranmore adapts to the postponement.

Evidently things had gone well, although we do not know what took place; the festivities may have followed their original intended course or may have been re-planned.

The Coronation itself was a sumptuous affair, albeit scaled down to be an essentially national event rather than, as had been intended, a widely international one. At Westminster Abbey the service was watched by nearly ten thousand people and enlivened by a choir of over 400 singers and a full orchestra.



Figure 7 The Coronation Service as painted by Edwin Austin Abbey.

The Service was followed by a great Procession of State made by several tens of thousands of people.



Figure 8 King Edward VII in his Coronation robes.



Figure 9 Queen Alexandra in her Coronation robes.



Figure 10 Queen Alexandra at her Coronation.



Figure 11 The procession passing the construction site of The Old War Office building in Whitehall.



Figure 12 The procession 'passing along a busy London thoroughfare'.

We have no images of the Coronation celebrations in Effingham or nearby villages, but one photograph survives showing the festivities in Guildford, shown in Figure 13.



Figure 13 Guildford's Ram Corner with arch decorated for the Coronation.

The caption reads 'Showing the Triumphal Arch at Rams [sic] Corner, when King Edward VII was crowned'. Ram Corner referred to the intersection of Guildford High Street, Upper High Street and North Street; a public house named The Ram once stood there. At the top of the highly decorated arch are the words 'Happy and Glorious'. On the left of the photograph someone has written '1901', evidently in error.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: from the Minutes of Effingham Parish Council

Figures 2, 4, 5: from the school log book spanning 1862-1923, courtesy of St Lawrence School, Effingham

Figure 3: *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 21 June 1902; by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figure 6: *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 28 June 1902; by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figure 7: from the Royal Collection, ID: 404612 (public domain)

Figure 8: replica of portrait by Luke Fildes; National Portrait gallery NPG 1691; licenced by Creative Commons 3.0

Figure 9: from the Royal Collection, ID: 404554 (public domain)

Figure 10: portrait by W and D Downey; licenced by Creative Commons 3.0

Figure 11: Ministry of Defence; public domain/MOD (Open Government License)

Figure 12: from *Wikipedia Commons*; author unknown (public domain)

Figure 13: from *The Guildford Dragon*; uploaded by Guildford historian David Rose in May 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ELHG expresses its gratitude to St Lawrence School for use of material from its log books.

Public Events in Effingham 1903-1910

CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

This article presents details of public events in Effingham in the first decade of the 20th century, extracted from various Surrey newspapers published in that period. Not much of significance was found for 1901, whilst the village's celebration of King Edward VII's Coronation in 1902 is the subject of a separate article published by Effingham Local History Group ELHG). This is why the present article spans just the date range 1903-10.

Introduction

At the start of the 20th century there were few, if any, social organisations local to Effingham offering open membership to the residents and staging activities by way of celebrations, excursions, concerts, exhibitions and so on. It would not be until 1919 that a local branch of the Women's Institute, for example, would come into existence and promote such events. Likewise, a local branch of the British Legion would not come into being until the mid-1920s. Of course, not all events involving public participation required to be planned, organised or led by anyone – sometimes ‘things just happened’ to engage the public interest, and we will present in this article one such event which happened in 1905.

We must also bear in mind that, during this first decade of the 20th century, in nearby towns and villages there were many public and social events taking place in which Effingham people took part. They included the annual shows of the Great and Little Bookham, Effingham and Fetcham Cottage and Amateur Garden Society (surely the longest title of any local group), the annual Dorking County Balls and the annual parades of the Great Bookham Torchlight Society. Effingham residents – especially notable occupiers of the ‘big houses’ like Mr Lambert (Effingham House), Mr Czarnikow (Effingham Hill) and Mr Pauling (The Lodge) – regularly submitted entries or otherwise participated in the shows of the Leatherhead Horticultural Society. There was a strong Effingham presence in the Girls' Friendly Society and the village had its own cricket and football clubs whose matches were frequently reported in the newspapers, no doubt watched by spectators. Occasionally concerts were staged for the public in the Village Hall by the pupils of the Effingham school, whilst piano or organ recitals were sometimes given by Miss Edith Richards, daughter of the baker in The Street, or by the Killick sisters of West Lane Farm in Orestan Lane.

Study of the local newspapers reveals Effingham and the neighbouring villages to have had vibrant and overlapping communal interests and a high degree of engagement in these activities that would probably have surpassed what we see today. People did not spend their leisure time glued in relative isolation to televisions, game consoles or mobile phones. They were in the village hall, or in the pub, or out on the sports fields, planning and doing things together. One has only to look through the accounts of the entertainments they staged to appreciate how much joint planning and rehearsal they put into these events.

The examples that follow are by no means exhaustive and have been selected with the principal aim of illustrating their diversity.

Effingham Drum and Fife Band: November 1903

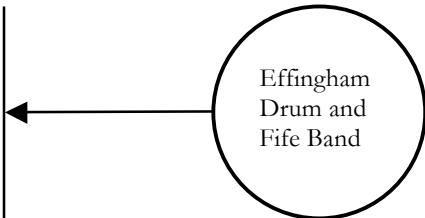
The Effingham Drum and Fife band was first formed (probably in the late 1890s) by the village's boot repairer and harness maker Arthur Archibald Stovell, born in 1880 as the last-but-one of at least 21 children fathered (through two wives) by the local blacksmith Thomas Stovell. The background and life of Arthur are detailed in the article *Arthur Archibald Stovell – Boot Repairer and Harness Maker* [in *Studies in the History of Effingham*, Vol 4, publ ELHG, 2024]. The band appears to have been a staple feature on occasions when parades through Effingham took place, and it was still operating in the late 1930s.

In November 1903 the band took part in the annual parade of the Great Bookham Torchlight Society which had been performing in this manner since about 1895. On this occasion the parade passed through the Bookhams to Effingham, ‘calling at various gentlemen's residences on the way’. The newspaper article reporting this (Figure 1) describes the costumes worn by participants; it makes wonderful reading and we can only wish that contemporary photographs existed to show us what must have been a most varied and colourful spectacle.

TORCHLIGHT SOCIETY.

The Great Bookham Torchlight Society is now one of the few organisations to celebrate the memorable Fifth of November. Although comparatively a small village, it upholds the occasion, as it has now done for the past seven years, in a manner reflecting great credit on those who devote time and interest in the event, and especially on Mr A. Lewer, the energetic secretary. Not only does the celebration afford much pleasure and amusement to the villagers, but it is the means of enriching one of those worthy institutions in the county that minister to the suffering, viz., the Surrey County Hospital, to which the proceeds of the collections taken during the route will shortly be forwarded. On Wednesday evening the processionists assembled at Fairfield Terrace, headed by a banner with the inscription "In aid of the Surrey County Hospital," borne by Messrs. P. Wood and A. Cobbold dressed as hospital nurses. The committee had also secured the services of the Bookham Brass Band. Praise must also be given to the Effingham Drum and Fife Band, which accompanied the procession on both nights, and played alternately with the Bookham Band. On Wednesday the route taken was through Great and Little Bookham to Effingham, calling at the various gentlemen's residences on the way. The following, amongst others, were the most admired costumes:—A. Lewer, Hungarian Officer; A. Martin, lady rider, and H. Anscombe, her groom; G. Slemmonds, Black Barber; E. Goodwin, Jester; H. Merwood, Doctor; A. Ranger, Hospital Nurse; W. Batchelor, Irishman; T. Miles, C.I.V.; G. Rollinson, Happy Jack; O. Goldsmith, Henry V.; H. Wood, Forester; T. Rust, Tootsie Sloper; D. Daws, Butcher Boy; J. North, leading torch-bearer; G. Smith, White Wings; G. Clapshaw, Little Boy Blue; W. Chandler, Jack the Ripper; A. Rye, Ghost; A. Warrell, Lancer; W. Diment, Sloper's Clerk; A. Newnham, Indian Squaw; W. Brown, Real Jam; H. Marshall, Turk; J. Marshall, Masher; G. Tickner, Jester; L. Link, Shoe Black; W. Chandler, Russian Lady; A. Rollinson and G. Jackson, Beefeaters; H. Cordingley, P. Killick, F. Vine, A. and H. Clapshaw, Clowns; E. Ledbitter, C. Link, and J. Wood, Indian Squaws; J. Longhurst, L. Wales, W. Lewer, and D. Lewer, Knight Templars; T. Ayres, W. Moore, and H. Warrell, Russian Soldiers; W. Edser and J. Johnson, Dragoons; E. Manscombe, Temperance; H. Wood, W. Stemp, and F. Goff, Foresters; S. Beattie and J. Ranger, Drummer Boys; G. Lambeth, Little Red Riding Hood; B. Lambeth, Jack Ashore; H. Edser, Greek Slave; A. Gilbey and C. Johnson, Sloper's Twins. A. Gilbey, S. Warrell, F. Ranger, L. Ranger, and A. Lewer, as Costers, were highly diverting, and the collecting boxes were carried by Messrs. W. Stemp, E.

Peters, G. Ranger, A. Lewer, and S. Warrell. A great hit was made by J. Boxall, dressed in comic character, and, carrying a large show card of a prepossessing servant girl, calling attention to the new carbolic disinfectant soap powder manufactured by the firm of Lever Bros., Port Sunlight. An Arab family, from the Horsley neighbourhood, were objects of attention, as were also G. and S. Lewer, who had evidently escaped from the Zoo. On Thursday the procession went through Bookham to Eastwick and Leatherhead, returning through Fetcham, and was again a success. Inspector Ranger, accompanied by P.C.'s C. Budden and E. Bolt, were in evidence during the processions, but everything was most orderly conducted.



Effingham
Drum and
Fife Band

Figure 1 Effingham Drum and Fife Band in the Torchlight Society parade in November 1903; *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 14 Nov 1903.

Effingham school concert: November 1903

The National (later St Lawrence) School in Effingham presented a public 'entertainment' on the evening of 25 November 1903 to a full audience 'crowded to standing room' in the concert room at the rear of the Village Hall. This building, at that time known as the Effingham Reading Rooms, had once been a temporary smallpox isolation hospital standing near the Guildford Road. After its use for that purpose had ended it had been moved to the bottom of The Street at some date between 1877 and 1882. The history of the building is explored in detail in the article *The Old Village Hall* [in *Studies in the History of Effingham*, Vol 1, publ ELHG, 2023]. The concert was reported at length in a local newspaper:

ENTERTAINMENT. — An entertainment was given on Wednesday last in the Concert Hall of Effingham Reading Rooms (kindly lent by Mr. C. E. Lambert), by the children attending the National School. Long before the advertised time for commencement the hall was crowded to standing room, for all were aware of Mr. Blaxland's (the school-master) ability in such matters. A capital programme had been arranged, Part I. consisting of humorous songs, recitations, and drills, all more or less in costume. The Japanese fan and lantern drills were exceedingly pretty, as all the girls were in Japanese costume, and wore their hair in Eastern style. Perhaps the funniest piece of this part was a dialogue between two infants, aged five years, both in costume, who haggled over the price of ducks. Part 2 consisted of a humorous operetta, and exceedingly well did the children perform it. Everyone present was highly amused and surprised at the way in which the children not only spoke and sung well, but the clever actions and gestures they put into it, reflecting great credit on the careful training they had had at the hands of their master and mistress. Sophie Tyrrel took the part of magician well; so did Daisy Coleman and Dick Whittington as sprightly boys, and Henry Jordan as the grumpy boy. Jim, in the person of Alfred Strutt, was very funny. The chorus and principals were seen to best advantage in the scene where Gladys Adames sang a solo. The children were daintily arranged, and the effect was pretty, and the song prettily rendered. The whole of the children

taking part (25 in number) were all splendidly dressed as for a summer picnic, and their mistress must have devoted much time and attention to them, as their costumes looked really fit for a first-class entertainment, and must have taken weeks to do. The entertainment went off without a hitch, and we understand that Mr. Blaxland has been the recipient of several letters from the local gentry, warmly thanking him for the admirable entertainment. The stage was decorated gaily, and looked nice with footlights, the management of which was in the hands of Mr. Butcher. Miss Richards very ably assisted as accompanist at the piano. Appended is the programme:— Part 1: Song, "Jingle Bells"; recitation, "The baby's stocking," Carrie Ottaway; costume action song, "Japanese Fan," Senior Girls; recitation, "Miss Mop," Alice Alderman; drill, "Japanese," Senior Girls; song, "The Burlesque Band," Boys; recitation, "Dame Crump," Emily Hodgkinson; round, "Bonny Christchurch Bells"; recitation, "George Washington," Louie Penfold; song, "Down among the divers"; dialogue, "The Higgler," Two Infants. Part 2: Humorous Operetta, entitled "The Magician." Dramatis Personae: The Magician, Sophie Tyrrell; Boys and Girls out for a picnic on May Day—Jack, Daisy Coleman; Bob, Henry Jordan; Dick, Dick Whittington; Jim, Alfred Strutt; Bertie, Fred Randall; Fanny, Gladys Bartlett; Minnie, Nellie Britten; Topsy, Sally Whittington. "God save the King."

Figure 2 School entertainment in the Reading Rooms; *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 5 December 1903.

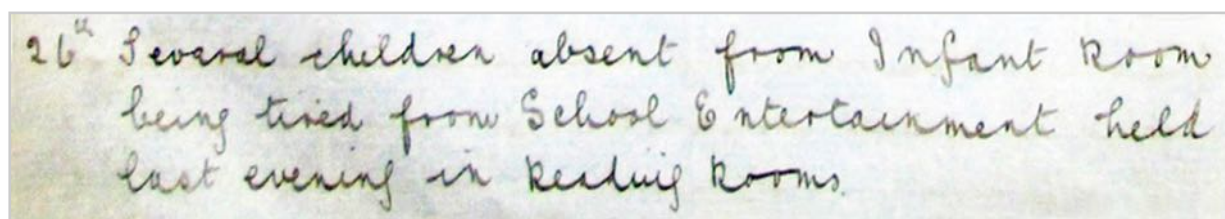
In this period the use of the Effingham Reading Rooms was in the gift of Mr Charles Edward Lambert, the tenant of Effingham House. He may have purchased them outright, or instead have had a former lease on them transferred to him. He was the Chairman of Effingham Parish Council whose meetings had been held there since 1902 (and would continue to be held there until 1933).

Mr Lambert took an interest in the school and, especially, in the building improvements that took place there from time to time. His wife Emma Anne often visited the school; in December 1902 she had distributed prizes to the children in the Reading Rooms ('many ladies were present') and on 1 May 1903 she and her daughters gave out prizes at the school for needlework.

There were just two classrooms, one for infants and the other for older children. The latter were taught by the head teacher Mr William Blaxland and the infants mostly by his wife Kate (née Stone). William and Kate had married at Ramsgate (her home parish) just after mid-April 1902 and shortly afterwards moved to the School House in Effingham where, on 21 April, he took up his duties as headmaster of the school and she (being also a certificated teacher) took up duties as mistress in charge of the infants.

The article in Figure 2 makes clear that William had earned local respect for his ability to manage events of this kind and it also credits Kate with having spent weeks in preparing the 25 children who took part and assembling their many costumes. Footlights and stage decoration had been in the hands of William Butcher, the sub-postmaster at the Post Office in Church Street, who as a carpenter and general handyman undertook many useful jobs for the school and for other organisations in the village. The musical accompaniment was provided by the baker's daughter – an accomplished musician – Miss Edith Richards.

The event evidently went very well, 'without a hitch', which was an impressive achievement given the difficulties that had beset the school in the preceding months. There had been a great deal of sickness among the children throughout September and much of October, resulting in many absences, and the weather had been exceptionally wet. Floods had made it impossible at times for children to get to the school from the Effingham Hill area, and in late October had made the road through the Common so impassable that, as the school log book records, 'those children who did come had to be carried across the torrents'. Yet despite these impediments Mrs Blaxland somehow managed to progress the planning, rehearsals and costume making to bring the final outcome to a successful conclusion. It is striking that so little about all this is recorded in the school log book – it tells nothing of the preparation beforehand, or even of the intention to stage the concert. There is just one related comment, entered on the following day, about some of the infants being too tired out from the performance to come into school:



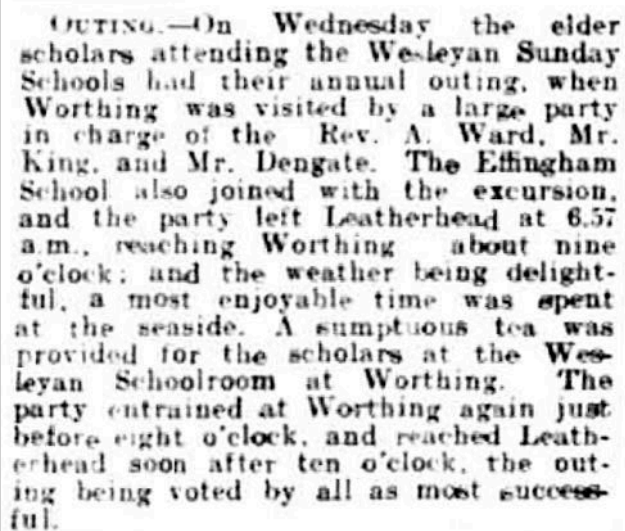
26th Several children absent from Infant Room being tired from School Entertainment held last evening in Reading Rooms.

Figure 3 Entry in the school log book, 26 November 1903.

Effingham school outing to the seaside: July 1904

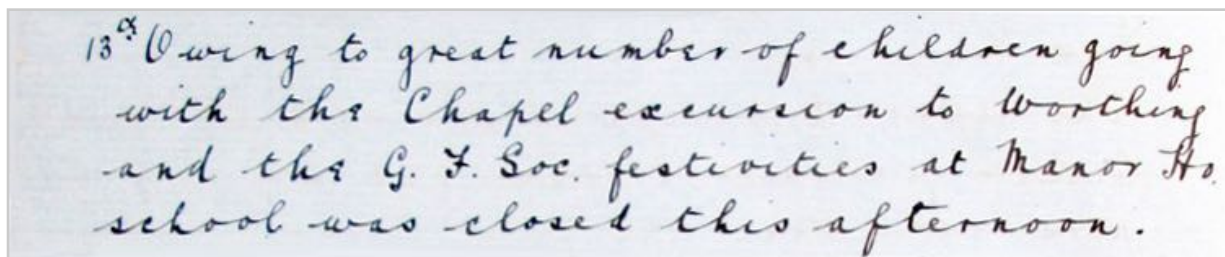
A seaside outing to Worthing on 13 July 1904 was organised for a large party of Wesleyan Sunday School scholars, as reported in the *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*. Many pupils from Effingham's National School took part, but it is not clear whether they did so because they were members of a Sunday School operating at Effingham's (Wesleyan) Methodist Church or because of an open invitation to the (National) school as a whole. Because so many from the latter went off to Worthing whilst other pupils attended instead a Girls' Friendly Society event at the 'Manor House' (presumed to mean Effingham House), the school was closed in the afternoon, according to an entry in the school log book.

Nothing is said in the article about the means by which the party travelled from Leatherhead to Worthing, a journey that took them two hours in view of which they must surely have journeyed by train.



OUTING.—On Wednesday the elder scholars attending the Wesleyan Sunday Schools had their annual outing, when Worthing was visited by a large party in charge of the Rev. A. Ward, Mr. King, and Mr. Dengate. The Effingham School also joined with the excursion, and the party left Leatherhead at 6.57 a.m., reaching Worthing about nine o'clock; and the weather being delightful, a most enjoyable time was spent at the seaside. A sumptuous tea was provided for the scholars at the Wesleyan Schoolroom at Worthing. The party entrained at Worthing again just before eight o'clock, and reached Leatherhead soon after ten o'clock, the outing being voted by all as most successful.

Figure 4 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 16 July 1904.



13th Owing to great number of children going with the Chapel excursion to Worthing and the G. F. Soc. festivities at Manor Ho. school was closed this afternoon.

Figure 5 Entry in the school log book, 13 July 1904.

Conservative meeting: November 1904

On this occasion Effingham's Village Hall served as the venue for a public meeting about Conservative policies and ambitions, the chief speaker being Mr William Keswick MP of Eastwick Park, Great Bookham. The event was foreshadowed in the *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser* which noted that the meeting would be presided over by Charles Edward Lambert, introduced earlier in this article.

Keswick, who had major business

interests in the Far East, South America and elsewhere, was probably a good friend of Lambert. He had become the Member of Parliament for Epsom in 1899 and would continue to hold that seat until his resignation on 8 March 1912; on the very next day he died, at Eastwick Park. There seem to be no other Press reports about this meeting at Effingham, so what was said and how it was received are unknown.

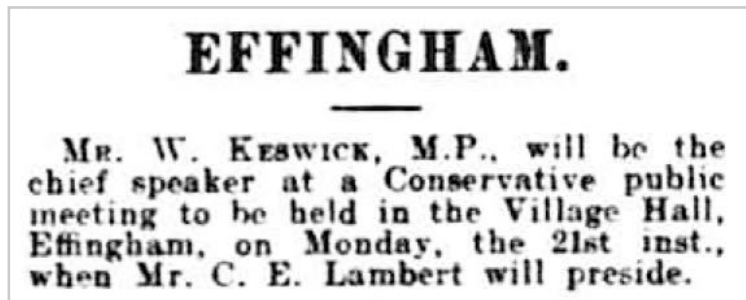


Figure 6 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 16 July 1904.

Gypsies escorted in procession from Effingham: January 1905

Effingham residents may have turned out in some numbers to witness the event reported below, in which a small group of gypsies was escorted away from the village by police.

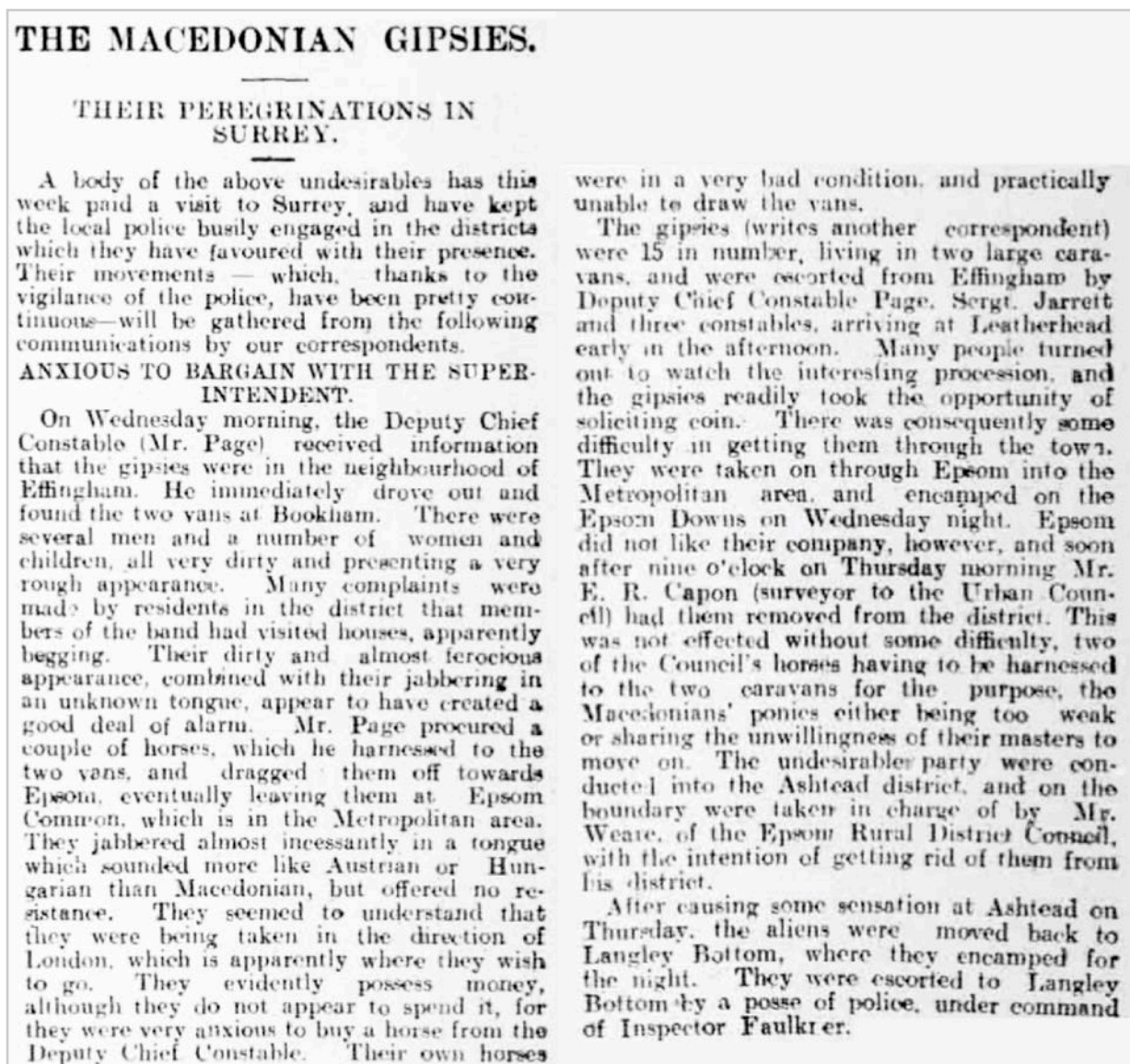


Figure 7 Gypsies moved from Effingham by police; *The Surrey Advertiser*, 2 January 1905.

