The Deepdene, Dorking—Rise and Decline Through Six Centuries

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INTRODUCTION

'The Destruction of the Country House' was the title of an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1974 and the Deepdene, Dorking, demolished a few years earlier, was chosen as the subject of a brief slide sequence to illustrate the decay and final elimination of a once great and beautiful mansion.\(^1\) To-day, travellers along Deepdene Avenue, the A24 Dorking bypass, pass a modern office block called Deepdene House, which occupies the site, pleasantly set among trees on rising ground, against a background of massive rhododendron shrubs. The name Deepdene derives from the deep horseshoe cleft in the hill behind the building.

Albeit the elements of the name are Saxon \(\text{deop denu}\), no written reference to it has been traced before the beginning of the 15th century.\(^2\) When the name first occurs in written records the Deepdene was an unimportant piece of freehold land, almost certainly wooded, lying within the extensive manor of Dorking with Capel. The complicated descent of the manor during the middle ages is not relevant to this article. Suffice it to say that when the first mention of the Deepdene is found, it had reverted, although only briefly, into the hands of Thomas, Earl of Arundel.\(^3\)

EARLY PERIOD

The first name to be specifically associated with the Deepdene is that of John Gylys. At the Dorking manor court held on 14 March 1400 (OS),\(^4\) he made suit against John Bouet and Alice his wife, alleging that at Michaelmas, 32 Richard II (1399), they had carried away