The article does not explain its use of the term 'Macedonian' to describe the ethnicity of the group, which had been initially spotted in the Effingham-Bookham area. We are told, in language that would today be regarded as overtly racist, that they were dirty, ferocious-looking and 'jabbered almost incessantly in a tongue which sounded more like Austrian or Hungarian than Macedonian', but we may well wonder whether the staff of the *Advertiser* were reliably equipped to draw this linguistic comparison. The article is somewhat unclear as to the order of events, but it appears that the group was at Effingham and escorted from there by five police officers, including a Deputy Chief Constable, through the Bookhams to Leatherhead, during which time 'many people turned out to watch the interesting procession'. They passed through Leatherhead with 'some difficulty' (owing, apparently, to delays while the group begged for money) and were finally left that day on Epsom Downs. On the next day they were removed from there and, after 'causing some sensation at Ashted', landed up at Langley Bottom; and where they went after that we are not told and will probably never know.

Liberal Meeting: February 1905

In 1905 the country was under the rule of a coalition government, combining Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, with Arthur Balfour as the Prime Minister. Among the Cabinet was Joseph Chamberlain, a highly capable and influential – but divisive and not much loved – politician whose leanings had transitioned over the years from radical Liberalism to Liberal Unionist and staunch imperialist. At this time he was Colonial Secretary and pressing hard for protectionist tariff reforms which, if adopted, would have asserted imperial preference in place of Britain's long tradition on free trade. His strong advocacy of tariff reform had the effect of splitting the Cabinet. This political schism was the predominant theme of the meeting reported below, at which a Liberal parliamentary candidate in favour of free trade addressed a large and apparently receptive audience in Effingham.

MR. A. W. ASTON AT EFFINGHAM. Parish Hall and School Refused for the Meeting. A highly-successful meeting in support of Mr. A. W. Aston, prospective Liberal and Free Trade candidate for the Epsom Division was held on Tuesday evening in the iron barn at Manor Farm, Effingham. The refusal to allow a Liberal and Free Trade meeting to be held in the Parish Hall (where Mr. Keswick spoke some time ago), or in the schoolroom (which, we understand, has not been let to either party), did not deter Mr. Aston and his supporters, and the barn lent by Mr. Brown was made to look exceedingly pretty by means of hangings all around the walls. Two large stoves were temporarily erected for warming purposes, and the addition of plenty of light, matting and chairs rendered the iron structure very comfortable. The chair was taken by Mr. Charles Chitty, who was supported by Mr. and Mrs. Aston, and Mr. H. M. Malcolm, of Walton-on-the-Hill. There was an overflowing audience, who listened attentively to the speeches, and frequently testified their approval of the sentiments expressed. The Chairman, in his opening speech, said they always were Free Traders, and they were going to be Free Traders. He was born in 1830; he knew a little about what Protection meant. They wanted things cheap for the working classes. In the days when he was young many and many a working man's family never tasted meat more than once a week. They did not want to put the clock back (cheers).	Love of Fair Play. Mr. A. W. Aston, in seconding the resolution, said he was not there for the furthering of any selfish ends or climbing up the ladder to any ambition. He was there to discuss with them and help them to appreciate the crisis and the difficulty of the time that was immediately in front of them. They must indeed have a strong case, because the other side with the power they had and the wealth that must be behind them had denied them a hearing in the hall where the other side of the question was discussed ('Shame.') He did not believe, however, that if he had come to Effingham with their permission and gone to that hall, he would have had to face such a large audience as he saw before him that night (hear, hear). There was one thing that the Englishman truly loved, and that was to hear both sides of a question: he also loved fair play (cheers). Turning to the fiscal question, Mr. Aston reminded the young men present that they were England, because they possessed the future of the country. They had before them a difficulty, but at the same time a privilege. In the palm of their hand they had a privilege which was denied to so many in other countries; they had the right of choosing who should represent them in the House of Commons, and they had to decide whether their votes should be given for Protection or Free Trade (hear, hear). It was an immense responsibility. If he thought that the party he represented and the feelings he had on that subject were alone to be heard by them in Effingham, and that they as a party were denying the people the privilege of hearing both sides of the question he would get off that platform and would never speak in the village again.
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Figure 8 Free trade policy discussed in farmer Brown's barn; *The Surrey Times*, 24 February 1905.

Effingham's visitor on this occasion was Alfred Withall Aston, a stockbroker with the London Stock Exchange having a long and varied history of community service in Epsom, whose Urban District Council he had chaired. The article in Figure 8 begins by explaining why the meeting had taken place in the iron barn at 'Manor Farm', referring to the farm then run by Ernest Edwin Brown, the tenant by copyhold of the property we now refer to as Browns (so named after his father Samuel), which in much earlier times had served as the manor house of the Manor of Effingham. The barn and other farm buildings, now long since demolished, had stood on or just beyond the northern end of the land now called Browns Field.

The meeting was held in the barn because Mr Charles Edward Lambert of Effingham House had refused the use of the Village Hall, of which he was the owner/tenant, and his refusal must have stemmed from his staunch affiliation to the Conservative cause and his support for Epsom's sitting MP (and Aston's opponent), William Keswick. We are told that the barn had been arranged by Mr Brown to look 'exceedingly pretty' for this occasion and that the audience was filled to overflowing. Aston said that even if he had been allowed the Village Hall he would not have expected his audience to have been any larger. The article gives the gist of his speech. An analysis of why Effingham's residents would have warmed to his free trade position is beyond the scope of this article, besides being beyond the knowledge of its author. Only some segments of the article are displayed here. It ends by noting that after Aston had thanked Mr Brown, the meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

Chamberlain's dividing of the Cabinet led to Balfour's resignation and the collapse of Conservative rule in December 1905 whence a minority Liberal administration took over under Henry Campbell-Bannerman. In the General Election of January-February 1906 the Liberals won a landslide victory, setting the scene for the introduction of many progressive measures in the years ahead. Aston's election campaign had included a 'photo-op' in which he was photographed at Epsom doing a 'kick-off towards the goal'. However, he lost to William Keswick, which would have pleased our Mr Lambert, and he never did get into Parliament.

Catholic Boys' Brigade camping in Effingham: July 1905

The Catholic Boys' Brigade was founded in Bermondsey in 1896 and soon began a tradition of taking large numbers of boys from the south London area to summer camps in Effingham, located primarily on land lent for the purpose by George Craig Saunders Pauling of The Lodge. These camps, at which hundreds attended, had to a large extent the character of army training establishments, complete with uniforms, guns, drills, parades and almost everything else to do with army life apart from actual warfare and court martials. The founders of

An appeal has been issued by Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P., Lieut.-Gen. Sir John French, and others, on behalf of the annual summer camp for the Catholic Boys' Brigade, which will be held during the August Bank Holiday week at Effingham, where it has been conducted with so much success during the past seven years. It is intended that about 400 boys shall take part in the outing.

Figure 9 The Catholic Boys' Brigade camp in Effingham; *The Surrey Advertiser*, 19 July 1905.

the Brigade were always at pains in public to protest that the organisation was not a military one, even though it looked almost exactly like one, but instead aspired to character building and giving purpose, structure and discipline to young Catholic lads from impoverished urban backgrounds. This article notes that the Brigade had been camped at Effingham 'during the past seven years', suggesting that the first such occasion had been in 1899 (if one includes 1905 among those seven), or otherwise in 1898.

ELHG possesses substantial archive material, both documentary and photographic, about the Brigade and its Effingham camps and intends in due course to compose and publish a comprehensive account of it.

Magic cave with fairy: December 1906

This rather intriguing notice invites children to a 'Magic Cave' where 'the Fairy' will give them presents. The drapers Edmonds Brothers had premises at Nos 24 and 25, High Street in Dorking. Why does this notice appear under the heading 'Effingham'? Had the company, as a marketing ploy in aid of Christmas sales, brought to Effingham some kind of mocked-up cave, complete with fairy? Or was the heading just an editor's or compositor's mistake? Readers must make of it what they will.

EFFINGHAM.
WHAT WE HEAR.—That Edmonds Bros., the Popular Drapers, have had hundreds of boys and girls to see their wonderful Magic Cave. The cave is open daily at 12 o'clock. Admission, boys and girls, 1d.; adults, 2d.; and the Fairy presents everyone with a present. The Grand Bazaar and Toy Fair is open free to all.—Edmonds Bros., London Drapers, Dorking. d955

Figure 10 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 15 December 1906.

Anniversary 'social' for Effingham Working Men's Club: February 1907

Effingham Working Men's Club had existed for just over a year when this social evening took place, having been founded on 23 January 1906. Its President was, of course, Charles Edward Lambert of Effingham House who also held the Village Hall, where the club held its meetings. When first established, the club had quite a few Vice-Presidents including Julius Caesar Czarnikow of Effingham Hill, his head gardener Alfred Alderman (also of Effingham Hill), George Craig Saunders Pauling of The Lodge, James Aitchison Ross of The Villa, William Keswick MP of Eastwick Park and some unmarried ladies too – Miss Susan Ann Muir Mackenzie of The Hermitage, her tenant Miss Helen Constance Lightfoot of The Red House and Miss Ellen Augusta Teesdale of The Cottage. An account of the social evening in February 1907 is shown in Figure 11.



Figure 11 Working Men's Club Social Evening; *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 9 February 1907.

As can be seen, Mr Alderman was at this time the club's Chairman whilst the Hon. Secretary was the head teacher of the National School, Mr William Blaxland. Presiding at the piano was 'Miss Killick', she being either Clara Matilda or her sister Florrie, these being the daughters of Arthur John Killick, dairy farmer of West Lane Farm in Orestan Lane and also Clerk to Effingham Parish Council since its creation in 1894. It is interesting to note the assertion that it was Mr Blaxland who had been the 'prime mover' in forming the club. Praise was also extended to his wife for the energetic assistance she gave to young women and she was presented with a silver photograph frame in appreciation. For his contribution, Mr Blaxland was given a revolving arm chair. Mention is made of Mr Coleman – this was Committee member Luther Coleman who at that time was managing the butchers business at The Laurels in The Street. The 'Mr Alexander' mentioned near the end was almost certainly a mistake in referring to Mr Alderman.

Miss Lightfoot's entertainment: June 1907

In June 1907 Miss Helen Constance Lightfoot of The Red House organised an 'entertainment' to be held at the Village Hall 'under the auspices of the Working Men's Club'. The event was reported in detail (Figure 12) in *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times* of 8 June. The hall and stage 'had been daintily decorated and arranged' and there was a large audience.

Among the named performers only some can be identified here with certainty. They included Arthur John Killick's daughters Clara Matilda and Florrie from West Lane Farm (playing a piano duet) and William Richards' daughter Edith (playing a piano solo). Several songs were delivered by Charles William Dodman who had been the publican at The Blücher Hotel in The Street since December 1905. Others have so far resisted identification – Miss Montgomery, Miss Bowring, Mr Mantell, Mr Sparkes and Mr Syrett; extensive searches of electoral registers, censuses, directories and newspapers have provided no useful clues to any of them.

EFFINGHAM

ENTERTAINMENT.

An entertainment, organised by Miss Lightfoot, was given in the Village Hall (kindly lent by Mr. C. E. Lambert), on Wednesday week, in connection with the Effingham Working Men's Club. The hall and stage had been daintily decorated and arranged, and a large and appreciative audience had gathered to listen to the various items of a lengthy and excellent programme. One of the main features of the evening was a duologue between Miss Montgomery and Miss Bowring. The stage arrangement and the get-up were excellent, and the performance elicited hearty plaudits. Miss Montgomery also sang in fine style two songs, which brought forth encores—one of the latter being "Under a Panama," in costume, and to a banjo accompaniment by Miss Bowring, which pleased the audience even more than the programme songs. Miss Bowring also gave a good rendering of a pretty song. Miss Richards, who is well-known for her skill in pianoforte playing, contributed a solo in a highly artistic manner, and the Misses Killick played a duet, which was well received, and which showed great taste in execution. Mr. Syrett's songs were all given in accomplished style, and were encored again and again. Mr. Dodman's songs were also well received, and elicited encores. Mr. Mantell greatly amused the audience by

his queer tales and jokes. Mr. Sparkes ably assisted the performers in the pianoforte accompaniments, and aided materially in carrying out the programme so successfully and so well. The entertainment was considered to be one of the best of its kind held in Effingham, which is saying a great deal, since, under the auspices of the Working Men's Club, and its hon. secretary, Mr. Wm. Blaxland, several very good and interesting entertainments have been given during the two years of the club's existence. Mr. Alderman (chairman) thanked Miss Lightfoot and her friends for providing the club and village with such a delightful evening. Appended is the programme: Part I.—Pianoforte solo, Miss Richards; song, "Rainbow," Miss Montgomery; song, "My Juliet," Mr. Syrett; recitation, "The lamb dyer," Mr. Mantell; song, "Girlie," Mr. Dodman; pianoforte, Mr. Sparkes; duologue by the Misses Montgomery and Bowring. Part II.—Pianoforte duet, the Misses Killick; song, "A son, without a name," Mr. Syrett; song, "Melisande in the wood," Miss Bowring; song, "Don't go too fast, little girlie," Miss Montgomery; song, "Burlington Bertie," Mr. Dodman; reading, Jerome. Mr. Mantell; song, "It's a different girl again," Mr. Syrett.

Figure 12 Miss Lightfoot's entertainment; *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 8 June 1907.

Friendly Societies of Great Bookham – annual church parade: June 1907

In June 1907 representatives of several Friendly Societies based in and around Great Bookham came together to form a parade with the aim of raising funds for the Surrey County Hospital and the London Hospital. As can be seen in Figure 13, they paraded through the Bookhams to Effingham where they called in at The Lodge, residence of George Craig Saunders Pauling.

GREAT BOOKHAM.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AT CHURCH.

A SUCCESSFUL PARADE.

The second annual church parade of the Friendly Societies of Great Bookham and neighbourhood took place at the Parish Church, Great Bookham, on Sunday afternoon. There was a larger representation of the various societies than last year, while the collections during the parade, which are to be devoted to the Surrey County Hospital and the London Hospital, realised nearly £10. The members assembled at Fairfield Terrace early in the afternoon and formed in processional order, headed by the Bookham Silver Band. The emblematical banner of the Cobham Court Hand and Spear of the Ancient Order of Foresters preceded the representatives of the orders of Foresters and Odd-fellows, and the Bugle Band of the Leatherhead Church Lads' Brigade, under the command of Mr. B. C. Stenning, occupied the centre of the procession. Representatives of other clubs and societies and the public followed, and the Leatherhead Fire Brigade,

with their engine, kindly horsed for the occasion by Mr. H. Flower, of the Swan Hotel, brought up the rear, the brigade being under command of Foreman Worsfold. The procession, which drew out a large number of spectators along the route, passed through Bookham Street, by the railway station, into Little Bookham Street and thence to Effingham, calling at the residence of Mr. G. Pauling. After touching the Guildford-road, they returned along the Little Bookham-road to Eastwick Park and Eastwick, and thence to the Great Bookham Church, where a short service was held, conducted by the Rector (the Rev. G. S. Bird). The Rector delivered an interesting address to the large congregation on Christian knighthood, the principles of which were honour, generosity, and protection of the weak. The hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," was afterwards sung, to the accompaniment of the Bookham Silver Band.

Figure 13 Annual parade of Friendly Societies; *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 22 June 1907.

Excursion to Eastbourne: July 1907

An impressively large party of over a thousand members (we are told) of various organisations made an excursion to Eastbourne in July 1907. They included the Wesleyan Schools of Leatherhead, Cobham and Effingham and the Bookham branch of the Church of England Temperance Society. We are told (Figure 14) that they travelled by train on the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway. If their number was correctly reported (ie 1,000 rather than 100) then it would seem doubtful that a single train could have sufficed.

SEASIDE EXCURSIONS.

On Wednesday a party numbering over 1,000 and comprising the Leatherhead, Cobham, and Effingham Wesleyan Schools, the Men's Own, the Ashted Mission, and the Bookham Branch of the C.E.T.S., had an excursion to Eastbourne, a very enjoyable day being spent. Thanks to a quick run by the L.B. and S.C.R., Eastbourne was reached at 9.30 a.m., while the return journey commenced at 7.15 p.m. On the same day the Leatherhead Church Band of Hope had their annual outing, about 300 visiting Worthing.

Figure 14 Excursion to Eastbourne; *The Surrey Advertiser*, 1 July 1907.

Presentation to Mr Loxley of Home Farm: October 1907

Mr Ernest Albert Loxley was the tenant farmer at Effingham's Home Farm, which he had taken over after his father Uriah had died in 1904. On 30 October 1907 a large number of his friends assembled at The Blücher Hotel to present him with gifts 'in honour of his marriage to Miss E Mills'. He had married Ethel Almerna (née Mills) in that year's third quarter – family trees on *Ancestry* give the date as 10 August. It is not clear why these gifts had not been conveyed at the time of the wedding, but the latter may have been a low key or even a secret event, as the afore-mentioned family trees state that it took place in Westcott which was neither his parish nor hers – she had been born in Leatherhead and had always lived there.

The report of this event (Figure 15) makes no mention of Ethel being present, which is unsurprising as she was about to give birth; their first child Frank Ernest would be born on 1 November, implying that she had been about six months pregnant when she married Ernest.

EFFINGHAM

PRESENTATION TO MR. E. LOXLEY.

A large number of the friends of Mr. E. Loxley assembled at the Blucher Hotel on Wednesday, when he was presented with a silver Queen Anne's tea service, a silver salver, and a large brass standard lamp, subscribed for by the farmers and tradesmen in the district, in honour of his marriage to Miss E. Mills, of Leatherhead. Mr. Davis presided, and in making the presentation, said Mr. Loxley had the heartiest congratulations and good wishes of his numerous friends, who had always held him and his parents in the highest esteem. Mr. Loxley returned hearty thanks for the beautiful present, and the good wishes expressed towards his wife and himself. Songs were rendered by Mr. Humphery S. Madge and others, and an enjoyable evening was spent.

Figure 15 *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 2 November 1907.

Bookham Flower Show: August 1908

This was the 32nd annual show of the Great and Little Bookham, Effingham and Fetcham Cottage and Amateur Garden Society and, as usual, took place at the great estate of Eastwick Park in Great Bookham, home of Epsom's sitting MP Mr William Keswick. The event was published in the *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, filling far too many column inches to be presented in full here – Figure 16 shows just a relevant small part of it.

The first items to be given credit in the article were some exceptional groups of plants and flowers entered by the head gardeners of various 'big houses' in the locality and the first-mentioned of these was, of course, the entry of Mr Keswick's gardener Mr Blinkinsop. The others strongly featured Effingham – Mr Bristol (gardener to Charles Edward Lambert of Effingham House), Mr Street (gardener to George Craig Saunders Pauling of The Lodge) and Mr Alderman (gardener to Julius Caesar Czarnikow of Effingham Hill). Mr Street's initial was given wrongly as 'J' instead of 'R'.

The article also noted that in the Ladies' Classes division, the 1st prize for table decorations was awarded to Miss Effie Jane Ross. She also won 2nd prize for a bouquet.

Effie was one of the daughters of Effingham stockbroker James Aitchison Ross who lived at The Villa, opposite Mr Lambert's residence. She was the only daughter of James not to marry and devoted decades of her life to the Effingham community; some of ELHG's most treasured photographs were taken by her and preserved in a carefully annotated album, now held in our archives.



Figure 16 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 1 August 1908.

Effingham Cricket Club concert: February 1909

Effingham Cricket Club was (as far as we can tell) the longest-running sports club in Effingham – it had apparently been formally founded in 1853, but the team had been playing away matches in the 1830s/1840s.

This concert was staged in the Village Hall under the direction of Charles William Dodman, proprietor of The Blücher Hotel. The report in Figure 17 mentions also 'Mr P Dodman' who was almost certainly Philip, father of Charles, who lived at Ockley Court where he worked as coachman. We see also mention of Sidney Madge, butcher of Great Bookham, whose father George would some years later run the butchers shop at The Laurels in Effingham.



Figure 17 *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 27 February 1909.

Fête at Effingham House: June 1909

This event was staged on 30 June by the tobacco magnate Mr Charles Edward Lambert at his residence Effingham House for the purpose of raising funds for a convalescent home for 'incurables'. We do not know whether he had some personal family reason to assist such an institution.

We are told in the report seen in Figure 18 that the fête took place in beautiful weather with very many in attendance. It had been organised by Mr Lambert's daughter Jessie Evelyn, who would marry four years later to Andrew Carmichael Arbuthnot; he was probably related to the 'Mrs Arbuthnot' mentioned as assisting with the concerts in the marquees.

The arrangements were supervised by James Alexander Hill Macnair, the husband of Mr Lambert's daughter Nina. He had previously married Helen Dalrymple (née) Shaw on 4 January 1890 but, after producing one child, she died on 2 August 1895. He then remarried to Nina on 2 March 1905.

The coconut shies were managed by Mr Lambert's only son Charles Edward Winterton Lambert, who never married. Other Effingham residents assisting included Miss Ellen Augusta Teesdale of The Cottage and Mrs Lilian Olivia (née Lukin) Mooney of Rose Cottage. We also see there Mrs Keswick, wife of William Keswick of Eastwick Park, Great Bookham.

EFFINGHAM.

AN ENJOYABLE FETE.

A fete in aid of the St. Cyprian's Convalescent Home for Incurables was held at the Manor House, Effingham, by permission of Mr. Charles Lambert, on Wednesday afternoon and evening, and was favoured with beautiful weather. The grounds looked very attractive, and the attendance was numerous. The fete was organized by Miss Jessie Lambert, who had the assistance of Mr. G. R. Bristol and Mr. Wilson, whilst on Wednesday Mr. J. A. H. Macnair superintended the arrangements. The whole of the stalls, marquees, etc., were erected in the field at the rear of the house. There were seven or eight stalls for the sale of fancy articles of various descriptions and also for fruit, sweets, etc. Tea was provided in an enclosure reserved for the purpose, whilst there were cocoanut shies, an Aunt Sally, and boat swings. The Bookham Silver Band played a selection of music during the afternoon and evening. In a large marquee three concerts were held and much appreciated, the following assisting: Mrs. Keswick, Miss Keswick, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Misses Helme, Miss Scott, Miss Still, Miss Hughes, Misses Lambert, Mr. Carey, Mr. Reeve and the Robins Trio, from London. The proceedings concluded with dancing on the lawn, which was prettily illuminated with fairy lamps, and presented a charming spectacle in the evening.

Mrs. Lambert personally received the guests who attended in the afternoon, and amongst whom were: Mrs. Still, Mrs. Murray Robertson, Mrs. and Miss Murray, Mrs. Brotherhood, Mrs. Lindham, Mrs. John Shaw, Miss Utterton and Mrs. Foster.

The stallholders were: Miss Thorman, Miss Oliver, Mrs. Macnair, Miss Teesdale, Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Miss Luke, Miss Willoughby, Miss Hughes, Mrs. Mooney, Miss Murray, Mrs. Hilton Foster, Miss Hawkins, Miss Eade, Miss Williams, and Miss Hooper. The boat swings were superintended by Mr. Glen, cocoanut shies by Mr. Winterton Lambert and Mr. Hill, and Aunt Sally by Mr. Edward Bradley.

Figure 18 Fête at Effingham House; *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 3 July 1909.

Concert on behalf of boy scouts: February 1910

A concert was staged on 2 February 1910 to raise funds for the local boy scouts. The scouting movement had been founded by Robert Baden-Powell in 1907 and by 1909 there were already scouts in Effingham. The concert had been arranged by Effie Jane Ross of The Villa who took much interest in the village's youngsters. Her photograph album contains five photographs showing a scout group, apparently in Effingham and possibly on the Guildford Road outside The Villa. The concert was held in the Village Hall which in 1910 was sometimes called the Coffee Room(s).

EFFINGHAM.

BOY SCOUTS' CONCERT.

A capital concert, arranged by Miss Ross and several friends, was given in the Coffee Room on Wednesday evening, with the object of raising funds to provide equipment and uniforms for the local patrol of boy scouts. Those taking part were Miss Willoughby and Miss Holland (Horsley), the Misses Still (Leatherhead), and Messrs. Bromilow (Horsley), and Hill (Effingham). Two entertaining duologues, "The crystal gazer" and "The brown paper parcel," were given by Miss N. Teesdale and Miss N. Bovill. There was a large audience.

Figure 19 *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 5 February 1910.

Concert on behalf of the Working Men's Club: October 1910

A concert was staged in the Village Hall on 26 October 1910 to raise funds to buy a new cloth for the club's billiards table. The Hall was now in the gift of Mrs Lambert as her husband Charles Edward had died earlier in the year, on 25 February.

The event had been arranged by Mr and Mrs Charles Bradbury; we do not know who they were.

EFFINGHAM.

CLUB CONCERT.

With the object of raising funds to provide a new cloth for the Working Men's Club billiard table, an excellent concert, arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bradbury and friends, was given in the Village Hall, kindly lent by Mrs. C. E. Lambert, on Wednesday evening, there being a large audience. Those contributing to the programme were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bradbury, Miss Elsie Cox, Miss Lilian Edwards and Mr. Walter Cox. Thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. West for their hospitality to the artistes.

Figure 20 *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 29 October 1910.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1, 2, 4, 6-20: by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirropix*

Figures 3, 5: from the school log book spanning 1862-1923, courtesy of St Lawrence School, Effingham

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ELHG expresses gratitude to St Lawrence School for use of material from its log books. We acknowledge also the contributions to this article made possible by *Ancestry* and the British Newspaper Archive.

Effingham Celebrations – the Coronation of George V in 1911

CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

The Coronation of King George V in 1911 marked the end of the Edwardian era, ushering in a new – and more troubled – phase in the life of the nation; within a few years Britain would be plunged into a terrible war followed by years of social strife and economic depression. The celebrations of the 1911 Coronation, however, were a happy affair and in this article we show how that was borne out in our village and in neighbouring areas.

Introduction

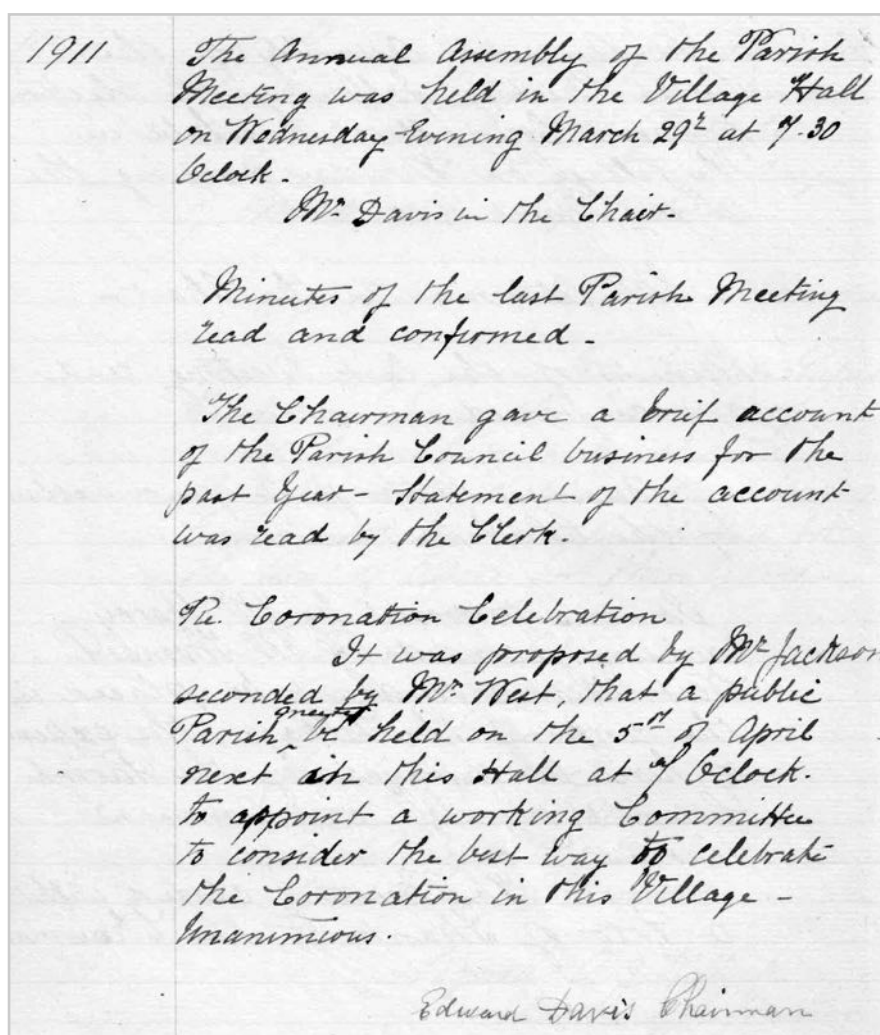
King Edward VII died shortly before midnight on 6 May 1910, whereupon his son George, Prince of Wales, became King George V.

George's Coronation took place in the following year, on 22 June 1911.

Effingham preparations

Planning began in Effingham at the Annual Parish Meeting held on 29 March 1911, when it was decided to call a public meeting in the Village Hall on 5 April to elect a committee to 'consider the best way to celebrate' the Coronation.

Following this, on the same evening, the Parish Council held one of its Ordinary Meetings and endorsed these arrangements. Figures 1 and 2 show the relevant extracts from the Minutes of the two meetings held on 29 March:



The Annual Assembly of the Parish Meeting was held in the Village Hall on Wednesday Evening March 29th at 7.30 o'clock.

Mr Davis in the Chair.

Minutes of the last Parish Meeting read and confirmed.

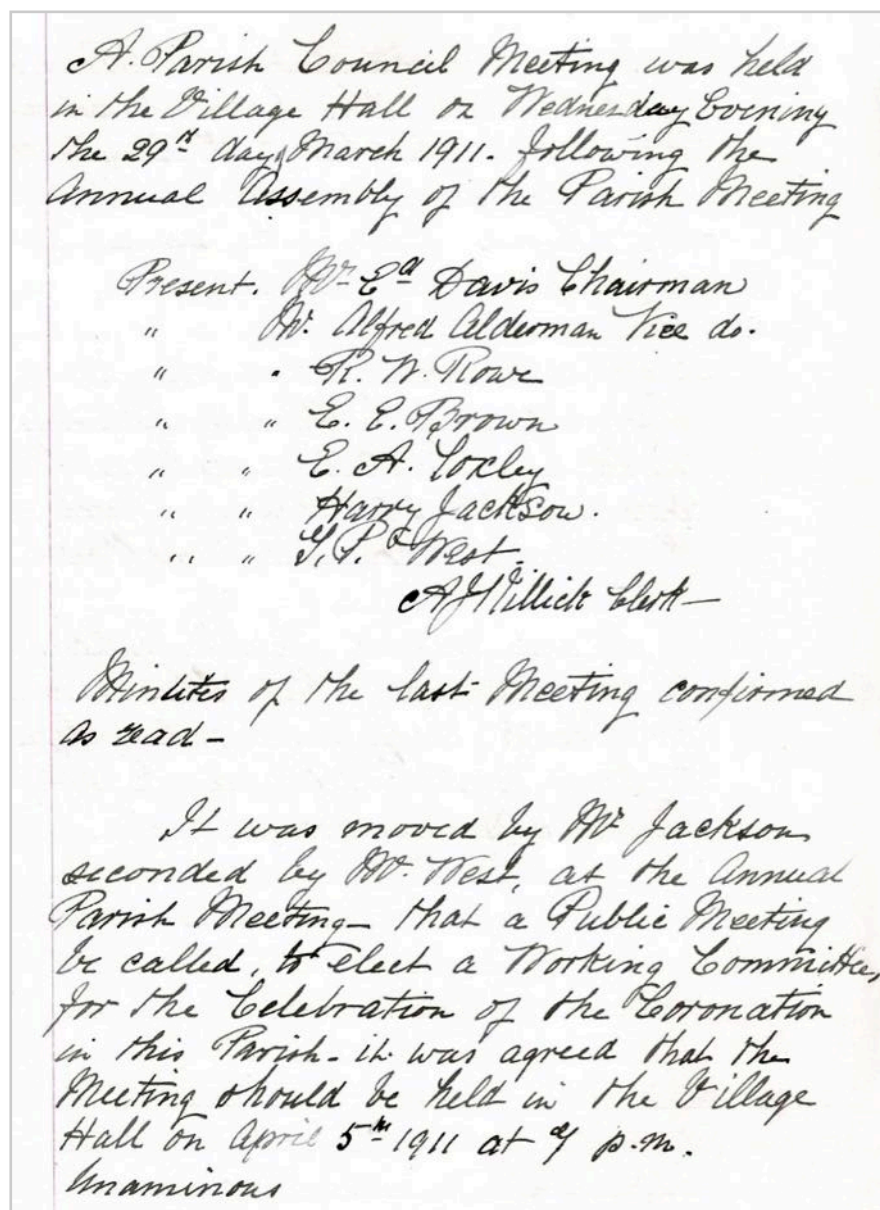
The Chairman gave a brief account of the Parish Council business for the past year – Statement of the account was read by the Clerk.

The Coronation Celebration

It was proposed by Mr Jackson seconded by Mr West, that a public Parish meeting be held on the 5th of April next in this Hall at 7 o'clock to appoint a working Committee to consider the best way to celebrate the Coronation in this Village – Unanimous.

Edward Davis Chairman

Figure 1 Minutes of the first meeting on 29 March.



A Parish Council Meeting was held in the Village Hall on Wednesday Evening the 29th day of March 1911 following the Annual Assembly of the Parish Meeting.

Present:
 Mr E^d Davis Chairman
 Mr Alfred Alderman Vice do
 " R. W. Rowe
 " E. E. Brown
 " E. A. Loxley
 " Harry Jackson
 " T. P. West
 A. J. Killick Clerk

Minutes of the last Meeting confirmed as read.

It was moved by Mr Jackson seconded by Mr West, at the Annual Parish Meeting - that a Public Meeting be called, to elect a Working Committee for the Celebration of the Coronation in this Parish. It was agreed that the Meeting should be held in the Village Hall on April 5th 1911 at 7 p.m.
 Unanimous.

Figure 2 Minutes of the second meeting on 29 March.

By mid-June the local ('National') school was making preparations too, with the children singing 'patriotic songs' and visitor Miss Ellen Augusta Teesdale hoisting the Union Jack 'for the 1st time'. This detail was entered into the school log book by the head teacher Mr Joseph Stewart Adams who had begun his appointment on 10 January 1910, succeeding the former head Mr William Blaxland.

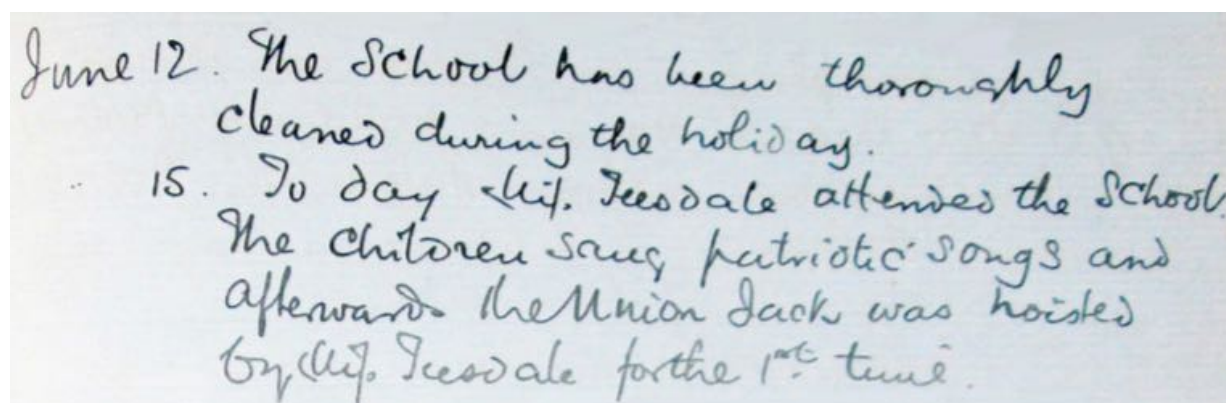
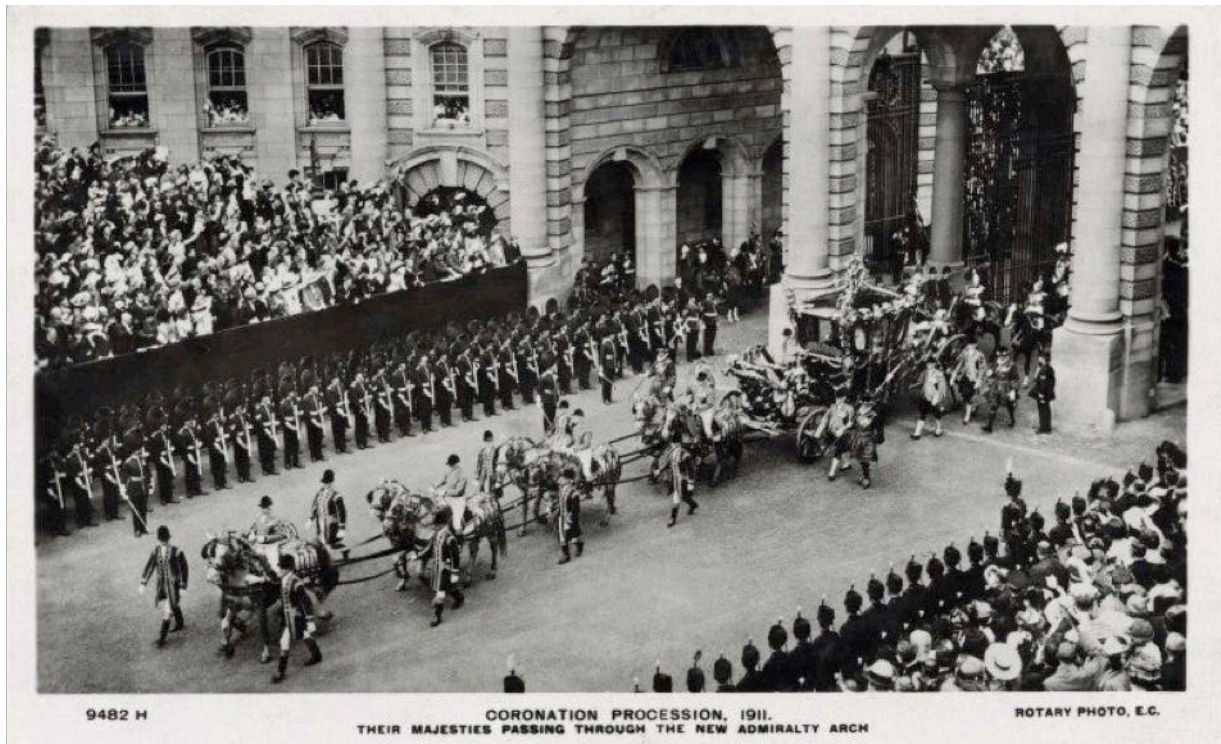


Figure 3 School log book entries on 12 and 15 June 1911.

The Coronation

On the morning of 22 June three separate processions, altogether about 24 carriages and large mounted escorts, made their way from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey. The first took representatives of foreign royal families and governments; the second took royal family members, including the King's children; the third carried officers of state together with the King and Queen in the Gold State Coach.



Figures 4 & 5 4 (above) – the Gold State Coach on the way to Westminster Abbey; 5 (below) – inside the Abbey; George is seen here seated just left of centre, whilst his wife Mary is seated further to the right.



Figure 6 George and Mary in their Coronation robes; official photograph by Emery Walker.
National Portrait Gallery NPG x138845.

After the Service the three processions made their way back to the palace but by a different and longer route and attended by about 45,000 servicemen. Upon their return the King and Queen did something unprecedented by appearing on the palace balcony before the crowds, causing immense excitement.



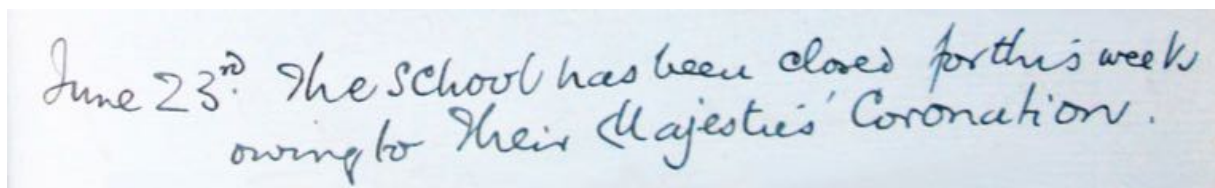
Figure 7 George in his Coronation robes painted by Luke Fildes; from the Royal Collection.

On the following day, 23 June, very similar processions were staged again, this time as a Royal Progress through the City, with even more servicemen attending. The King and Queen went in an open landau instead of the State Coach.

Then, on 24 June, the King and Queen reviewed the Fleet at Spithead, near Portsmouth, watched by more than two hundred thousand people.

Effingham celebrations

Effingham's more modest celebrations took place on Friday 23 June, the day after the Coronation. The school's log book indicates that the school had been closed for the entire week:



June 23rd. The school has been closed for this week owing to their Majesties' Coronation.

Figure 8 Closure of the school noted by the head teacher Joseph Stewart Adams.

Very little was said in the Press about the way Effingham celebrated – we have found only the very short article shown in Figure 9. As expected, rather more was reported for the larger villages of Fetcham and the Bookhams (Figures 10 and 11).

EFFINGHAM.

A festival service was held at the Parish Church on Coronation morning, the Rector (the Rev. E. F. Bayly) officiating. On the following day dinner was served to the whole of the parishioners, including the children, in the cricket field, and sports and dancing followed. Each child was given a mug and an orange.

Figure 9 *The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 24 June 1911.

PAGEANT AT FETCHAM.

The Coronation Committee at Fetcham were enabled to arrange a very enjoyable programme for the residents of that village. The proceedings took place at Fetcham Park, where a pageant descriptive of the formation of the Union Jack was given. The presentation was a particularly successful one, the chief characters being represented by Mr. and Mrs. B. G. Mitford, Mr. C. S. Gordon-Clark, Mr. A. Hankey, and Mr. M. Howlett, while the chorus was formed by the school children and a choir of ladies. Mr. W. J. Higgs acted as conductor, and Mrs. Gordon-Clark presided at the piano, the Rev. J. D. Henderson being stage manager. Afterwards a representation of "Britannia's Song" was given, being descriptive of the Colonies forming the Empire. Tea and sports were provided for the children and the whole of the residents were entertained to a sumptuous dinner. Subsequently sports were provided for the children, and afterwards dancing was indulged in, and the programme concluded with a capital display of fireworks.

GREAT BOOKHAM FESTIVITIES POSTPONED.

The Coronation festivities for the parishioners of Great Bookham will take place on Saturday.

Figure 10 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 24 June 1911.

FESTIVITIES AT BOOKHAM.

The Coronation festivities for the parishioners of Great and Little Bookham were celebrated on Wednesday, and being favoured with fine weather, were a distinct success. Nearly £100 were raised by subscription in the two parishes, and this admitted of a very enjoyable programme being arranged. The committee responsible for the arranging of the programme was composed as follows:—Mr. W. Keswick, M.P., the Rev. G. S. Bird, the Rev. J. H. Edwards, Dr. Pickering Pick, Dr. Proctor, Dr. Fisher, Mr. H. C. Willock Pollen, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. and Mrs. Lindam, Mr. W. G. Loxley, Mr. A. West, the Misses Arnett, Mrs. Smith, Miss Fletcher, Miss Savage, Mrs. Grant Murray, Mr. G. Anker, Mr. W. Everinden, and Mr. W. C. Vellender (hon. sec.).

By the kindness of Mr. W. Keswick, M.P., the celebrations were held in Eastwick Park, the entrance to which was gaily decorated with evergreens and flags and portraits of the King and Queen. The children assembled at the schools at half-past two and, headed by the Bookham Silver Band, marched to Eastwick Park, where each child was presented with a Coronation mug by Mrs. Lindam, who had generously subscribed this memento for the children. A spacious marquee had been erected in the park, and soon after their arrival the children were entertained to tea, over 300 sitting down to the well-laden tables. When the wants of the children had been satisfied the whole of the parishioners were entertained to a meat tea, about 650 sitting down in relays. The men were also presented with a packet of tobacco, while the women and children received bags of sweets. The whole of the catering was carried out by the committee, who purchased the provisions in the village. After the tea a Coronation oak was planted by Mrs. Keswick, and the children sang the National Anthem. Subsequently an attractive programme of sports was carried out, and various side-shows were provided for the amusement of the company.

Figure 11 *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 1 July 1911.

Pauling family celebrations

Besides the village's public event there is evidence to suggest that a significant celebration of the Coronation may have been staged by the family of George Craig Saunders Pauling and his wife Dolores ('Lola') at their Effingham home The Lodge. One of their albums contains the photograph below showing their eldest daughter Dolores Angela riding a small horse decorated with floral garlands being led out by her mother in sight of a large crowd of well-dressed guests, which have been a Coronation-related occasion. However, a different album records that George had given her a pony for her birthday on 26 January 1912, so if this was the animal seen in the photograph then the occasion cannot have been Coronation-related.



Figure 13 Dolores Angela led in decorative style by her mother Lola.



Figure 14 Dolores Angela with Lola.

The following two photographs from the Paulings' album show Dolores Angela and others holding balloons which were almost certainly coloured red, white and blue. Since ELHG possesses numerous well-dated photographs of Dolores Angela (born on 26 January 1908) we can be sure that these images show her when aged about 3 and a half, the same age as she would have been at the time of the Coronation.



Figure 15 Dolores Angela (at left) and friends outside The Lodge with their Coronation balloons.



Figure 16 Dolores Angela (at right) and friends in the garden with their Coronation balloons.

Celebrations further afield – Dorking

These two images of the Dorking celebrations were discovered online.



Figure 17 The Dorking procession; posted on a Dorking *Facebook* page, provenance unknown.



Figure 18 The *Old Paulonians Cycling Club* in the Dorking procession; from *SurreyLive*, 19 January 2015.
The original photograph is held in Dorking Museum; the club was formed in 1900.



Figures 19 & 20 Dorking High Street's decorations; provenance unknown.



Celebrations further afield – Guildford

The celebrations in Guildford were naturally far more extravagant than anything put on in the villages and there are many extensive accounts and photographs of the happenings there, especially of the procession and its numerous and varied floats. Here we show just one example – the float representing ‘The Ship of the Church’ surrounded by King Oswald of Northumbria and his warriors (there to protect the Church from its earthly foes), whilst the seated figure on board was St Nicolas of Myra (patron saint of Guildford’s St Nicolas parish, whose church members had produced the float) dressed in the manner of an eastern Bishop of that period.



Figure 21 The ‘Ship of the Church’ float in Guildford’s 1911 Coronation procession.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1, 2, 12: from the Minutes of Effingham Parish Council

Figures 3, 8: from the school log book spanning 1862-1923, courtesy of St Lawrence School, Effingham

Figure 4: from *eBay*

Figure 5: from *Wikimedia* (public domain)

Figures 6, 7: from *Wikipedia* (public domain)

Figures 9-11: by kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figures 13-16: from the Pauling family's photograph albums; ELHG archives

Figures 17-20: from online sources, provenances uncertain

Figure 21: from *Facebook*, provenance unknown

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to St Lawrence School for use of material from its log books and we acknowledge our use of resources from *Ancestry* and the British Newspaper Archive. Thanks are due to Terry Stevens and George Tabor for donating the Pauling family's memorabilia to ELHG.

Effingham Celebrations – Peace Day in 1919

SUSAN MORRIS AND CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

On 19 July 1919 Effingham held Peace Celebrations, along with most of the rest of the nation. Our knowledge of what took place here derives partly from a Programme of the day's events, partly from a few photographs taken on the day and one newspaper report. This article describes what took place and provides some details about the participants.

Introduction

The First World War came to its end, as far as military conflict was concerned, on 11 November 1918, to become known as Armistice Day; it was on that day that Germany formally surrendered. The formal ending of the war, however, was marked by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919 which required, among other things, that Germany should disarm, should recognize the independence of certain states formerly within its Empire, should accept the entire blame for all the ruin it had brought upon other nations and should make full reparations. On this same date the League of Nations was brought into being.

A plan for a national peace celebration in the aftermath of the cessation of hostilities in November 1918 was first put forward by the Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, when chairing the first meeting of the Peace Committee in May 1919. He envisaged a quite elaborate celebration extending over the first few days of August. However, with the signing of the Versailles Treaty at the end of June, the event was brought forward and simplified to occupy just one day, Saturday 19 July.

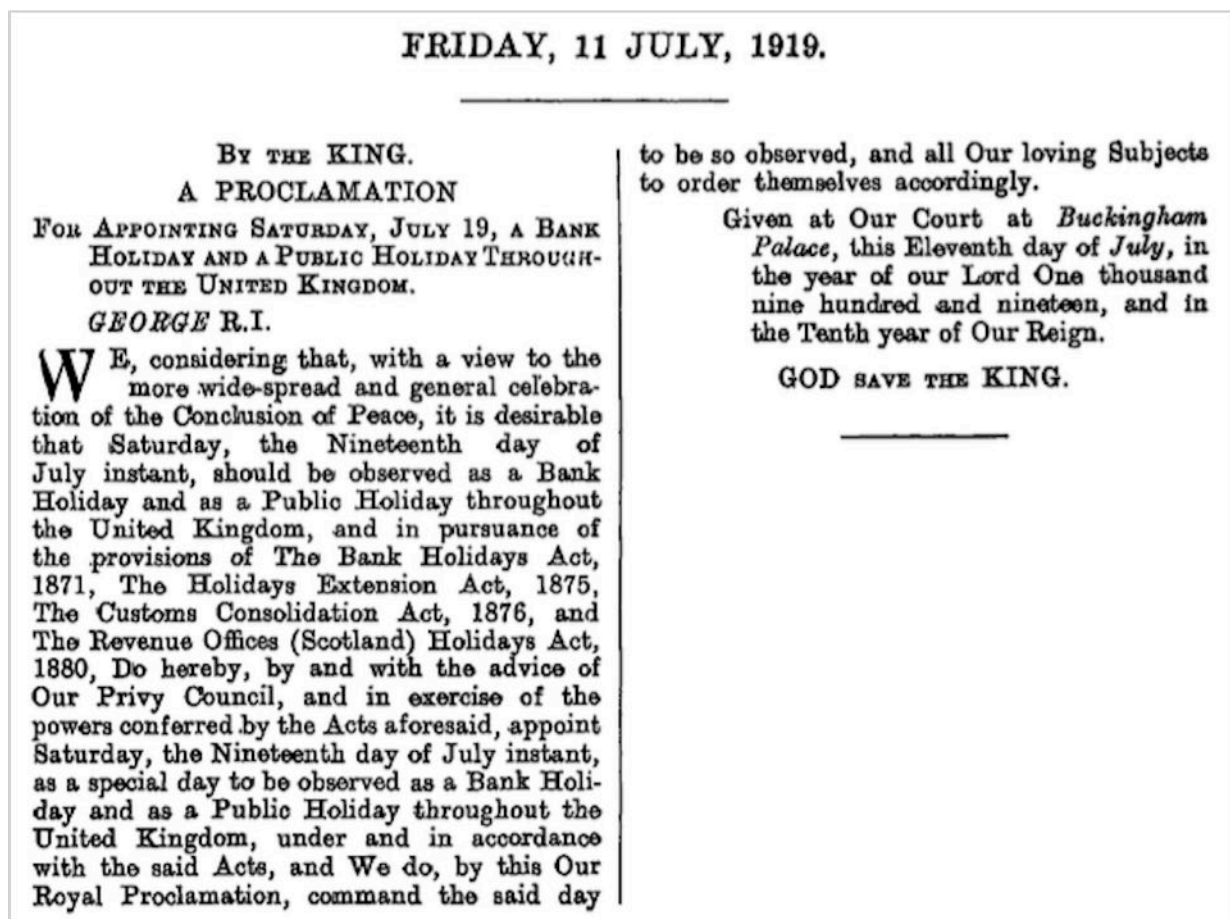


Figure 1 Proclamation of the Peace Celebration in *The London Gazette*, Number 31449, Page 8845.

In London the principal event that day was the Victory Parade of 15,000 troops, culminating with their arrival in Whitehall at Edwin Landseer Lutyens' hastily-erected, prototypical Cenotaph. Numerous other festivities and entertainments were also staged across the capital.



Figure 2 Troops at the new Cenotaph.

Smaller-scale imitations of these arrangements took place the same day in most of the country's towns and villages. However, popular sentiment about them was not uniformly favourable, as many individuals and organisations were variously indifferent, opposed or highly hostile towards them. In some towns – especially Luton where, with the burning-down of its town hall, four days of 'Peace Riots' had to be suppressed by massed troops – the celebrations provoked major acts of public disorder. In some cases the antipathy arose from the overtly militaristic nature of the parades, whilst in others the high levels of unemployment and economic distress offered nothing to celebrate or feel victorious about.

Effingham's celebrations

From such evidence as currently possessed by Effingham Local History Group (ELHG), Effingham's celebrations on 19 July appear to have been a well-balanced mix of events with

EFFINGHAM,

July 19, 1919.

Celebrations to commemorate the
PEACE

will take place in the grounds of the Lodge,
by kind permission of Mrs. Pauling.

Committee

Mrs. PAULING,
Mrs. GRIMWADE,
Mrs. THOMPSON,
Rev. Bernard KELLY,
D. MOONEY, Esq.
Mrs. CALBURN,
Mrs. BOTTERELL,
Mrs. MOONEY,

Col. Thompson,
Capt. J. BOTTERELL,
Miss TEESDALE,
Miss E. J. ROSS,
Rev. E. F. BAYLY,
Capt. F. C. BOOTH, V.C.,
D.C.M.
C. CALBURN, Esq.

Stewards

Miss MADGE,
Mr. YATES,
" C. W. DODMAN,
" R. STREET,
" E. RICHARDS,
" W. BUTCHER,

Mr. E. LOXLEY,
" J. OTTAWAY,
" MADGE,
" H. JACKSON,
" E. DAVIS,
" T. P. WEST,

Mr. L. E. D. BARNARD.

J. STEWART ADAMS,
Hon. Secretary.

s Dyer, Printer, Leatherhead. - 4484.

village-wide participation. Our knowledge of what took place comes mainly from a Programme of the day's events, a newspaper report and a few photographs taken on the day. No original instance of the Programme has ever been found, but a single photocopy of one was found in 2011 among the papers of Effingham Parish Council. It is almost certainly a copy of the one originally possessed by Joseph Stewart Adams, head teacher of the local National School and Hon Secretary to the Committee organising the celebrations – its back cover bears a penned 'Order of Procession' in his very distinctive handwriting. The photocopy's condition is quite poor and a scan of it is shown in the Appendix. The front cover is mostly occupied by the names of the Committee and of the Stewards, as transcribed above. We will explain who all these people were later in the article.

The celebrations began with a long procession setting out from The Sir Douglas Haig Hotel and assembling in the grounds of Effingham House, before wending its way through the village to arrive at The Lodge, the residence of the late George Craig Saunders Pauling, where many other activities on the day were scheduled to take place. Attendance there was evidently by invitation. Figure 3 shows a scan of a rare, possibly unique, surviving invitation card, issued by Mr Joseph Stewart Adams in his capacity as Hon Secretary, sent to siblings Rosa Helen and Louis Ralph, being the young children of Mr Ralph Edgar Street, the head gardener at The Lodge. As indicated on the Programme, it was Mrs Pauling who had given permission for the procession to go to The Lodge; her husband George had died earlier that year, in February.



Figure 3 Invitation to Rosa and Louis Street.

The procession

The handwritten Order of Procession on the Programme's back cover reads as shown on the right. This records that the gathering point for the Procession was 'near the Sir Douglas Hotel' (sic – usually, The Sir Douglas Haig Hotel). This referred to the public house which today is called The Queen Stage, near the north end of The Street. It had been built on that site in 1903/04 and at that time was called The Blücher Hotel. It had been opened when an earlier hotel The Prince Blücher, located at the crossroads at the top of The Street, had closed. In 1917 The Blücher Hotel had changed its name to The Sir Douglas Haig Hotel, for obvious anti-German reasons. It had a spacious and open frontage on which it would be convenient for a group to gather.

Having assembled outside the hotel, the Procession would then set out with its ultimate destination being The Lodge on Lower Road.

The precise route taken is not yet known but it certainly went up to the 'Manor House', that is, today's Effingham House (occupied by Effingham Golf Club). Several postcard photographs showing the Procession were taken there on the day. Four of these, kindly lent to ELHG by the late Mrs Winifred Annie (née Stovell) Hall, are shown in Figures 4-7 with their original printed captions.

In Figure 4 we see almost the entire Procession, in which the various groups appear in the order as given on the Programme. At the front is Corporal Dench – close study of the original photograph reveals the Military Medal pinned to his chest. He is standing at a point just a few yards west of the western-most end of Effingham House and, like all the others there, is facing east, presumably ready to march onward, out of the entrance into Beech Avenue and from there back into the village.

Order of Procession	
Assembly 1.15 pm near Sir Douglas Hotel	
Guards).	1. GUIDE (Cpl E. Dench M.M. Gren.
	2. Effingham BAND. (A. Stovell).
	3. Parish Councillors.
	4. ex. SERVICE MEN.
	5. Women War Workers.
	6. Boy Scouts.
	7. Girl Guides.
	8. School Children.
	9. Perambulator Parade.
	10. Women's Institute.
	11. Remainder of Parishioners.
Marshal. Mr. Wm. Dearling	
ex R.S.M.	



Figure 4 'Effingham Peace Procession in the Grounds of the Manor House, July 19th, 1919.'



Figure 5 'Peace Procession, Boys' Scouts and Band.'

Behind Corporal Dench, we see in Figure 5 the village band led by Mr Arthur Archibald Stovell (with the large drum), together with some scouts who were evidently band members (many more scouts were further

back in the Procession). In the background is seen the massive trunk of the great cedar tree which, until relatively recent times, stood just west of the house. At the right is some stone balustrading seen identically in other old photographs of the house.



Figure 6 'Those who have served their Country in the Peace Procession.'



Figure 7 'Effingham Women's Institute in the Peace Procession, July 19th.'

The group in Figure 6 consists of the Parish Councillors and the ex-servicemen. We cannot yet securely put names to all these faces and would welcome any information to help with this. In 1919 the seven Parish Councillors (with their dates of election) were Edward Davis (1904, for his 2nd term), Harry Jackson (1910), Ernest Albert Loxley (1910), Thomas William Plowright West (1910), Ralph Edgar Street (1913), Benjamin Thomas Lindsay Thomson (1919) and Dermot Joseph Mooney (1919). The man 2nd from left in the front row somewhat resembles John Ottaway, whilst the man in full army uniform standing in 5th place from the photo's left-hand margin is definitely Arthur James Poland.

In Figure 7 we see the Effingham Women's Institute. The woman at the left side of the banner (which she is holding aloft) is – as stated by one of her relations – Miss Emily Madge.

One further photograph of the Procession, shown in Figure 8 with its original caption, was donated to ELHG by John Ottaway's grand-daughter Mrs Phyllis Prout.



Figure 8 'Head of the Procession.'

In Figure 8 the man 4th from left in the front row is almost certainly Dermot Joseph Mooney. The others in that row we cannot confidently identify at the present time.

There may well be other photographs in this series, as yet unknown to us, separately showing the women war workers, the scouts, the guides and the children in perambulators, all of these other groups being ahead of the W. I.

Effingham appears to have staged a more elaborate celebration than many of those arranged in the villages nearby. At Ranmore on the Denbies estate there was a cricket match for men, entertainments for the women and children, an afternoon tea followed by dancing and a bonfire in the evening. In East Horsley there was a cricket match between ladies and gentlemen, a children's tea at 4pm and a meat tea for adult parishioners at 6pm, followed by music and dancing. In Fetcham a children's pageant marched around the village, followed by sports and a dinner for servicemen; in the evening there was a dance in fancy dress. In Little Bookham there were children's sports in the afternoon in the grounds of the Old Rectory. About 70 children there enjoyed watching an entertainer who had travelled down from London. Perhaps the largest local celebration was that of Great Bookham, as one would expect considering its larger population. Children assembled at the various schools from where they marched to Eastwick Park, where sports were held. A tea was prepared for all the children and the elderly, and a special entertainment was put on for demobilised soldiers and sailors. There was a bonfire in the evening, with dancing held both indoors and outdoors.

The events at The Lodge

The Programme's inner part of two pages sets out the events scheduled to take place in the grounds of The Lodge once the Procession had arrived there. The pages (as transcribed) are shown below.

Programme of Events	
10 a.m.	BOYS' CRICKET.
1-15 p.m.	Assembly for Procession Ex C.S.M. Dearling (Marshall).
1-30 p.m.	March to Lodge Grounds.
2 p.m.	CRICKET MATCH. Ex Service Men v. The Village. (Capt. Edgar Richards). (Capt. Ralph Street).
3 p.m.	Fishpond and Bran Tub. Miss Teesdale and Mrs. Adams.
3-45 p.m.	Junior Children's Races.
4-30 p.m.	Children's TEA.
5 p.m.	STOOLBALL MATCH Ladies v. Gentlemen. (Capt. Miss Madge). (Capt. C. W. Dodman).
5-15 p.m.	Adults' TEA Races for Elder Scholars
6 p.m.	PRESENTATION of Souvenir to Ex Service Men (given by the Parish) by Miss E. J. Ross. (Mr. E. Davis, Parish Council Representative).
6-30 p.m.	Sports for ADULTS, including Races and Tug-of-War.
8 p.m.	Presentation of Prizes by Mrs. Pauling.
9 p.m.	Dancing on the Skating Rink.
10-30 p.m.	Fireworks and Bonfire.
THE EFFINGHAM BAND (Bandmaster: MR. A. STOVELL), Will play Selections during the day.	
GOD SAVE THE KING.	

The people named in the Programme

The celebrations were organised by a Committee of sixteen people, including as Hon Secretary Mr Joseph Stewart Adams who probably chaired it. It comprised five socially eminent 'couples' (Mrs Calburn and second son Charles, Thomsons, Botterells, Pauling and Booth, Mooneys), two priests, and three Ladies of the Village (Grimwade, Ross and Teesdale). The Committee probably kept notes, or even Minutes, of its meetings but none have emerged to date. It is not known when the Committee was set up or how long the planning took. In this section we explain who its members were and who the other participants in the events were.

The Committee

Joseph Stewart Adams (Hon Secretary)

The son of a beer house keeper, Stewart Adams was born in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire in 1876. He was the very energetic schoolmaster of Effingham's National (later St Lawrence) School and by July 1919 he had served in that post for just over nine years. He was a driving force behind many village initiatives. Early evidence of this was his contribution to the Annual Parish Meeting of 1914 where he made two suggestions for improvements. One was to press for the 10mph speed limit at two crossroads, one near The Prince Blücher and the other near the school; the other was 'that a tidy should be placed in some

convenient spot in the Village, so that the waste paper etc could be collected from the sides of the road, which would give the Village a much better appearance'. He and his wife Florence lived in the house adjoining the northern side of the school.

Among his many other duties was the regular updating of the school log book (spanning 1862-1923) in which he recorded that on the day before the celebrations the school had closed so that the children could prepare for the coming event, as shown in Figure 9.

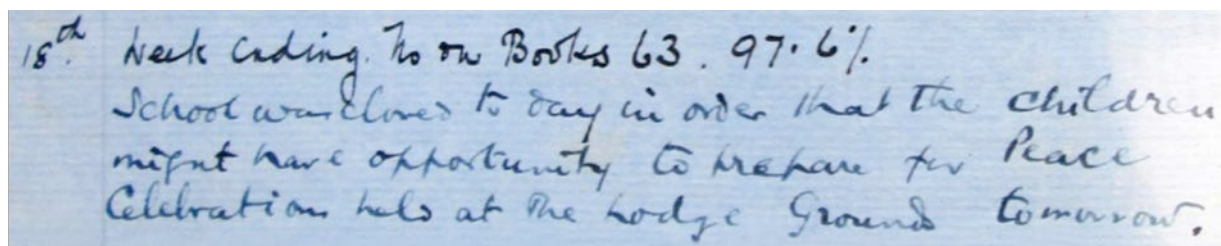


Figure 9 Joseph Stewart Adams records that the school was closed on 18 July.

Mrs Dolores ('Lola') Pauling

The Paulings were one of the wealthiest and most socially important families in Effingham at that time and the Paulings were great benefactors of the village – only a small reference can be made here to their significance. George Craig Saunders Pauling (born 6 Sept 1854) bought The Lodge – the venue for the celebrations – on Lower Road in 1897. He was a prominent civil engineer and contractor, founder in 1877 of Pauling and Company Ltd which undertook large overseas civil engineering projects. In 1891 he was summoned to Cape Town by Cecil Rhodes to discuss the extension of railways north from South Africa, and his company built the line out to Bulawayo (in modern Zimbabwe). Many other projects and important posts for him followed. The company was dissolved in 2002.

The hostess of the event, Mrs Dolores ('Lola') López (née Guibara) Pauling, was newly widowed. George had died aged 64 just five months earlier, on 10 February, apparently of pneumonia following influenza caught in London. Lola had been his third wife, his first two having predeceased him. She and George had produced two daughters, Dolores Angela and Jane Josephine, born in 1908 and 1912 respectively. Jane would have been just a few weeks short of 7 when her father died.

Col and Mrs Thomson (misspelt as 'Thompson' in the Programme)

Col Benjamin Thomas Lindsay Thomson, born in Helensburgh near Glasgow in about 1849, had married Esther Florence (née Bowker) in 1882. The family took up the tenancy of Effingham House at some date in 1917-18. By then Benjamin had retired after a long career as a civil engineer and surveyor. We have not found evidence that he ever engaged in active military service, but he had been made an Honorary Colonel of the 23rd (County of London) Battalion of the London Regiment. He was elected to Effingham Parish Council for the first time in March 1919. Immediately after the election he took the chair for the Annual Parish Meeting, apparently to universal and enthusiastic approval. He remained a Parish Councillor until the next election in 1922. Two of his sons, Col Gordon Lindsay Thomson and Capt Alexander Maxwell Lindsay Thomson, survived their military service in the war. In October 1918 Mrs Thomson had organised 'an exhibition of war relics' at the Manor House, in aid of the Flag Day fund. She had also been instrumental in the foundation of another group which became immensely significant in Effingham: the local branch of the Women's Institute. A group had begun to meet in January 1919, with the first committee meeting in February. To begin with they met at Mrs Thomson's house.

Mrs Grimwade

Mrs Grimwade is presumed to have been the wife of farmer Charles Grimwade who occupied Indian Farm on Effingham Common Road during the approximate period 1918-20. We know nothing more of them, other than that in February 1919 Mrs Grimwade had been advertising in the Press for a parlour maid.

Capt and Mrs Botterell

Capt John Dumville Botterell was born at Winchmore Hill, Enfield in 1884, the son of John James Dumville Botterell, J P. In 1911 he was living in Bayswater and working as a solicitor. In the war he served with the West Kent Yeomanry. His wife was Nina Rosalind (née Hutchinson) whom he had married in South Kensington in 1913. After a honeymoon in Spain they came to live in Effingham, initially at The Willows on Effingham Common Road, before moving into Browns in about 1920-21.

Miss Teesdale

Miss Ellen Augusta Teesdale was born at Chalfont St Peter in Buckinghamshire in 1856, being one of the children of John Marmaduke Teesdale and his wife Maria (née Chauncy). Her middle name Augusta was not registered at birth. In 1886 John Marmaduke had inherited The Lodge at Effingham from his uncle the Reverend Henry Robinson, brother of Maria, but had little time to enjoy it as he died on 27 May 1888 – at The Lodge, just as Rev Henry had. On 25 December 1888 Ellen and her sister Julia, still unmarried, were granted a 21-year lease on The Cottage in The Street. Julia left The Cottage when she married in 1891 but Ellen remained there for the rest of her days. It is possible that Ellen and Julia had been living at The Lodge when their father died and if so they would have retained a special affinity with the place and hence a particular connection to its owner Mrs Pauling in 1919.

Rev Kelly

Rev Bernard William Kelly, born in Rotherhithe in 1872, was the priest at Our Lady of Sorrows, the Catholic church built and endowed by Mr Pauling and consecrated on 8 October 1913. At the outbreak of war Father Herlihy, the first priest at this church, left to become a chaplain in the forces. Following him there were two more priests before Rev Kelly, who held the post from 3 February 1918 to July 1919.

Miss Ross

Miss Effie Jane Ross was born in 1884 to James Aitchison Ross, born in Roxburgh, Scotland on 4 November 1850, and his wife Amy Lydia (née) Cobb, born at Hampton Wick in 1857. Amy's middle name Lydia was not registered at birth. James and Amy had married at Surbiton in 1880 and then lived for some years in Sunbury where they produced four daughters, Effie being the second. James worked in London at the Stock Exchange. They then moved to The Villa in Effingham, on Guildford Road. Here they produced two further daughters, in 1890 and in 1893; the former of these two, Mary Ethel, died aged just six in 1896. The loss of this child affected Amy's physical and mental health and in 1897 she was sent to Malvern in Worcestershire to be looked after under the close supervision of two nurses. However, she somehow managed to elude them, travelled about three miles from the town and drowned herself in a pool, aged 39. This must have been a terrible shock for the whole family. James died at The Villa in 1920.

Effie was the only one of the five surviving sisters not to marry. During the war she had taken it upon herself to photograph large numbers of the Effingham men who had joined the armed services, developing and printing the photographs herself and preserving them in albums that are now held in ELHG's archives. She had also been the secretary to Effingham's War Shrine committee.

Besides being a member of the peace celebrations Committee, she is shown in the Programme as having been deputed to present the Parish Council's souvenir gift to the ex-servicemen.

Mr and Mrs Mooney

Dermot Joseph Mooney was born around 1870 in Dublin and became a solicitor for the Supreme Court of Ireland. He married in Berkshire in 1907 to Lilian Olivia (née Lukin) who had been born in 1873. They came to settle in Effingham and by 1911 were living with two servants in The Street at Rose Cottage, their home thereafter. Lilian was an active fund raiser during the war, staging a concert in the Village Hall in 1915 on behalf of the Belgian Charities.

Rev Bayly

Rev Frederic Ernest Bayly had been the Vicar of St Lawrence since 1882. His family had acquired the patronage of the living in 1878 and he held it personally from 1891. Although christened as Frederic Ernest he preferred to reverse his forenames. The war memorial in the churchyard records the name of his nephew 2nd Lieut Noel Douglas Bayly of the Irish Guards who was killed in action on 8 October 1917.

Mrs Calburn and son

The Calburns, living at Effingham Hill, were also one of the wealthiest and most socially important families in Effingham at this time and were great benefactors of the village. The original family name was Von Kaltenbrunnen (of Austro-Bavarian origin) but this had been changed to its Anglicised form Calburn in 1911 by royal licence granted to Theodore George Reitmeyer Von Kaltenbrunnen. Theodore's third son, Robert Reitmeyer Calburn – born in Venice in 1870 – had bought Effingham Hill House in 1916 and, with it, the lordship of the manor of Effingham East Court. In 1896 he married at Plaistow, Bromley to Theresa Jacobine ('Mary') (née) Zimmermann, she being the 'Mrs Calburn' named in the Committee. Robert and Theresa had three sons and a daughter. Their second son Charles Clement, aged 20 in 1919, is presumed to have been the 'C Calburn' named in the Committee. Charles was only 15 when war broke out. He enlisted with the Highlanders Light Infantry on 7 April 1918, just before he was 19.

Capt Booth

Capt Frederick Charles Booth would have been a very distinguished member of the Committee arranging the event, having been awarded the Victoria Cross in 1917.

He was born at Bowes Park, Upper Holloway on 6 March 1890 and became a member of the British South African Police attached to the Rhodesia Native Infantry. Here, from the Register of the Victoria Cross, is the official summary of his personal details and the citation of the deed by which he achieved this honour, together with his photograph:

Sergeant (later Captain) British South African Police, att'd. Rhodesia Native Infantry

Other Decorations: DCM

Date of Gazette: 8 Jun. 1917

Place/Date of Birth: Upper Holloway, London – 6 Mar. 1890

Place/Date of Death: Brighton, Sussex – 14 Sep. 1960

Memorials: Bear Road Cemetery, Brighton

Town/County Connections: Bowes Park, London; Brighton, Sussex

Account of Deed: On 12 February 1917 at Johannesburg, near Songea, East Africa, during an attack in thick bush on the enemy position and under very heavy rifle fire, Sergeant Booth went forward alone and brought in a man who was dangerously wounded. Later he rallied native troops who were badly disorganized and brought them to the firing line. On many previous occasions this NCO has set a splendid example of pluck and endurance.



Figure 10 Captain Booth.

Possibly he was known to the Pauling family via the Africa connection. Almost two years after these peace celebrations, on 12 April 1921 he and Lola would enter into a disastrous and shortlived marriage.

The Stewards

Miss Madge

Miss Emily Madge, born at Stoke D'Abernon in 1886, was the sixth child of George Madge and his wife Dinah (née Splatt), who produced ten children altogether. At this time the family was living at The Laurels in The Street where George and his sons were running a butchers business, in addition to a similar but more substantial business in Great Bookham. Emily had four sisters, three of whom had married, but she and one other sister, Bertha, had lost their fiancées to military action during the war. Neither of them ever did marry. A few weeks after the Effingham Women's Institute had been founded, Emily was elected to join its Committee on which she would serve as their Treasurer for at least fifteen years.

Mr Loxley

Ernest Albert Loxley was born in Effingham at Home Farm in 1876 to parents Uriah Loxley and his wife Sarah (née Hooker); Uriah had acquired the tenancy there between 1851 and 1861. Ernest took over the tenancy when Uriah died in 1904 and three years later he married Ethel Almena (née) Mills.

Uriah had been one of the first Councillors to be elected to Effingham Parish Council and Ernest followed in his footsteps, being elected in 1910; he would serve in that role until the election in 1922.

Mr Yates

Ralph Yates was born in Croydon in 1872 to parents Henry Yates, a licensed victualler and corn merchant, and his wife Matilda (née England). Ralph too became a corn merchant and in 1903 married grocer's daughter Rosella Beatrice (née) Smith in Lewisham. He and Rosella came to Effingham in 1911-12 and took over the running of the grocery shop known as the Church Street Stores. He served in the war in the 23rd Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, being posted to France in November 1915, but returned in January 1917 and was discharged as permanently unfit in May 1917.

Although Effingham's Electoral Register for spring 1919 shows Ralph in Church Street, in autumn 1919 he was shown as living at The Pit in Dirtham Lane, so it is not clear precisely where he and Rosella were living at the time of the peace celebrations.

Mr Ottaway

John Ottaway was born in Effingham to parents William Ottaway, a sawyer by trade, and his wife Caroline (née Sumner) and was baptised at St Lawrence on 6 May 1860. His birth does not appear to have been formally registered. In the baptism entry William is described as the (Parochial) Parish Clerk, ie the Clerk for the ecclesiastical parish of St Lawrence Church, as he was also in the 1861 Census.

John became a domestic gardener and married in 1892 to Annie (née War(e)ham) but then joined the Army and by 1901 was serving as a bombardier with the Royal Garrison Artillery. We do not know how long he served in that role but by 1911 he was living in Church Street, Effingham and working as a domestic gardener. He was still in Church Street in 1919, probably working for the vicar Rev E F Bayly (his employer in 1921). He had recently suffered the loss in the war of his son William, a Private with the Grenadier Guards who had been killed in action in September 1918.

Mr Dodman

Charles William Dodman was born in Blackheath, Kent in December 1868 to parents Philip Dodman, a coachman, and his wife Frances Agnes (née Horsecraft). The family moved to Ockley Court in Ockley where Charles William married in August 1905 to Edith Annie (née) Mathew. In December 1905 Charles became the publican at The Blücher Hotel in The Street. They produced no children. Charles became a Councillor on Effingham Parish Council in 1913 and his term ended with the election in April 1919. He was then still running the hotel, but its name had been changed two years previously to The Sir Douglas Haig Hotel. His mother Frances was still living at The Stables, Ockley Court where her husband Philip had died the year before, on 27 January from septic pneumonia arising from chronic cystitis.

Edith died at the hotel in 1921 and was buried at St Lawrence on 17 November. After Philip died Frances had come to live at the hotel too, where she died on 10 September 1922, from uterine cancer. In 1923 Charles remarried, to Nellie May, and a few years later they left the hotel and went to live in Ashted.

Mr Madge

Mr Madge may have been the father George of Emily Madge, described earlier, but more probably he was one of her brothers Leonard or Sidney. At this time Leonard was living in Effingham at The Laurels whilst Sidney, although involved in the family's butchers business there, was living at his larger premises in Great Bookham. It is not easy to judge which of the two would have been more likely to have played the role of steward.

Mr Street

Ralph Edgar Street was Mrs Pauling's head gardener and was very prominent in a wide range of community activities. Ralph had worked for the Pauling family for at least fifteen years, both at The Lodge in Effingham and at Allextion Hall in Leicestershire.

Ralph was born in Devon in 1878 to parents Walter Street and his first wife Mary Ann (née Avery) and trained in gardening on various estates and with the Veitch nursery firm. He married in 1904 to Helen Amelia (née) Dunkley, one of the servants of George Pauling's second wife Edith Kate. They produced two children Lewis Ralph and Rosa Helen. By the time of the peace celebrations the family had been living for at least ten years at the Gardener's Cottage, a bungalow in the north-western corner of the grounds of The Lodge, where Lower Road meets Church Street. He ran a large team of under-gardeners at The Lodge and the Lodge's own football team. He would have been very familiar with organising groups of people.

Mr Jackson

Harry Jackson was another gardener. He was born in Effingham in 1874 to parents Henry Jackson, an agricultural labourer, and his wife Jane (née Davis) who had married in 1860. Henry died in 1890 and was buried at St Lawrence on 5 March. Jane remained in Effingham for the rest of her days; she was buried at St Lawrence on 28 August 1906.

Harry went into service as a young man, the 1891 Census finding him at Broadwater House, Godalming as one of many servants in the household of the highly distinguished Lieutenant General Frederick Marshall and his wife Adelaide Laura, niece of the 12th Duke of Norfolk. In 1899 he married Rosina (née) May and by 1901 they were living in Effingham, apparently in one of the three cottages making up the property known today as Middle Farm in The Street. Boarding with them were Arthur Archibald Stovell, mentioned earlier, and his brother Walter Stovell who, like Harry, was occupied as a domestic gardener.

Harry was still a domestic gardener at the time of the 1911 Census which finds him living with Rosina and five children at 'Old Post Office', probably referring to one of the two semi-detached dwellings in

The Street that had served as a post office from about 1844 until about 1893. However this may be, they were living at the same address until 1921 and hence at the time of the peace celebrations. By 1919 Harry may have entered the employ of Miss Ross as her head gardener and bailiff, as she was cited as his employer in the 1921 Census.

Mr Richards

Edgar William John Richards was the fourth of the five children produced by Effingham's baker William Richards and his wife Agnes (née Lodge) who lived at the bakery and provisions shop in The Street. Edgar was baptised at St Lawrence on 1 June 1887. Like some of his siblings he worked as an assistant in his father's business until at least 1911.

During the war he served as a bombardier in the Royal Garrison Artillery (RGA) with Service No 56185. We do not know when he enlisted, but his surviving war diary records that he was posted to France in the spring of 1916, arriving at Boulogne on 15 April. The diary continues to 23 February 1917, detailing activities from day to day in various parts of the Somme. He was awarded the Military Medal on 6 January 1917, as announced the day before in *The London Gazette*, Number 29893, Page 343. The award is noted in his diary, adding 'Authy:- 3rd HAG. H4 of 28/9/16', indicating that it had arisen from some kind of commendable action verified by the 3rd Heavy Artillery Group (consisting of six heavy/siege batteries) on 28 September 1916. His medal card in The National Archives shows that he attained the rank of Corporal and that he had served in the RGA's 124 Brigade (Heavy Battery).

The Electoral Register for 1919 shows that he was now back at the bakery in The Street. By the time of the 1921 Census the family had left Effingham and moved to Sussex.

Mr Davis

Edward Davis was born in 1850 at New House Farm in Hughenden, Buckinghamshire to parents Arnold Davis, a substantial farmer and employer, and his wife Mary Ann (née Eatwell) who had married in 1845. By 1871 the family had moved to Surrey, residing at the Mill House in Church Road, Great Bookham where Arnold was working as a miller. The 1881 Census finds Edward lodging in Bookham's West Street and occupied as a salesman. By 1891 he had become a tenant farmer and cattle dealer in Effingham, residing at Lower Farm where he would remain, unmarried, for at least thirty years.

Besides his time spent on the farm he appears to have spent quite a lot of time in courtrooms. In 1904 he gave evidence in a case brought against someone who had killed one of his best calves. In January 1907 he was fined for allowing a horse to stray in Guildford Road, Effingham and was fined again in May for allowing a cow and six heifers to stray in Bookham's Cobham Road. In 1910 he was charged with causing an unfit horse to be worked but the case was dismissed upon his undertaking to have the horse put down. In 1912 he was fined for allowing two cows and two calves to be moved in contravention of a foot-and-mouth disease order. His most notable conflict with the law came in 1918 when he was charged with failing to cultivate his land as required by the Surrey War Agricultural Executive Committee. He had been defying them since September 1917, presenting multiple reasons why he should not do it, could not do it and would not do it. The case made several column inches in the Press [*The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 23 November 1918]; he was fined heavily, whilst remaining resolutely obdurate in the matter.

From these reports one might have suspected that Edward had been an awkward character. However, he was elected in 1896 as one of the earliest Parish Councillors for Effingham and then again in 1904, after which he served in every year up to 1921; moreover, in each of the years 1910-1921 he was elected unanimously as their Chairman. He appears to have left Effingham in 1922.

Mr Butcher

William Butcher was born in Epsom on 30 May 1862 to parents John Butcher, a master painter and decorator, and his wife Emily (née Moore) who had married at St George the Martyr in Southwark on 21 May 1844 and soon afterwards taken up residence at No 46 Epsom High Street, next door to The George Inn.

William was still living there with his parents at the time of the 1881 Census and was then occupied as a carpenter. He was not listed with the family in the 1891 Census but the Electoral Registers for 1892-93 show him lodging next door to them in two rooms at No 45 Epsom High Street. On 30 June 1894 he married at Ewell Parish Church to Edith (née) Taylor, the register giving his occupation as builder and his abode as Effingham. He and Edith took up residence in Effingham's Church Street where they ran a sub-post office for over half a century until William's death in 1949. Besides working as a carpenter and builder he acted also as the village's undertaker, wheeling coffins to the church on a wooden barrow. The local school's log book records him on several occasions doing practical work on the school premises.

Mr West

Thomas William Plowright West was born in Effingham on 1 May 1875 to parents James West, a prominent local grocer, draper and Wesleyan preacher, and his wife Rebecca Frances Ann (née Booth) who had married at St Lawrence on 8 October 1860. The family lived in the large former property known as Yew Tree House. James was elected to Effingham's first Parish Council in 1894.

Thomas took over the business at Yew Tree House, as a baker, grocer and draper, after James died on 31 January 1900. Soon afterwards he married, in 1903, to a farmer's daughter Maria (née) Jackson. They produced no children. He too became a Parish Councillor, serving from 1910 up to 1925.

Mr Barnard

Leonard Edward Donald Barnard was born in Mutford, East Suffolk on 17 September 1879 to parents Arthur Leonard Barnard, a farm worker, and his wife Emma (née Maddis) who had married at Mutford Parish Church on New Year's Day in 1877. He was baptised there on 20 March 1881. By 1901 the family had moved to Swanton Morley in Norfolk where Leonard was working as a bricklayer's labourer.

Leonard married at Wimbledon Parish Church on 21 May 1904 to a dairyman's daughter Harriett (née) Penner. At the time of the 1911 Census they were living, with two young sons, at 70, Amity Grove in Cottenham Park, West Wimbledon where Leonard (recorded as Donald) was working as a domestic gardener. By 1919 they were living in Effingham at Avenue Cottage in Beech Avenue, Leonard being employed as a gardener for Col Thomson at Effingham House.

*The Marshall for the Procession***Sgt Major Dearling**

William James Dearling was born in Harrow Road, Dorking on 6 March 1876 to an unmarried woman Sarah (née) Dearling; his birth certificate does not name his father. At the time of the 1881 Census he was living in the household of Sarah's father James Dearling in Dene Street, Dorking. Also living there were Sarah's unmarried brother John Dearling and his child Francis. Sarah was meanwhile a visitor in the household of a painter James Lucas in St Martin's Place, Dorking and occupied as a domestic servant.

William was still living with his grandfather James in 1891, working as an upholsterer's assistant. On 23 January 1893, at age 18, he signed up for 'short service' (7 years with the Colours and 5 years on the Reserve) with the Border Regiment. He has not been found in the 1901 Census and may have been abroad.

In 1905, when his term of service ended, he married at St Paul's Church in Dorking to Rosemary (née) Holmes. In the marriage register their abode is stated as Cotmandene and his occupation as coachman. His father is named as 'James Dearling', that is, the grandfather who had raised him. They moved to Fetcham where their first child Alice Prudence was baptised on 10 September 1905. By 1911 the family was in Effingham living at the 'Villa Stables' where William was still working as a domestic coachman employed by James Aitchison Ross at The Villa.

In the war he served in the 55th Mechanical Transport Coy, Royal Army Service Corps, with Service Number M1/6286 and attained the rank of Sgt Major. On 18 January 1919 he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal, this being reported in the *Supplement to the London Gazette*, Number 31132, Page 969. His medal card in The National Archives shows the award to him of the Victory Medal and British War Medal. As a Sergeant Major, he was amply qualified to martial the procession at the Peace Celebrations.

*The Guide for the Procession***Cpl Dench**

Edward Dench was born in Effingham on 20 May 1900 to parents William Dench and Elizabeth (née Whittington) who had married at St Lawrence on 5 August 1899. At the time of the 1901 Census the family was living at Old Westmoor Cottage where Elizabeth's widowed mother Ellen Maria (née Brush) was running the village laundry. They were still there in 1911.

In the war Edward served in the Grenadier Guards, 3rd Battalion. He was awarded the Military Medal on 24 January 1919 as announced in *The Sixth Supplement to The London Gazette*, Number 31142, Number 1503. On the day of the peace celebrations he would have been just 19 and it must have been a great honour for him to be selected to guide the Procession.

'A Pleasant Programme' – report in the Press

We have found only one newspaper article reporting Effingham's peace celebrations [*The Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 26 July 1919]. Apart from its first paragraph, its condition is too poor to justify displaying a scan of it here and therefore a transcript of it is shown instead, as follows:

EFFINGHAM A PLEASANT PROGRAMME

Effingham celebrated the Peace by a very pleasant programme, in which practically all the parishioners participated. A cricket match for boys was the first item, and at a quarter-past one there was a general assembly near the Sir Douglas Haig Hotel for the Procession to The Lodge, the grounds of which had been kindly lent for the occasion by Mrs. Pauling.

Mr. A. Stovell had got together a drum and fife band, which headed the procession, and played selections very creditably during the day. Ex-Regtl. Sergt. Major Dearling acted as marshal of the procession, which included members of the Parish Council, about 60 ex-Service men, war workers (under Mrs. Street), Girl Guides (under Miss Ross), Boy Scouts, school children (in charge of Mrs. Stewart Adams) carrying posies of red, white and blue flowers, decorated perambulators (under the village nurse), members of the Village Institute (under Mrs. C. W. Dodson [sic – Dodman]), and parishioners generally. Two Boy Scouts carried in front of the ex-Service men a Union Jack and a laurel wreath inscribed to the memory of those “whose great sacrifice led to our peace.”

In charge of Mr. J. Stewart Adams, the procession proceeded to the Manor House, whence, after a brief halt for a photograph, it continued to the church, where, in silence, all the men stood bare headed while Scouts Lamb and Longhurst placed the laurel wreath upon the war shrine as a tribute to the fallen. Then, as the bells rang forth, the procession moved on to The Lodge, where a round of festivities was carried through.

A cricket match between ex-Service men and the village was won by the former by 113 runs to 43; a stoolball match between ladies (Miss Madge, captain) and gentlemen (Mr. C. W. Dodman, captain) provided plenty of amusement, the men batting left-handed, but time would not permit of a finish; adults and children were provided with a bountiful tea; a good tug-of-war resulted in victory for the village; sports for children and adults were keenly contested; and a fish-pond and a bran-tub were in charge of Miss Teesdale and Mrs. Adams. The adjudication of best decorated “prams” gave Mrs. A. Jackson first prize and Mrs. Craddock second, Miss Jane Pauling receiving a consolation prize for her youthful turn-out.

Mrs. Pauling presented the sports prizes, and also gave each child a souvenir beaker. Capt. F. C. Booth, V.C., voiced the thanks of the villagers to the secretary (Mr. J. Stewart Adams) for his successful efforts; and the hon. secretary, in reply, said thanks were due to many other workers behind the scenes.

A feature of the afternoon's proceedings was the presentation of souvenirs to Service and ex-Service men, who were drawn up on three sides of a square. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Adelbert Talbot, K.C.I.E., in a few words pointed out that the immediate danger was over, but one thing was necessary to avert another imminent danger, and that was whole-hearted effort for the best on the part of every member of the community. He mentioned that it was the intention of the Parish Council to present to the relatives of the fallen a small inscribed medal. The souvenir to the men was an elegant malacca cane “from the village of Effingham,” and as it was not possible to procure sufficient of these for all, other sticks were to be given to the officers. The souvenirs were distributed by Miss. E. J. Ross, who throughout the war closely identified herself in many ways with the men serving; and Colonel G. C. [sic – L.] Thomson expressed the thanks of the recipients for the gifts.

Owing to the weather, dancing in the open was not possible, and Mrs. Pauling placed the swimming pool at the disposal of the committee. The day's proceedings closed with a display of fireworks, a huge bonfire, and the burning of an effigy of the ex-Kaiser. The official committee, stewards, and all helpers are to be congratulated upon a thoroughly successful celebration.

The article mentions that at the presentation to Effingham's servicemen and ex-servicemen Lt-Col Sir Adelbert Talbot, KCIE spoke about the souvenirs and the need for the whole community to make their best efforts for future peace. Sir Adelbert, born on 3 June 1845, had led a distinguished military and political career in India, besides being an accomplished linguist and scholar. He came with his family to Effingham in about 1909-10, taking up residence at The Hermitage near the top of High Barn Road where he would live until his death on 28 December 1920. Shortly before the peace celebrations he had come to the local school on Empire Day, 24 May 1919 to address the children, as noted by Mr Stewart Adams in the log book (Figure 11).

23rd Week ending 10 on Books 63 96.27.
 Empire Day was observed. A very interesting
 address was given to the children by Lt. Col. Sir
 Adelbert Talbot. K.C.I.E. on our Empire.
 Patriotic songs were sung, and the children
 marched on to salute the flag.

Figure 11 Sir Adelbert addresses the children on Empire Day.

Later in the year the children had the pleasure of an extra week of summer holiday by the wish of the King, as noted in the log book (Figure 12).

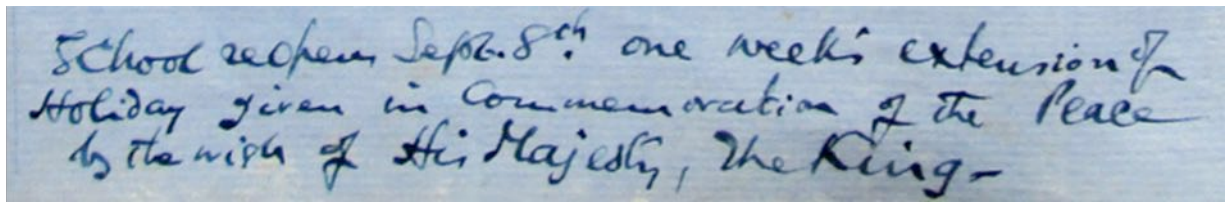


Figure 12 Joseph Stewart Adams notes the holiday extension, in accordance with the King's wish.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: from *The London Gazette* (<https://www.thegazette.co.uk>)

Figure 2: from the Imperial War Museum: IWM Non-Commercial Licence Image: IWM (Q14965)

Figure 3: from Ralph Frank Wallace

Figures 4-7: from the late Winifred Annie (née Stovell) Hall

Figure 8: from Phyllis Prout

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Figure 10: from the Imperial War Museum: IWM Non-Commercial Licence Image: IWM (Q85881)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

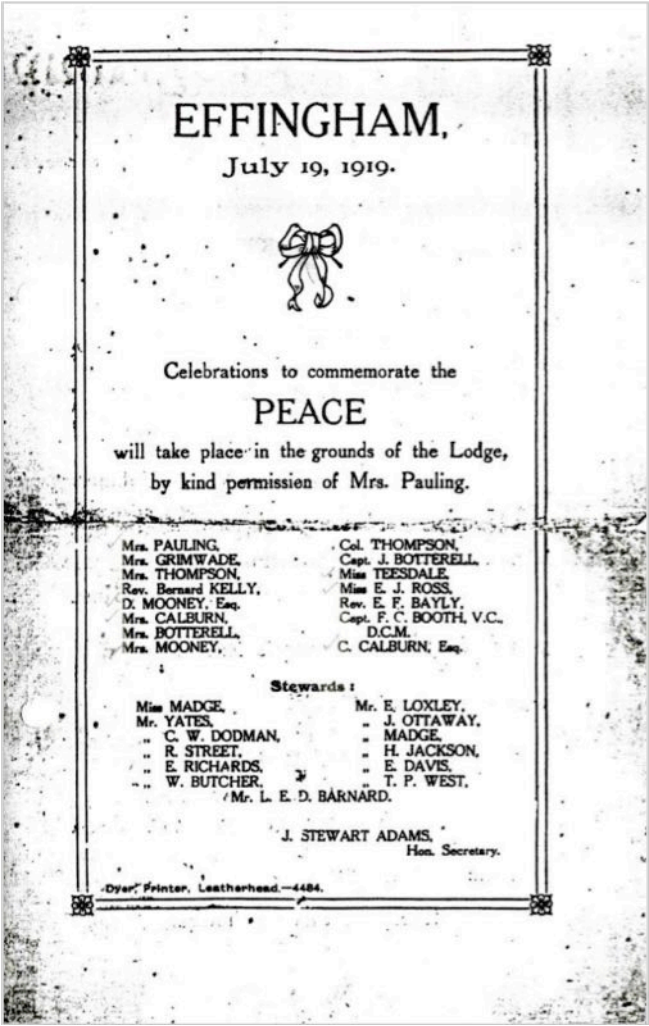
We are grateful to St Lawrence School for use of material from its log books and we acknowledge our use of resources from *Ancestry* and the British Newspaper Archive.

APPENDIX

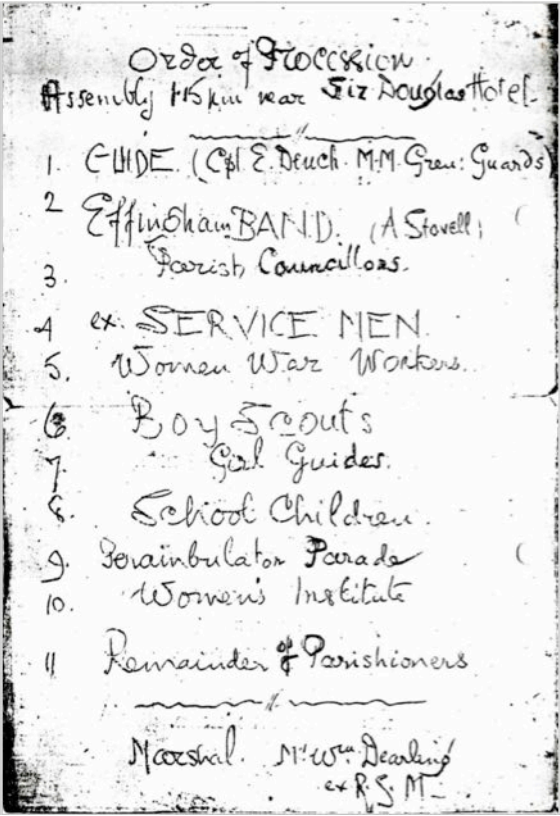
Scan of the photocopied Programme

== Programme of Events. ==	
10 a.m. BOYS' CRICKET.	6 p.m. PRESENTATION of Souvenir to Ex Service Men (given by the Parish) by Miss E. J. Ross. (Mr. E. Davis, Parish Council Representative).
1-15 p.m. Assembly for Procession. Ex C.S.M. Dearling (Marshall).	6-30 p.m. Sports for ADULTS, including Races and Tug-of-War.
1-30 p.m. March to Lodge Grounds.	8 p.m. Presentation of Prizes by Mrs. Pauling.
2 p.m. CRICKET MATCH, Ex Service Men v. The Village. (Capt. Edgar Richards). (Capt. Ralph Street).	9 p.m. Dancing on the Skating Rink.
3 p.m. Fishpond and Bran Tub. Miss Teesdale and Mrs. Adams.	10-30 p.m. Fireworks and Bonfire.
3-45 p.m. Junior Children's Races.	
4-30 p.m. Children's TEA.	
5 p.m. STOOLBALL MATCH, Ladies v. Gentlemen. (Capt. Miss Madge). (Capt. C. W. Dodman).	THE EFFINGHAM BAND (Bandmaster: Mr. A. Stovell). Will play Selections during the day.
5-15 p.m. Adults TEA. Races for Elder Scholars.	GOD SAVE THE KING.

Inner section.



Front cover.



Back cover.

The Creation of Effingham Manor Golf Club – Supplement 2

SUSAN MORRIS and JEREMY PALMER

This second supplement (Article 9-2) to Article 9 amends the family details of the wife of Robert Reitmeyer Calburn, an important person involved in the creation of the Effingham Manor Golf Club.

Introduction

In the primary Article 9 in Volume 1 the section on Robert Reitmeyer Calburn describes his wife as ‘Theresa Mary 3rd daughter of Maurice Bell (died 15 February 1971 aged 96)’.

Her registered name at birth was actually Theresa Jacobine Zimmermann. The remark ‘died 15 February 1971 aged 96’ refers to her, not to her father.

Details

The entry in the GRO birth index for Theresa is [Lambeth 1d 536, 1874 (Q4)]. Her birth certificate states that she was born on 31 October 1874 at 21, Wiltshire Road in Brixton and names her father as a drug merchant Moritz Anton Hubert Zimmermann and her mother as Marie (formerly Bel).

58	Thirtieth October 1874 21 Wiltshire Road	Theresa Jacobine	girl	Moritz Anton Hubert Zimmermann	Marie Zimmermann formerly Bel	Drug Merchant	M. A. Zimmermann Father 21 Wiltshire Road Brixton	Thirtieth November 1874	Nathaniel Charles Registrar
----	--	---------------------	------	---	--	------------------	--	-------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Moritz and Marie had married three years earlier [Lambeth 1d 668, 1871 (Q2)], their names registered exactly as given in Theresa's birth certificate.

The 1881 Census finds the family still living at 21, Wiltshire Road with Moritz occupied as a commission merchant. His and Marie's birthplace is given as Prussia.

The 1891 Census finds the family living at 17, Brixton Hill with Moritz occupied as a chemical commission merchant. His and Marie's birthplace is given as Cologne, Prussia.

In both these census records Theresa's name is entered as ‘Therese’.

Maurice died on 26 February 1895, his death registration [Lambeth 1d 404, 1895 (Q1)] giving his forename as ‘Maurice’. His entry in the Probate Registry names him as ‘Moritz Anton Hubert Zimmermann of Apsley House, Brixton Rise’ and states that probate was granted on 8 April 1895 to Jacob Zimmermann, advocate.

Several public family trees for Robert Reitmeyer Calburn on *Ancestry* incorrectly name Theresa's father as ‘Maurice Bell’, almost certainly the result of one person making a mistake and others then copying it. The mistake may have arisen from confusion over the maiden name Bel of Theresa's mother. Whilst Moritz's death registration shows that either he or others used ‘Maurice’ as his forename, we have seen no evidence that either he or Theresa ever used ‘Bel’ or ‘Bell’ as their surname.

Lionel Atherton and the First British Osteopathic Hospital – Supplement

CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER, SUSAN MORRIS and RUPERT WHITE

This first supplement (Article 12-1) to Article 12 contains additional details of the early life of Lionel Atherton, founder of the Osteopathic Hospital in Effingham in the 1930s, and provides more insights into the Brotherhood of the Essenes established and led by him. The lives of other key members of the Brotherhood are also examined here.

Introduction

Lionel Atherton (whose registered name when born in 1885 was Ernest Edwin William Green) became an osteopath, among other things, and founded a short-lived osteopathic hospital in Effingham in about 1934. Article 12 charts the complex life he led and explores his many unorthodox beliefs and activities, including astrology and his role in the Brotherhood of the Essenes.

Although that primary article relates much about Atherton's life from the Thirties onwards it does not have a great deal to say about him in earlier years, owing to the sparsity of relevant source material. Now, however, a little more is known about his activities in the 1920s thanks to some new findings brought to our attention by Rupert White, for which Effingham Local History Group is most grateful.

New findings

The first of the new findings comes from *Hartmann's Who's Who in Occult, Psychic and Spiritual Realms*, compiled by William C Hartmann and 'issued under the auspices of the Occult Brotherhood'

[publ The Occult Press, New York, 1925] and is shown in Figure 1. It advertises The Brotherhood of the Essenes and indicates that they held, or inhabited, a property named 'Aqua Regia' in Portishead, about twelve miles from Bristol. Its last line names Atherton as the organisation's 'Western Initiate'. We cannot be sure whether this organisation existed in some concrete sense or was just another aspirational fantasy concocted in the ever-fertile mind of Atherton. What we can be sure of is that, at the present time, no reference to it other than in *Hartmann's Who's Who* can be found in the British Newspaper Archive or in that part of the internet surveyed by Google.

The second finding is shown in Figure 2 and comes from the same publication. It is Atherton's entry for his 'Aquarian College of Metaphysics' in Clifton where he had set up some kind of facility in Royal York Crescent including a hydro (a clinic providing hydrotherapy treatment). The entry contains some fascinating detail complementing what was already known when the primary article was written. Firstly, it confirms that in 1925 Atherton was already involved both in the ancient Essenes and in astrology. His association with astrology had first become known to us from the court proceedings of 1928 in which he had been accused of committing adultery with one of his devotees.

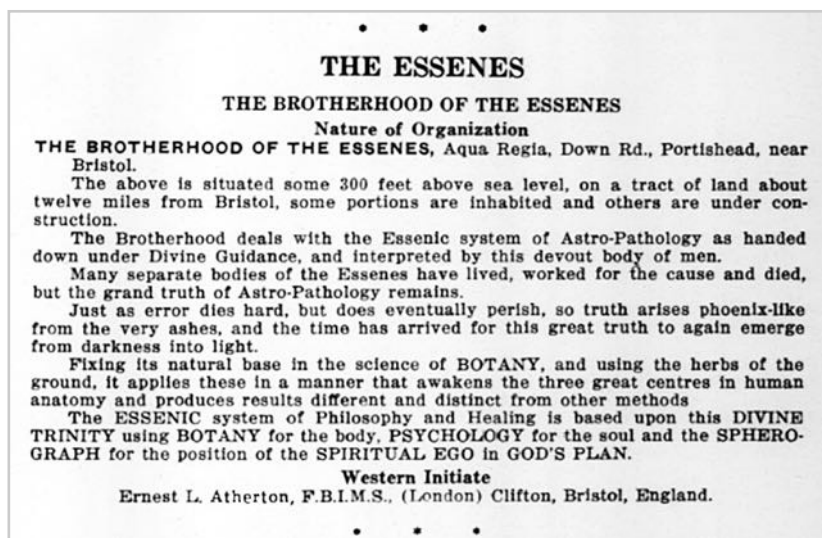


Figure 1 The Brotherhood listed in *Hartmann's Who's Who*, 1925.

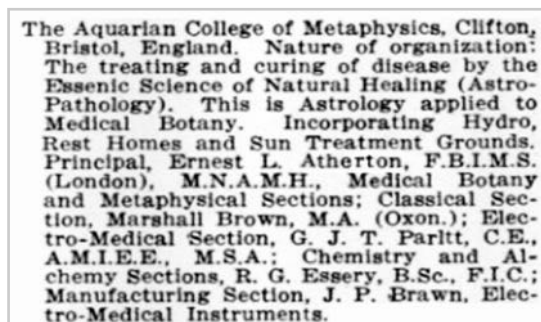


Figure 2 Atherton's facility also listed in *Hartmann's Who's Who*, 1925.

Secondly it mentions Marshall Ernest Brown who was Atherton's co-accused in that case; Brown's role in the 'Classical Section' of the Aquarian College doubtless reflected his being a schoolteacher specialising in Classics. Thirdly, and perhaps of most fascination, it mentions John Player Brawn as being responsible for the College's 'Electro-Medical Instruments'. We had first learned about Brawn – then working as a ladder maker – in an account of his being examined by the Bristol Bankruptcy Court in 1932, where he been accused of using his wife's money to fund Atherton's business ventures. We had been amazed to discover that in 1939 Brawn had been a resident in Atherton's osteopathic hospital in Effingham. Apparently he had remained a loyal disciple of Atherton despite having bankrupted himself by supporting him.

The 1927 edition of *Hartmann's Who's Who* contains a much shorter advertisement describing Atherton as the Aquarian College's 'Principal', as seen in Figure 3.

The third of Rupert's findings is a newspaper article from 1954 (Figure 4). This is of particular interest as it reveals something about Atherton that was hitherto unknown, namely that besides leading the Brotherhood of the Essenes up Glastonbury Tor at their annual convocations, he was also a member of a Druid Order named 'The British Circle of the Universal Bond' and given to attending rituals with them at Stonehenge. The article, in *The Salisbury Times and South Wilts Gazette* of 25 June 1954, reports that the members of this Druid Order were at Stonehenge at sunrise on 21 June – they 'were in regalia and carried through the ancient ritual', although we are not told what that ritual consisted of. The members were named and included 'Dr Lionel Atherton' in his capacity as 'the Mainarch and chairman of the London Lodge B'. He was then aged 69.

Rupert's fourth finding is especially illuminating in exposing the significance to the Brotherhood of the animal kingdom, particularly its dogs. For animals they maintained a powerful reverence which they integrated within their rituals and formalised in their framework of Essenic beliefs. Insights into this are provided in a video, lasting nearly 17 minutes, uploaded on the *WyrdCorners* channel of *YouTube* at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmVjRzmuGrE> and concerning the ceremonial funeral of a Samoyed dog – a 'King Dog' – conducted in 1969 in a valley near St Agnes, Cornwall. It is prefaced by the following text:

In 1969, a quiet coastal village in Cornwall became host to a bizarre folklore after a secretive occult group known as the Brotherhood of the Essenes was filmed performing a weird funeral deep in the woods of nearby Jericho Valley.

Rumours of creepy rituals, evil curses, and mystical forces took hold as locals talked of strange happenings at the burial site. But who were the Brotherhood, and why did they believe a dog – Gengha – was worth burying with such fanfare?

Decades later, the legend continues to grow, as visitors to the grave site report strange experiences. Is it all just rumours run amok, or is there something to the myths surrounding Jericho Valley?

ATHERTON, Ernest L., F.B., I.M.S. (London), Western Initiate, "The Brotherhood of Essenes" (England); Principal, The Aquarian College of Metaphysics (Bristol, England)—Clifton, Bristol, England.

Figure 3 Atherton listed in *Hartmann's Who's Who*, 1927.

STONEHENGE CEREMONY

CLOUD PREVENTS SUNRISE SPECTACLE

There was a lovely sunrise on Monday morning for the longest day of the year but a bank of cloud kept the sun obscured until two minutes past five, and when it was seen at Stonehenge it was too high in the sky, and too far round to the west, to provide the rare spectacle of it appearing immediately above the Hele Stone and throwing its rays on to the altar stone.

A crowd estimated at 800 was present, some people having waited all night. The Wiltshire Morris Dancers helped to while away the waiting time.

At noon on Sunday the Druid Order (An Druidh Uileach Braitreachas) the British Circle of the Universal Bond celebrated the Summer Solstice Ceremony of High Noon within the enclosure.

At sunrise on Monday there was the Summer Solstice of the Golden Dawn when the members were in regalia and carried through the ancient ritual. The crowd watched respectfully.

Amongst those present were the Grand Druid of Brittany, Bro. P. L. Oisel; the Mainarch and President of the Delegate Council of Direction, Dr. Leigh Vaughan Henry; the Mainarch of the Albion Lodge of Wessex, Bro. Reginald Millard; the Mainarch and chairman of the London Lodge "B" Dr. Lionel Atherton; Bro. T. L. Maughan, representing the Mother Lodge "G" and the supreme grand council; the Chief Druid of the Welsh Circle of the Bond, Bro. David Llewellyn Carrellio-Morgan; the Mainarch of the Druid Circle of the Isle of Man, Dr. G. B. Gardner; the Chosen Chief of the Bond, Mr. R. Macgregor Reid (Ariovistos), together with the delegates of the Order and other societies in friendly alliance with the Mother Lodge "G."

Figure 4 Atherton and the Druids in 1954.

The Brotherhood was concerned fundamentally with preparation for the Second Coming (of Christ) which they considered to be imminent. They believed they had the power of prophecy, partly manifested through a psychic medium who was one of their members. She was the owner of the dog Gengha mentioned above.

The role of dogs in the Brotherhood's mysticism during the years when Atherton was their leader (that is, up to his death in 1957) was not known to us when our primary article in Volume 2 was written, although that article did observe the Brotherhood's reverence for dogs in later years. In that later period the leadership had passed to a man named in the article as 'Joseph Benito', his name being spelt this way in a newspaper article we had found describing his role. However, from subsequent research we now know that his correct name was Herbert Jose Bennetto, whilst the group's medium was Annie ('Anna Maria') (née Williamson) Thornton-Parry. These are the two seen in the primary article's Figure 61 which shows them, in 1966, wearing their ritual garb and leading the Brotherhood in procession to take packets of dog food to the Battersea Dogs' Home.

It is an open question as to whether Atherton had been as much involved in the dog worshipping business as had Bennetto and Thornton-Parry, because in scouring numerous accounts of Atherton's lectures, advertisements, rituals, business ventures, brochures, court cases and so on we have not yet found a single mention of dogs or animals being within his range of interests, nor of any explicit association between him and Bennetto or Thornton-Parry. However, on 30 June 1977 an interesting letter written by 'Octogenarian' of Glastonbury was published in *The Cheddar Valley Gazette* :

'When I came to Glastonbury in 1948, Brother Rex (Dr Atherton, as osteopath from London) used to give the address in the Town Hall, and I still have a cutting from the Daily Mirror, dated 23.6.51 headed "The Mystics seek success as town sleeps", describing how we took a cripple on a stretcher for healing. Some of the brothers carried her up, but she walked down. In the service we called upon the Angelic forces to cure her. She had not walked for three years.

In those days Brother Jose Bennetto lived at The House of the Holy Grail, now St Louis Convent, where he practised as an osteopath, and drove each week to Wolverhampton, where he also practised. He represented the Essenes at the re-planting of the Holy Thorn on Wearyhall [sic – Wearyall] Hill as part of the Festival of Britain celebrations in 1951. All denominations were represented at the service.

The group was certainly called into being by professional men with two osteopaths at its head, but I am sure that Bro. Rex would never have claimed the divinity of the animal kingdom.'

It sounds as though the writer may have been quite familiar with the Brothers but does not admit to having been one of them. If Bennetto did indeed represent them on Wearyall Hill in 1951 then he and Atherton must have been on intimate terms, even if Atherton did not necessarily subscribe fully (or at all) to the notion of dogs being spiritual beings. It can be no coincidence that Bennetto named the second of his six children Christopher Rex David.

Another view of the Bennetto-Atherton relationship is offered by Cornish freelance writer Elizabeth Dale in her online blog <https://cornishbirdblog.com> where, in an article entitled *The Dog King and the Truth about the Cult of Jericho Valley, St Agnes* she writes:

'Sometime in the late 1940s/early 1950s Bennetto had joined a sect in Glastonbury, where he is said to have been one of the brothers of 'The House of the Holy Grail'. His teacher appears to have been a man known as Brother Rex and when he passed away Jose took over as leader of the group.'

We will tell more of Bennetto presently.

Anna Maria Thornton-Parry

Meanwhile, what of the psychic medium Anna Maria – had she also been an associate of Atherton? Determining her identity was at first especially difficult owing to the fact that almost all sources we have found which mention her in relation to the Essenes give only her forenames. One newspaper article adds the detail that she lived in Potters Bar. By the merest chance a single clue to her surname was found in a report of the funeral of the ladder maker John Player Brawn, of whom we will also tell more presently. In that report the list of mourners included an 'A M Thornton-Parry' and further delving eventually confirmed that this was indeed Anna Maria.

She was born in Shetland on 14 November 1914 to parents John Stove Williamson, a Captain in the Merchant Navy, and his second wife Jemima (née Clark) [National Records of Scotland, Lerwick, Ref: 005/1, Entry 115 (1914)]. She was registered at birth as simply 'Annie Williamson'.

On 19 January 1939 she married Geoffrey Herbert Thornton Parry, a ship's hairdresser, at a Register Office standing between the Great West Road and Glenhurst Road in Brentford, Hounslow [Brentford 3a

351, 1939 (Q1)]. Geoffrey had been born on 18 April 1913 as the only son of Herbert Charles Parry and his wife Mabel Helen (née Thornton). The 1939 National Register finds Annie as the sole occupant of 7a, Ashburnham Close in Southampton, described as born on 14 November 1914 and performing 'unpaid domestic duties'. Her name was first entered in this register as 'Anne Parry' but was later annotated as 'Thornton-Parry, Anna Maria', the latter forenames clearly being just her preferred elaboration. Geoffrey was not present with her at this time and it is presumed that he had departed for war-related service. He served with the Merchant Navy, with Discharge No R74853 [*The National Archives*, BT 395/1/75570].

In 1950 the Electoral Register shows her and Geoffrey residing at 131, East End Road in Finchley N2. In that same year a four-page brochure was published by 'The House of the Holy Grail, London'. Its front cover (Figure 5) bears the words 'The Brotherhood of the Essenes asks you all "Are You Aware?"', framed around a photograph of a white Samoyed dog, the same breed as owned by Anna Maria. Some time ago a copy of this brochure was advertised on the *AbeBooks* website at a price of £50 but without displaying or describing the contents of its inner pages. The brochure's photograph had been taken in 1934 by photographer Walter Guiver and shows a dog named Peter of Kobe. It is not known whether Anna Maria was already acquainted with the Brotherhood at the time they produced this brochure.

In 1953 she and Geoffrey were living in Mutton Lane, Potters Bar and in that year she was featured in a photograph (Figure 6) taken on 3 April for *The Daily Mirror* (issue unknown) with her Samoyeds and the garments she had made from their fur. Soon after this she and Geoffrey moved to 24, Osborne Road in Potters Bar, a house they later named St Michael's Cottage, no doubt in homage to St Michael's Tower at the top of Glastonbury Tor where the Brotherhood performed its midnight ceremonies.

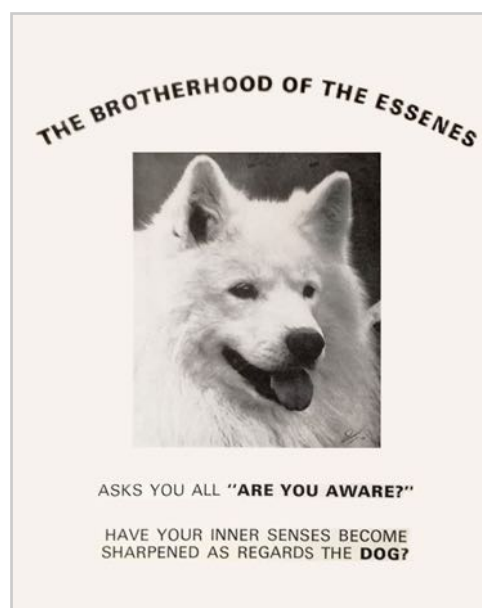


Figure 5 The Brotherhood's brochure, 1950.



Figure 6 Anna Maria at home in Potters Bar with her Samoyeds King Vydor and Snowball, 1953.



Figure 7 Anna Maria clipping the fur from King Vydor and Snowball, photographed on 1 November 1958.

The article shown in Figure 7 appeared in *The Singapore Free Press* on 17 November 1958. Its text reads as follows:

'A 'Shaggy' Dog Story

Two Siberian Husky dogs, kept as pets by a hairdresser, provide enough wool from their shaggy coats to make a winter coat every year for their mistress.

Mrs Thornton-Parry of Potters Bar, Middlesex, regularly trims her two pets – King Vydor and Snowball – and by the autumn has two sacks full of wool to send away for spinning and weaving.

It comes back as balls of wool or a length of cloth. Both Mrs Parry and her husband have made dog-toothed tweed obtained in this way, while wool has been knitted into six jumpers and a soft car rug. The dogs help to earn their keep by posing for advertising.

Below Mrs Parry trims "King Vydor" while Snowball looks on. The large pile of wool shorn from the two huskies will be sent for spinning.

On the right, Mrs Parry, wearing her overcoat made from the clippings of her dogs, takes two pets for a walk.'

The above portrayals in the Press of Anna Maria make no mention of her membership of the Brotherhood or of the fact that the dogs were worshipped by them as divine beings, details which we assume were not disclosed to the photographers or reporters. The Brotherhood attached particular significance to the fact that 'dog' spelt backwards is 'god' which must beg some questions about their grasp of etymology.

A family member recalls that Anna Maria's involvement with the Essenes was said to have begun when she was approached in a High Street by a complete stranger who told her that she was the one they had been looking for to serve as their High Priestess, to which she agreed. If this were the case then one might wonder whether in the subsequent Brotherhood ceremonies her role as their psychic centre was entirely a matter of pretence for her, or whether she came to believe genuinely what the other members were telling her about her purported powers and significance. As for the 'complete stranger' – might this have been Atherton who is known to have had strong associations with Cockfosters, just three miles from Potters

Bar, since the 1940s (and perhaps even earlier)? Had she been picked out in the street because she had her Samoyeds with her? We might be able to infer or guess more about this if we knew whether she owned such dogs prior to the Brotherhood making their brochure in 1950; but we do not.



Figure 8 Anna Maria with Samoyeds and several white kittens, undated but probably 1950s.

Anna Maria and Geoffrey remained at St Michael's Cottage until at least 1980. They are understood to have lived somewhat separate lives owing to Anna Maria's heavy involvement with the Brotherhood. In addition, Geoffrey ran a gents hairdressing business named 'Thornton Parry' at 221, Woodhouse in Friern Barnet.

Anna Maria died in a car accident on 16 September 1980. Her death certificate [Barnet 11 199, 1980 (Q4)] confirms that she was born in Shetland on 14 November 1914. The cause of death was recorded as '1a. Multiple Injuries Accidental'; an inquest was held on 23 October by D M Paul, Coroner for North London. She was taken to Barnet General Hospital but 'was found to be dead on arrival'. She was buried on 29 September at the Trent Park Cemetery, Cockfosters [Grave No CA 1179]. The North London Coroner's Service in Barnet has confirmed that the files from her inquest have not survived.

There are unusual features in her Will and in its execution. She made the Will on 15 October 1964, when her age was just a month short of 50. As her Executors and Trustees she appointed chartered accountant Cyril Henry Appleby (of whom more will be told presently) and solicitor Hedley George Morgan, but not her husband Geoffrey. The Will began by bequeathing five items of jewellery to Appleby, but if he did not survive her by 30 days then these items were to go instead to fellow Essene Marshall Ernest Brown. She also bequeathed to Appleby her gold-plated solid silver ceremonial coronet encrusted with gems, but if he did not survive her by 30 days then this was to go instead to Atherton's close friend the ballet dancer Kathleen MacVitie, but if she also did not survive Anna Maria by 30 days then the coronet was to go to Brown. She also gave to Appleby the freehold house he was living in, Melyenek House in 83, Uphill Road, Mill Hill (a suburb of Barnet), but if he did not survive her for 30 days then that house and its contents were to go upon trust to her husband Geoffrey for his lifetime use and enjoyment, after which they would revert to her residuary estate. She also left to Geoffrey her cash and personal effects in their home if he survived her for 30 days but otherwise they were to go to Appleby. She gave her animals to Geoffrey and Appleby desiring that they 'be put to sleep painlessly immediately by a qualified veterinary surgeon'. All other elements of her estate were left to her Trustees to sell, the proceeds remaining after paying for her funeral etc to enter her residuary estate, the income from which the Trustees would pay to Geoffrey if he survived her by 30 days but otherwise to Appleby, after whose lifetime the remainder was to be distributed in equal shares to three specified animal welfare societies.

One of the jewellery items bequeathed to Appleby was a white gold eternity ring engraved with leaves and, on its inside, the date 9.10.1960. We do not know the significance to her of that date, but possibilities include: the date she first met Appleby; the date when King Vydor or Snowball died; the date when King Gengha was born.

Her Executor Hedley George Morgan died in November 1970 but clearly she did not update her Will accordingly. As it happened Appleby did not survive her either – he had been in the car with her when they had their accident. He too was taken to Barnet General Hospital but died there. His death certificate gives the cause as ‘1a. Transection of spinal cord due to fracture of cervical column’. He was buried close to Anna Maria on 29 September at the Trent Park Cemetery, Cockfosters [Grave No CA 1186]; their entries are consecutive in the burial register. An inquest was held on the same day as Anna Maria's, perhaps conducted conjointly. The files from this inquest have not survived.

The Probate Court now had to appoint new Executors to deal with Anna Maria's estate. It appears that this was a rather long-drawn-out process, as it was not until nearly a year later, on 1 September 1981, that probate was granted to three Executors – Geoffrey, Richard Course and Major-General James Alexander Rowland Robertson CB, CBE, DSO, DL. Her estate was then valued (net) as £115,864.

Geoffrey's business ‘Thornton Parry’ continued operating in Friern Barnet until his death in 1987 but whether he was himself working on site there in the 1980s we do not know.

John Player Brawn

The Brotherhood's dog funeral in 1969 took place in a wooded area near the head (the southern end) of Jericho Valley, more properly named Trevellas Coombe. The valley has steep scrubby flanks at the bottom of which a stream winds its way past the Blue Hills Tin Mine to reach the coast at Trevellas Porth. At the head of the valley this stream passes beneath the B3285 road; about half a mile east of this point is the village of Mithian whilst slightly further to the west of it is the town of St Agnes.

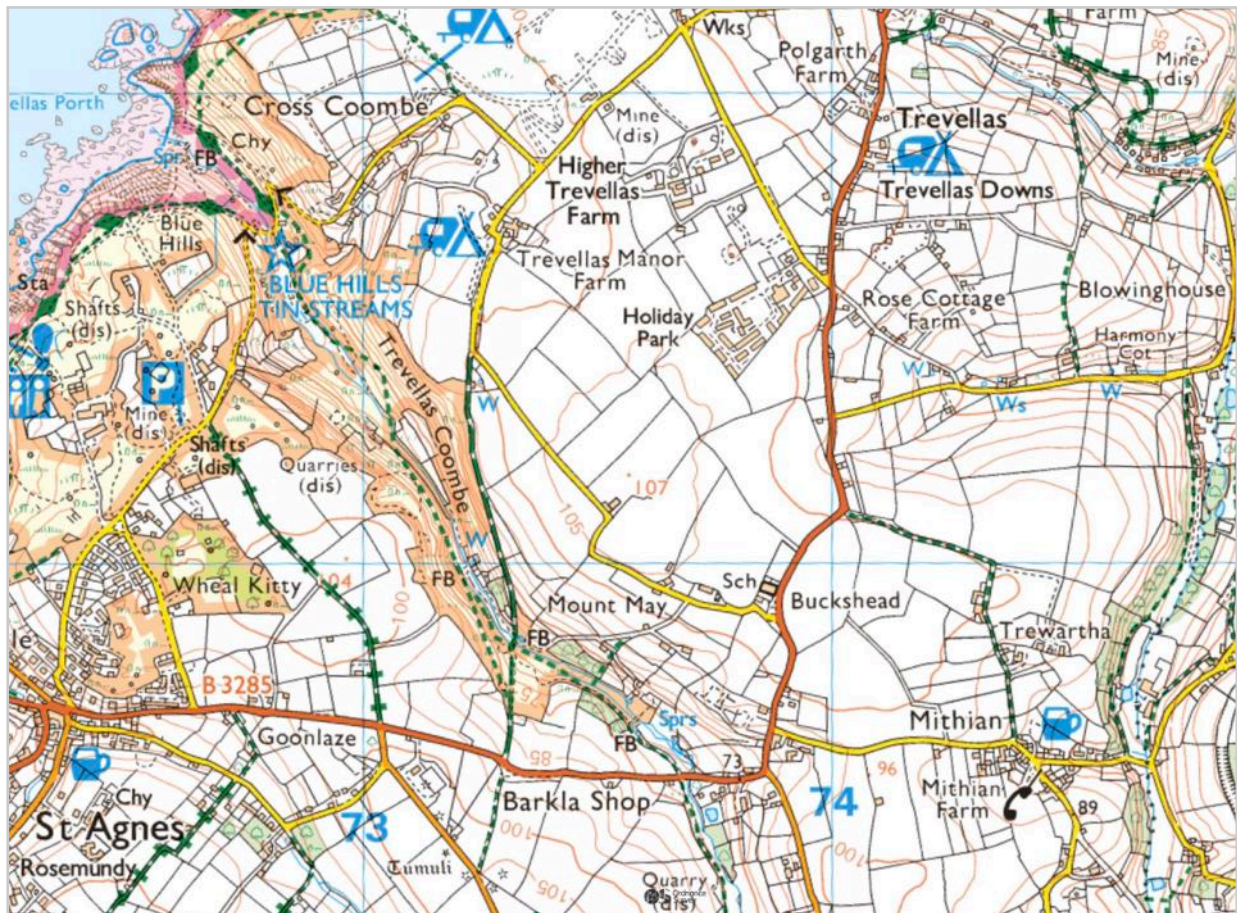


Figure 9a St Agnes, Trevallas Coombe (Jericho Valley) and Mithian in Cornwall.

Less than half a mile north-west of Mithian the B3285 passes through the hamlet of Buckshead from which a narrow single-lane road branches off westwards above Mount May. A yet narrower track branches off this in turn and leads down the hillside. The second turning to the left from this track leads directly to the house

from which the funeral was staged. At that time the house was named Beit Hamal Achim or 'House of Angels' but in former times it had been known as Fernhill, to which name it has reverted since being sold in 1982. In 1969 it was owned, freehold, by John Player Brawn and occupied by him and his wife Elizabeth Compton (née Vincent). The stream running through Jericho Valley passes a little way to the south of the house. The dog was buried in an area of woodland also owned by Brawn and more or less opposite the house, on the other side of the stream.

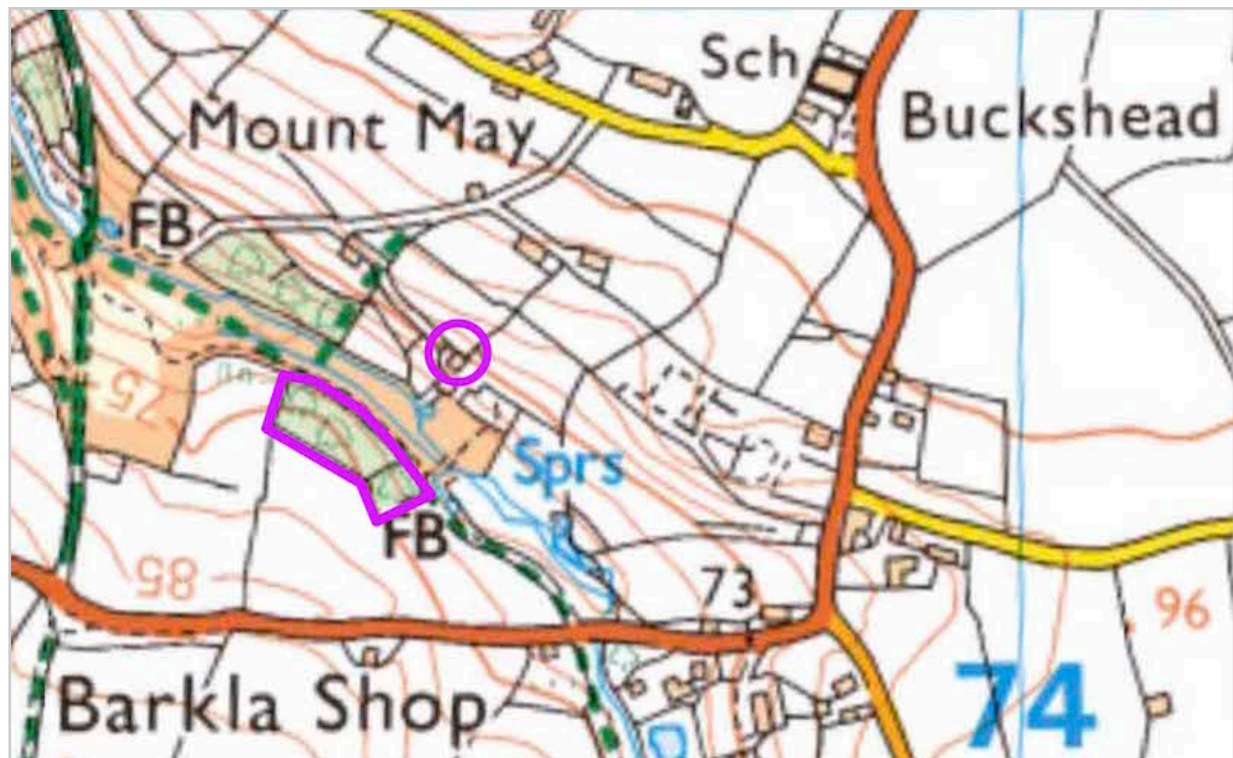


Figure 9b Detail from 9a: Beit Hamal Achim is circled and below it, edged in purple, is the site of the dog funerals.

Some sources state that the Brotherhood owned quite a lot of property in Jericho Valley. The choice of location was not arbitrary – they believed that the valley had been visited by Joseph of Arimathea and Christ, making it a sacred spot which they could revere within their mystical belief system. According to sundry reminiscences posted on the internet the Brotherhood acquired not only Beit Hamal Achim but at least one other house further down the valley and about four acres of land, including the woodland where the dog funeral took place. We do not know when the Brawns first moved into Beit Hamal Achim. It may be that the Brotherhood financed the purchase of it on the understanding that the Brawns would perform some kind of caretaker role there. A report of the dog funeral published a few days afterwards [*Daily Express*, 13 December 1969] appears to have relied to some extent upon the reporter's conversation with Brawn, of whom he wrote:

'The House of Angels is owned by 81-year-old Mr John Brawn and his wife Marguerite, founder-members of the sect which was started 22 years ago by a London doctor. Mr Brawn said "We believe animals have souls just as important as those of men. We have no regular services or ritual. I have studied hard but I still do not understand all that is involved. The leaders tell me what to do."'

There are some doubtful details in the above. The phrase '22 years ago' clearly reflects the passing on of the leadership to Bennetto when Atherton died in 1957 but we know that Atherton had founded the group long before, in the 1920s. The mention of 'Marguerite' is curious. Perhaps the reporter confused Brawn's wife Elizabeth with another female in the group; or, perhaps 'Marguerite' was an alternative name used by Elizabeth in her role in the Brotherhood.

Another reporter wrote [*Western Daily Press*, 11 December 1969]:

'John Brawn said "Although we are all Christians, our aim is to protect animals and try to make people realise they must not be exploited. King Dog symbolises the animal kingdom we are pledged to save." King Dog was owned by the group's medium Anna-Maria who claims to pass on orders to the group from Heaven.'

The Brawns remained at Beit Hamal Achim until becoming patients at Barncoose Hospital, Redruth in 1976. There they died, within three days of each other – John on 5 November and Elizabeth on 8 November. Their joint funeral took place at St Agnes Parish Church and their interment in St Agnes Cemetery, being reported as follows [*The West Briton and Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 18 November 1976]:

J P Brawn Mrs E C Brawn St Agnes

Mr John Player Brawn and his wife, Mrs Elizabeth Compton Brawn, both aged 88, of Jericho Valley, St Agnes, who had been in Barncoose Hospital for some time, died there within three days of each other. For many years they lived at St Agnes. There are no children.

The double funeral of Mr and Mrs Brawn took place in St Agnes Parish Church, the Vicar, the Rev A M Williamson officiating. Mr W G Stevens was organist; internment was in St Agnes Cemetery.

Mr and Mrs Brawn were members of a religious order known as the Brotherhood of the Essenes and representatives who attended from London were Mrs A M Thornton-Parry and Messrs C H [Cyril Henry] Appleby, T Capindale and M C [sic – E?] Brown.

Other mourners were Mr and Mrs W W Vincent, nephew and niece, Mr W P Vincent, great-nephew, Mesdames R Greenbank, F K Branfield, N Hornett, C Nicholls, Miss C L Clark, Messrs A M and G Mitchell, H A Dark, ... A Usher, D F Porteous, C R [Christopher Rex?] and J R [sic] Bennetto.'

There appears to be no gravestone for them.

Probate of John's estate, valued at £14,483, was granted on 11 January 1977 as also was probate over Elizabeth's, valued at just £873. The Executor of John's Will was Cyril Henry Appleby (one of those who had attended his funeral). In the Will John bequeathed the house and the land and all his other possessions to Elizabeth during her lifetime, but after her death (or if she predeceased him) it was all to go to Anna Maria. In the event, as John died first the estate passed transiently to Elizabeth and thence to Anna Maria.

Cyril Henry Appleby

As noted above, Cyril Henry Appleby attended the Brawns' funeral in 1976. His involvement in the Brotherhood is interesting for his early association with Effingham. He was born in 1904 [Lambeth 1d 442, 1904 (Q3)] to parents Robert Appleby, a nurseryman florist of Brixton Hill, and his wife Anna Maria (née Bruno) who had married at St Luke, Paddington on 26 January 1893. The 1911 Census finds the family living at 264, Brixton Hill, whilst the 1921 Census finds them at 'Heathcote' in Charlton Road, Shepperton, Cyril being employed as a clerk with the accountancy firm Messrs Gerard Van der Linde & Son of 4, Fenchurch Avenue, London EC3.

Cyril married in 1935 to Betty Constance (née) Freeman and by 1938 they were living at 'Brioni' in High Park Avenue, East Horsley, near the northern end of Effingham Common. The 1939 National Register finds them there, giving his date of birth as 21 June 1904 and hers as 26 November 1912. Alongside her name is written 'British Red Cross' and some other words that are illegible, whilst alongside his name is written, in the same hand, 'Effingham Section, Surrey', probably referring to some organisation concerned with wartime precautions. He was now a chartered accountant, working in London at Aldwych House, WC2. At this time Atherton and his family, as well as the Brawns, were living in Effingham at Dunley Hill and it seems plausible that Cyril was drawn into the Brotherhood through becoming somehow acquainted with them while he was living in East Horsley.

Cyril and Betty had evidently separated or divorced by 1945, as in that year Betty was no longer listed with Cyril at 'Brioni' in the Electoral Register; moreover, in January 1945 her solicitors had announced in *The London Gazette* [Number 36906, Page 542] that after the first week of February she wished her surname to be known as Upton instead of Appleby]. In 1947 she remarried to Kenneth Wilfred Upton Hunn [Hampstead 3c 2126, 1947 (Q4)]. Nothing more is known of them except that she seems to have died in southern Australia in 2010.

Cyril appears not to have remarried and after 1951 lived in the London area until his death in Barnet on 16 September 1980. His Will named three Executors including Anna Maria. He left everything to her if she survived him, but otherwise all was to go to animal charities. As noted, she did not survive him.

No clue has yet been found as to why he had been living in a house owned by Anna Maria. Its unusual name 'Menyelek' is presumed to have chimed in some way with the outlook of the Brotherhood: legend has it that Menyelek was the son born to the Queen of Sheba and fathered by King Solomon who was reputed to have held a high respect for animals' sentience.

Marshall Ernest Brown

Marshall, in the guise of Brother Mark, was one of the earliest members of the Brotherhood founded by Atherton and he makes several appearances in our primary article. More has since been discovered about him. He was born at West Bergholt in Essex in 1896 to parents Ernest George Brown and his wife Kate (née Bruce) who had married in Essex in 1886. By 1911 the family was living at Brighton Villa, Stoneygate Road in Leicester where Ernest was employed by Leicestershire County Council as a manual instructor; Marshall was attending school. The 1921 Census finds Marshall living at a boarding school in Church House, Chigwell and employed as an assistant schoolmaster. He claimed to have been awarded an MA from Oxford University and so may have undertaken a bachelor degree there in the preceding decade (there are no online sources for checking this).

In 1923 he was appointed to the teaching staff of Kingston Grammar School, where he would specialise in classics and history. This would have been a quite prestigious position to be offered and suggests that his claim to an Oxford degree would have been verified.



Figure 10 Marshall Ernest Brown outside Kingston Grammar School, 1930s.

The school has an online archive (<http://archive.ks.org.uk>) holding scans of its magazine *The Kingstonian* and this contains many references to Marshall during the 38 years he taught there. The first of these occurs in the December 1923 issue [Vol III, No 4] which observes his arrival as follows: ‘We extend a warm welcome to Mr M E Brown ... [and others] ... who have all joined the staff this term’. Marshall quickly became a prominent figure in the school's Gibbon Society, named after its alumnus pupil, the eminent historian Edward Gibbon. In 1924, for example, he was noted in the magazine [Vol IV, No 1] as performing as a judge in a mock trial staged by the Society.

The school's website also features seven photographs from about the 1930s submitted by a former pupil. One of these (Figure 10) shows Marshall in his gown standing outside the school.

He appears to have been an active member of the Putney Literary Debating Society, as a newspaper article [*South Western Star*, 22 February 1952] reported his chairing a forum convened by the Society in which the headmaster of Kingston Grammar School participated, debating the role of intelligence tests for schoolchildren.

In 1959 he was elected an Honorary fellow of the Gibbon Society. In 1961 he retired, his departure being noted in the September issue of *The Kingstonian* [Vol XII, No 5] as shown in Figure 11.

Since about 1937 Marshall and his wife Clara Isabel (née Wallis) had lived for two decades in Putney, at Flat 5 in No 4, Chartfield Road, where they are listed in the 1956 Electoral Register. During 1957-61, however, they were listed at ‘Polruan’ in Fordbridge Road, Sunbury. It appears that upon his retiring they moved to Cornwall, probably to be close to Jericho Valley and its Essenic activities, given that Clara's address when she died in 1967 was ‘Pol Major’ in the road named Polperro West on the outskirts of St Agnes. Like the Brawns she died at the Barncoose Hospital in Redruth. Marshall seems then to have moved back to London where he died in the Haringey district in 1978, registered as ‘Mark Marshall E Brown’. He left no Will and there were no children from the marriage.

Marshall's involvement in the Brotherhood, with its astrology, triunism, dog worshipping and all the rest is made the more curious in his case if he had indeed undergone the rigours of an Oxford degree followed by a long scholarly career in classics and history, with all that that required in the rational evaluation of evidence and valid historical appraisal, especially in an era when science had already made great strides in developing a consistent view of the universe and its workings.

Herbert Jose Bennetto

Bennetto, who would take over the leadership of the Brotherhood after Atherton's death, was born in Exeter on 29 September 1907 to parents Edward Bennetto, a grocer, and his wife Clara Eliza (née Miller) who had married in Devon in 1894. He believed himself to have descended from a Spaniard brought to the Cornish shores by the Spanish Armada. In 1911 the family were living at 92, Tiverton Road in Exeter and were still there in 1921.

In 1930 Bennetto married to Bertha Minnie (née) Holloway. She had been born in Pimlico to parents George Holloway, a letter sorter with the Post Office, and his wife Minnie Holyer (née Smith) who had married at St James, Enfield on 22 February 1897. Bennetto and Bertha married in Staffordshire but why they were in that county is unknown.

It appears that they settled in Tettenhall, a village in the north-western outskirts of Wolverhampton, where Jose practised as an osteopath. In 1932 their unusually-named child Naffer Jose Bennetto was born [Wolverhampton 6b 794, 1932 (Q2)]. The 1939 National Register lists them there (but with Naffer's entry redacted), together with Bertha's parents, in a house named ‘Cintra’ in Wergs Road. Bennetto was described as a doctor of osteopathy and physio-medicine. Against his name, in the same handwriting, is a note

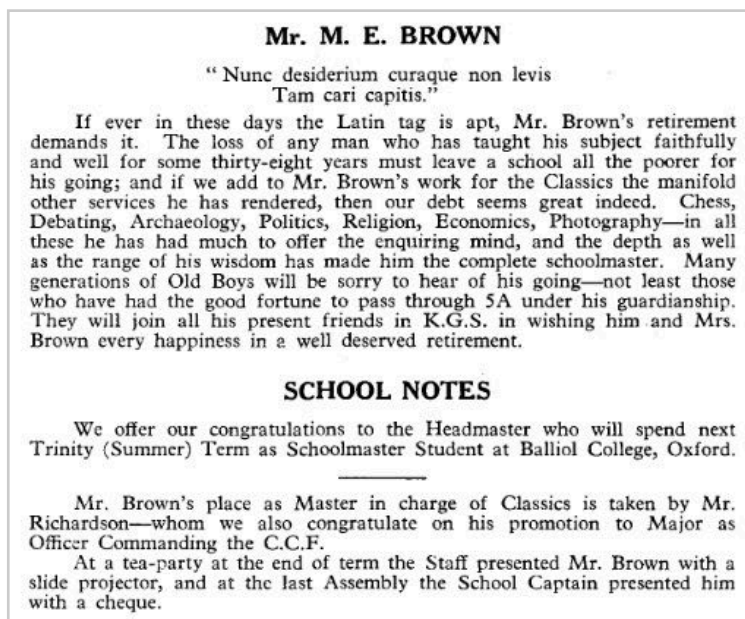


Figure 11 Marshall's retirement, 1961.

'Services accepted by Tettenhall, offered Sunhaven Hospital, Surrey'. The interpretation of this is uncertain, but it may be that Bennetto was suggesting that working in 'Sunhaven Hospital' could exempt him from military service. This is curious, given that at this time Atherton was in the middle of his bankruptcy hearings at which it was confirmed that his Sunhaven medical facility had ceased operating in 1937, even

OSTEOPATH'S PROTEST AT CALL-UP

That his action was taken as a protest was told to the Willenhall magistrates today by Jose Herbert Bennetto (34), of Cintra, Wergs-road, Tettenhall, when charged with failing to report for military service on July 16th.

Superintendent J. H. Davison said that following information that Bennetto had not reported at Aldershot, he saw him at Tettenhall this morning, when Bennetto said, "I do not intend to go, only under arrest."

"I consider that I am not under military law inasmuch as my profession under the National Service Acts has been granted no consideration whatever," Bennetto told the bench.

"We are not acknowledged in civil or military law, and in consequence men like myself, trained in the art and science of osteopathy and naturopathic healing, are not used to the best of their ability. Therefore we should be exempt from military service, in order that we may continue to do the work of healing among the civilian population."

Bennetto was remanded to await an escort.

Osteopathy is a system of treatment of any disease of bones.

though he was still living there. By 1942 the authorities were intent upon Bennetto joining up for military service. A newspaper article [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 27 July 1942] reported that he had been brought in front of magistrates for failing to report at Aldershot (Figure 12). He argued that if he were to join the military his healing capabilities would be wasted. He stated 'I do not intend to go, only under arrest'. He was then 'remanded to await an escort'. By September, however, he was evidently still in Tettenhall as he must surely have been the author of the letter of protest [*Stafford Newsletter*, 12 September 1942] shown in Figure 13. He may have largely avoided active military service, although in an obituary for him (Figure 16) his second child Christopher Rex stated that he had served in the 'medical corps'.

CORRESPONDENCE

Unregistered Practitioners.

To the Editor of the "Stafford Newsletter."

Sir—May I draw your attention to a serious injustice? I refer to the legislation which refuses to exempt Osteopaths from military service, and which refuses to employ their great talents when they are called-up.

Highly skilled practitioners in Natural Methods of Healing are being called from their practices and their profound knowledge and experience is wasted on the grounds that they are not *registered* practitioners. The man in whose hands I trust my life is not being used to restore health in the Services.

Health is a precious gift, and in a free country one should be able to choose the method of healing one knows from experience to be most beneficial. It is more than time that prejudice and ignorance was swept aside and our legislation adjusted to give due recognition to this branch of Medical Science.

Yours, etc.,

JEHU.

Tettenhall, Wolverhampton.

Figure 12 Bennetto remanded, July 1942.

Figure 13 Letter of protest, September 1942.

After the war he was still in Wolverhampton. In 1946 he chaired a public health lecture at the Town Hall there [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 9 December 1946]. In 1950 he was criticised at an inquest into the death of a woman named Gertrude Susan Bishop [*Daily Express*, 1 September 1950]. She had died from haemorrhage and heart strain. Bennetto had been treating her with his 'naturopathic' potions, including plantain, geums, tincture of myrrh, witch hazel and raspberry leaves, all of which were deemed by a Home Office pathologist (called as a witness) to be wholly ineffective for her condition. Bennetto said that he had advised her to go to hospital but she and her husband had been satisfied with his treatment of her. The pathologist said she would not have died had she received proper treatment. The jury concluded that Bennetto had been very unwise in continuing to treat her after telling her to go to hospital.

Bennetto had been treating patients in Glastonbury as well as in Wolverhampton, travelling several times each week between the two towns. Up to 1952 his Glastonbury practice had been based in Somerset

House, Magdalene Street but in October he moved this to the house 'Wyrall' in Northover, a village in the outskirts of Glastonbury [*The Central Somerset Gazette*, 7 November 1952].

In 1955 Bertha divorced Bennetto on the grounds of his admitted adultery with his much younger unmarried receptionist Ursula Fanny (née) Chidlow [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 4 March 1955]. Ursula had been born on 22 May 1922 [Mt Drayton 6a 1151, 1922 (Q3)] notwithstanding that the latter newspaper article gave her age as '28'. Bennetto and Bertha had produced only one child, Naffer, during their 25 years of marriage, whilst he and Ursula had already produced one, Christopher Rex David Bennetto [Wolverhampton 9b 1164, 1955 (Q1)]. In the GRO birth index this latter entry gives Christopher's mother's maiden name as Bennetto but bears a handwritten amendment indicating a re-registration performed in 1973 correcting the mother's maiden name to Chidlow [Wolverhampton 9b 3350, 1973 (Q3)]. Later in 1955 Bennetto and Ursula married [Kidderminster 9d 433, 1955 (Q3)]. They produced a further four children: Benjamin J, Grace Elizabeth, Jonathan D and Priscilla Davina.

Like Atherton, Bennetto gave some of his time to making presentations to various bodies, such as the Walsall Rotarians [*Walsall Observer*, 15 August 1959] and the Lichfield Rotary Club [*The Mercury*, 12 August 1960]. These talks were concerned with osteopathic matters such as spinal health and posture.

His role in the Brotherhood came to public attention in 1967 through an interview he gave following their annual convocation at Glastonbury [*Central Somerset Gazette*, 30 June 1967] in which he confirmed that he was the leader. He expressed his certainty that the second Advent of Christ was imminent and that Glastonbury was the divinely appointed place for its occurrence. He claimed that angelic forces 'were funneled to the Tor through natural ground formations and there was nowhere else in the world with the same attributes'. He also said of the Brotherhood that 'most of them know who they were in a previous life "but we keep it quiet" because the only person who benefited was the person himself by trying to do better in the second life than he did in the first'. He had found commuting three times a week between Glastonbury and Wolverhampton too much and was now concentrating his work on his much larger practice in Wolverhampton.

Two years later the funeral, which he led, of Anna Maria's Gengha the 'King Dog' at Beit Hamal Achim hit the headlines, as detailed further in the next section.

The annual convocation in 1971 was described very fully in the Press [*Central Somerset Gazette*, 25 June 1971] but does not name the attending members of the Brotherhood. Quite a lot was written about Anna Maria whilst not naming her:

'The "Divine Message" came from a powerful woman medium who said that the advent, or second coming of Christ, would take place with an animal beside him. Animals, she said, were voluntary beings on this earth. They came without the power of tongues in order to test mankind. She said that we now stood at the fringe of the advent and the message was: Mankind must alter and completely embrace all animal creation. She revealed that at the time Christ was born the animals present in the manger spoke, Their tongues were released.

The 100 people present [in the Town Hall] were invited to gaze intently at two paintings of a dog when the proceedings were over for the evening.'

After these doings in the Town Hall the Essenes performed their ceremony on the Tor, filmed by *Westward Television*. Bennetto was not mentioned.

In the following year Bennetto was named in an article about the convocation at which the Brotherhood prepared a 'love feast' in the Town Hall for more than a hundred hippies. 'We welcome everybody', he said [*Evening Post*, 22 June 1972]. A different article reports Anna Maria (but without naming her) as follows [*Central Somerset Gazette*, 30 June 1972]:

'The mystic Centre of the Brotherhood, a small dark-haired petite woman, said in her recorded talk that when man's soul became pure and humble he will be able to tune into the wavelength of animal creation. She also said that at the time of the Second Coming mortals alive on earth and living divine law would be lifted up into the atmosphere. The secret of the resurrection was change, thus returning the world to the state of the Garden of Eden. As for the special position of the animal kingdom, the Centre said there was an indication of the place of the dog when dog was spelt backwards.'

Later in 1972 a High Court case involving the Brotherhood drew to its conclusion when nineteen of them, including Bennetto and Ursula, were awarded damages for libel against *The News of the World* newspaper, which had run an article headed 'Cult crazy Britain – a little dog is sacrificed to the Angels', claiming that the Brotherhood had sacrificially killed a dog as part of their ritual on the Tor [*Express and Star*

(*Wolverhampton*), 8 November 1972; *Wells Journal*, 17 November 1972]. The amounts awarded were not stated.

In 1973 a second dog funeral was conducted by the Brotherhood at Beit Hamal Achim, as reported at length in the article shown in Figure 14 [*The Sunday Express*, 2 September 1973]. This dog, whose name was not given, was 14 years old and so had apparently been born at about the same time as Gengha, that is, in about 1959. In what way, if any, these two had been related to the dogs King Vydor and Snowball photographed with Anna Maria in 1958 is unknown, but they were possibly their offspring. The dog buried in 1973 may also have been, in the minds of the Brotherhood, a 'King Dog', that is, a successor in that role to Gengha. However this may be, it was evidently given an even more elaborate and expensive funeral which was attended by about seventeen members of the Brotherhood.

White goddess has a £2,000 Harrods funeral—for a dog

by HENRY MACRORY

THE FUNERAL cortege was impressive. The 17 mourners arrived in five chauffeur-driven black Daimlers after a 260-mile journey. The women wore cloaks of velvet and satin, the men wore smart black suits.

No expense was spared. The overall cost was more than £2,000. But the mourners were not there to pay their last respects to a dearly loved friend or relative. The object of their devotions was a 14-year-old Samoyed dog.

The funeral was arranged by the Brotherhood of the Essenes, a small sect made up of carefully chosen professional people who believe the animal kingdom plays a vital part in Christianity.

The white Samoyed was to them a divine creature.

His death two weeks ago was a major event, for it indicated to the Essenes that the Day of Judgment is near. And that meant making hurried arrangements to ensure that the Samoyed got the best possible funeral.

The leader of the brotherhood, osteopath Dr. Jose Bennetto, of Penn Road, Wolverhampton, said: "It was a very important ceremony, but that is all I am prepared to tell you at present."

The burial was organised by a branch of funeral directors J. H. Kenyon at Harrods department store in Knightsbridge, London. They provided the five Daimlers as well as a hearse to carry the dog's silver-handled white coffin.

Magnetism

The mourners gathered in London and were driven to Truro, Cornwall. After spending the night at hotels they were taken on to the nearby village of Mithian for the funeral.

The service was held in the grounds of a house in the village called Beit Hamal Achim. Arabic for "Place of the Angels." The sect believes that the area is the centre of spiritual magnetism.

Mrs. Dora Bailey, owner of the Brookdale Hotel, Truro, where most of the mourners stayed the night, said: "They were the most unusual guests we have ever had. They even brought photographers with them to film the occasion."

"In four of the Daimlers there were four mourners each. In the fifth one there was a woman whom I believe was their 'goddess'. She was dressed all in white and had a black mark on her forehead. The other ladies were in black velvet capes with large stiff collars and satin lining. All the men wore black ties and dark suits."

"Fourteen of the mourners stayed with us, including the goddess. I did not speak to any of them myself, although I met Dr. Bennetto a week before when he came down to make the arrangements."

Ordered out

"The morning of the funeral they all had breakfast in bed. Then the goddess came down and ordered some of the mourners out of the hotel because, she said, they were spoiling the vibrations. It was all very theatrical."

"I was told by one of the men that the funeral directors' fees alone were £2,000, but there would have been other costs on top of that. My own charges for instance, came to £68. We had them here once before, several years ago. Then they buried another Samoyed dog but the funeral was nothing like as big."

At Mithian the dog was interred in a special tomb with a hand-carved interior. Owner of the land is 85-year-old Mr. John Brawn, another member of the brotherhood. But Mr. Brawn, like the rest of the sect, would not talk about details of the ceremony.

The Essenes take their name from a Jewish sect active at the time of Christ and who are said to have written the Dead Sea Scrolls. The movement was restarted in this country about 50 years ago.

Figure 14 The second King Dog funeral at Beit Hamal Achim, 1973.

Their numbers appear to have been about thirty, six of them in Wolverhampton, in 1976 when a brief article (Figure 15) was published about Bennetto and Anna Maria [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 9 July 1976]. He was still the leader and she was ‘Her Supreme Highness’, visiting Wolverhampton to advocate caring for animals.



Figure 15 Anna Maria visits Wolverhampton, 1976.

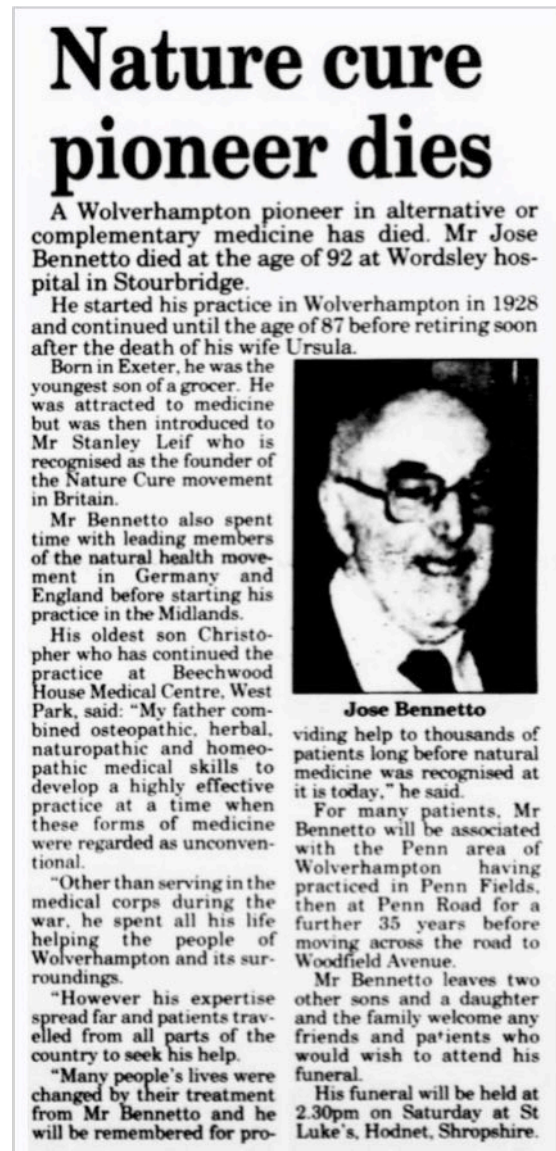


Figure 16 Obituary for Jose Bennetto, 2000.

By the end of 1980 several leading players in the Brotherhood had departed from this earth: the Brawns, the Browns, Cyril Henry Appleby and Anna Maria Thornton-Parry had all gone. We can find no mention after this date of Bennetto engaged in Essenic activities. His first wife Bertha Minnie, who had not remarried, had moved to the outskirts of Manchester where she died, in the town of Blackrod, on 30 August 1987; her estate was valued as not exceeding £70,000.

Christopher Rex became an osteopath and medical herbalist working alongside his father in Woodfield Avenue, Penn in the south-western outskirts of Wolverhampton. In about 1989 he contracted a virus that seriously damaged his heart and in August 1991 he was given a year to live without a heart transplant. Shortly afterwards he was able to have such a transplant, affording him a further decade of life [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 26 November 1991].

In 1999 Bennetto's youngest child Priscilla ('Cilla') Davina, who had married Darren P Mitchell and produced a son, died aged only 36 'after an illness bravely borne' [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 4 June 1999].

A year later, on 1 April, Bennetto died, in a hospital at Stourbridge, aged 92 [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 13 April 2000] as seen in Figure 16. He was interred with Ursula, their grave (Figure 17) presumed to be in the churchyard of St Luke in Hodnet, Shropshire (as that is where his funeral took place).

One year after this, on 15 January, his son Christopher Rex died suddenly from heart failure, aged just 46. He had undergone a kidney transplant three years previously. An article paying warm tribute to him was subsequently published [*Express and Star (Wolverhampton)*, 20 January 2001].



Figure 17 The grave of Herbert Jose and Ursula Bennetto.

The funeral of King Gengha in 1969

The funeral of King Gengha at Beit Hamal Achim in 1969 appears not to have hit the headlines in the Press to the same extent as did the funeral of the second dog – claimed to be Gengha's sibling – in 1973. On the other hand, whilst there appears to be no public exposure of the filming undertaken by the Brotherhood at the 1973 event, we do have the benefit of some clips from the 1969 filming available on *YouTube*, as noted earlier. We have not been able so far to ascertain how those clips on the *Wyrd Corners* website had been obtained, nor whether the producer of them had been able to view the entire original film. Where that film is currently located we have no idea.

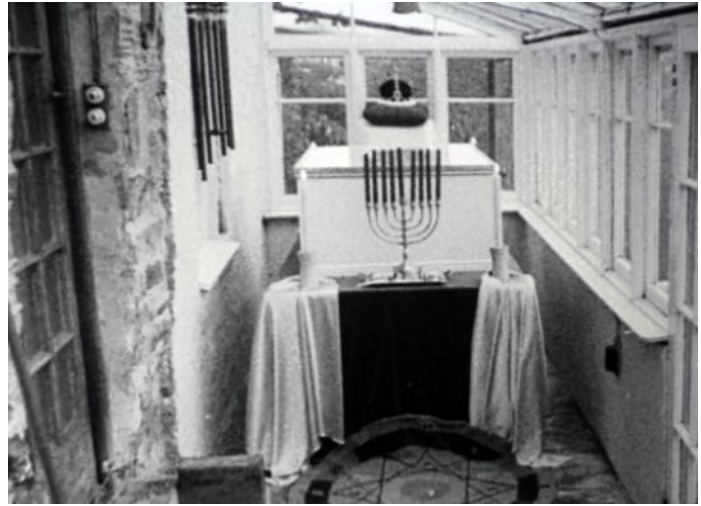


Figure 18 Gengha lying in state at Beit Hamal Achim.

From the clips we see that Gengha had lain in state overnight in the rather ramshackle conservatory running along the south side of the house (Beit Hamal Achim), his immaculate glossy white coffin with gold ornamentation mounted on a table with candles and items of regalia. On the top of the coffin was an image of a crown above the words

GENGHA
THE INTERMEDIATE KING DOG
OF THE ANIMAL PLANES IN
THE KINGDOM OF GOD

His grave had been prepared, at the direction of the Brotherhood, by a local band player Bill Johnson, according to a letter shown by film maker Samuel Bestwick in his project 'King Dog?' at https://www.artcornwall.org/exhibitions/Miners_Institute/King_Dog.htm, in which he presents a small number of slides about the event. Bill said:

‘They looked like well-to-do people. They parked their big cars with “up-country” number plates, in Barkla Shop. I had to prepare the grave and then disappear while the interment took place but I couldn't resist having a peek. I didn't see much and after the service I had to backfill the grave and tidy up the site.’



Figure 19 Beit Hamal Achim in 1969.

Further clips from the *Wyrd Corners* film show the members of the Brotherhood emerging from the house and carrying the coffin, as well as regalia on cushions, down to the grave site, followed by highlights from the ritual performed there.



Figure 20 Jose Bennetto (at right) leads the coffin-bearing procession from the house to the burial site.



Figure 21 A closer view of the coffin.



Figure 22 This is the crown image on the top of the coffin, visible in Figure 21 as the dark patch behind the front-most bearer.



Figure 23 Jose Bennetto with his crozier and other regalia.



Figure 24 More members, some carrying regalia, led by the Supreme Goddess Anna Maria.



Figure 25 This could well be Marshall Ernest Brown, one of the most senior members, bearing the crown that had stood upon the coffin overnight.



Figure 26 Bearing the gold-plated, solid silver, gem-studded coronet for the Supreme Goddess.



Figure 27 More ladies in the procession, bearing a chalice, censer and other regalia.



Figure 28 The crown bearer; on his chest is the Star of David, seen on Atherton in Article 12, Fig. 59.



Figure 29 The ladies, other than Anna Maria, assemble on one side of the grave and coffin.



Figure 30 The gentlemen assemble on the other side, with Anna Maria standing apart, her coronet lying ready on the cushion beside her; Bennetto recites prayers from his text.



Figure 31 Anna Maria, wearing her coronet and holding the white rose chalice, utters incantations.



Figure 32 The ceremonial staffs are joined above the coffin.



Figure 33 The Brotherhood encircles the grave at the conclusion of the ceremony.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1, 2: from Bahai Library Online (<https://bahai-library.com>)

Figure 3: from the Hathi Trust (<https://babel.hathitrust.org>)

Figures 4, 12, 15, 16: from the British Newspaper Library courtesy of the British Library Board

Figure 5: from AbeBooks (<https://www.abebooks.com>) (but no longer listed)

Figure 6: from the internet, unattributed

Figure 7: from *Singapore Free Press* online (<https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers>)

Figures 8, 18-33: from the *Wyrd Corners* film on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xmVjRzmuGrE>)

Figure 9: from the Ordnance Survey

Figures 10, 11: from *The Kingstonian* (<http://archive.kgs.org.uk>)

Figures 13, 14: from kind permission of Reach plc / *Mirrorpix*

Figure 17: from *Ancestry*, contributed by Lillie Bennetto in December 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The supplement could not have been written without the findings made by Dr Rupert White to whom ELHG is most grateful. Thanks are due also to a relative of Anna Maria Thornton-Parry for supplying further information about her. The *Wyrd Corners* website's video about the Brotherhood of the Essenes has been an invaluable source of images about the happenings in Jericho Valley. We are grateful also to the North London Coroner's Service in Barnet for confirming with The London Archives that the inquest files have not survived for Anna Maria Thornton-Parry or for Cyril Henry Appleby.

Photographs of Villages near Effingham – Bookham High Street – Supplement

RICHARD BRACKENBURY

This supplementary article provides additional insights into the Brackenbury business in Bookham High Street and presents some interesting new images. It also corrects a detail in the primary article (Volume 5, No 40) concerning the lean-to at the side of the main building.

Brackenbury's in Bookham High Street

I grew up in the High Street in the 1950s and 1960s at No 15/17, then called Panton House. I would be interested to know if there is any evidence that it was called this before my paternal grandfather Herbert Henry Brackenbury moved there. My grandmother Florence Gertrude (née Sayers) always said he chose this name because he had worked at Panton House in London (in Haymarket). In the 1930s part of the building was occupied by Alexander Charles Annetts, presumably as Emily Balchin's tenant, running a builders, decorators and undertakers business jointly with A H Hutchins, who lived elsewhere; their advertisements appear in *The Bookhams Bulletin* in the early 1930s (Figure 1). Florence remembered that when my grandfather took over the builders and decorators business from Annetts in the late 1930s she insisted that they would not continue the village undertakers side of the business.

For the first few years of my life my maternal grandparents, Wilfred Henry Jarratt and his wife Margaret Mary (née Casey), lived at Old Forge Cottage next door. I remember a large inglenook fireplace, and a very long yard and garden that extended back to East Street.

The primary article [Volume 5, Article 40] asserted that the lean-to where Brackenbury's sold hardware was that which adjoined Old Forge Cottage, being part of Wyatt's smithy. However, this is not the case. Brackenbury's lean-to was a separate structure built onto the side of Panton House for use as an office for the building firm. It must predate my grandfather taking over as it is visible on the 1935 OS map. I can remember a very old desk, brass letter scales and a candlestick telephone.

Figure 18 in the primary article probably captures the moment when No 11 was being converted from a hairdressers to a bank. The lower parts of the windows are whitewashed and the small signboard under the curved windows is that of 'H. Brackenbury and Son, Builders and Decorators'. Figure 2 shows a photograph of this sign whilst Figure 3 shows that of 'A. C. Annetts', both these signs having survived for many years in my late mother's garage.

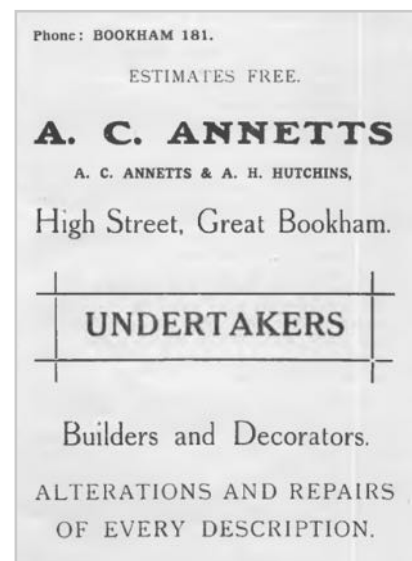


Figure 1 Annetts in *The Bookhams Bulletin*, No 2, Dec 1933.



Figure 2 Sign for Brackenbury & Son.



Figure 3 Sign for A C Annetts.

Figure 4 is a photograph of Panton House probably dating from autumn 1954, judging by the window boxes. It shows my mother Veronica Susan Brackenbury with myself and my sister Anne Brackenbury. I would have been nearly four and my sister looks nearly two.



Figure 4 Panton House, probably about autumn 1954.

The primary article's discussion of the numbering at Panton House is interesting. My memory is that in the early 1950s the National Westminster Bank was at No 11. Above the bank was No 13, a flat occupied by Mrs Wallace – access was through a narrow arch between No 11 and No 15, now bricked up. Strictly, Panton House was the name assigned to just No 15, not to the entire building, whilst No 17 was the office and builders yard. When the house was converted into two shops in the mid-1950s the left-hand shop became No 15 and the right-hand shop, Brackenbury's, No 17. No 15's first tenant was a shoe shop called Valli.

What is now No 17A, Brackenbury's shop, was built in about 1961 as an extension to the earlier shop. The upstairs was originally used a showroom for gas cookers; we also had an office upstairs and a sitting room at the back. When my parents moved in 1972 they sold No 15 and No 17 to the National Westminster Bank. The connecting doors between Nos 17 and 17A were blocked, although my parents continued to rent the yard and storage sheds at the back of Nos 15 and 17.

My mother sold the business in 1998 when she turned 70, but she continued to work there part-time until her late 80s.

The remainder of this article presents some external and internal views of Brackenbury's in the later 1950s and early 1960s.



Figures 5, 6 Brackenbury's, about 1957-59.



Figures 7, 8 Brackenbury's as photographed by local photographer Edwin John Mullis, then living in Bookham at 2, Loxley Cottages in Manor House Lane, 1962.



Figure 9 View from Brackenbury's across the High Street towards Harry Edward Drake's grocers shop, perhaps mid-1950s. The occasion or reason for the pipes and drums parade is unknown.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1: from the archives of the Leatherhead & District Local History Society

Figures 2-9: from Richard Brackenbury

Volume 6 Index – Supplement

CHRISTOPHER JOHN HOGGER

This supplement to the Index in Volume 6 notes the misspelling of the surname of Bookham doctor William James Procter.

Introduction

Dr Procter, a well known former doctor in Bookham, is mentioned many times in Article 54 (in Volume 6) where his 'Procter' surname is correctly spelt; however, in the volume's Index it is given as 'Proctor'.

Details

Dr Procter was born in 1864 [Settle 91 21, 1864 (Q1)], married in 1889 [Greenwich 1d 1430, 1889 (Q3)] and died in 1915 [Epsom 2a 83, 1914 (Q4)], probate over his estate being granted to his widow Alice Martha on 23 November 1915. In all these sources his surname is given as 'Procter', as it is also in all his census returns from 1881 up to 1911.

However, in many local newspaper reports of his activities his surname is spelt wrongly as 'Proctor', a mistake that appears also in some historical accounts of Bookham. The same mistake even appears on the website of the Imperial War Museum's *War Memorials Register* where, on the page

<https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/100220>

there is displayed a photograph of the beautiful brass memorial plaque dedicated to him at Great Bookham's St Nicolas Church. The IWM webpage spells his surname wrongly both in its title and in the transcript it presents of the plaque's wording, despite the fact that his correct surname is clearly visible in the photograph. The webpage also misspells the name of the church.



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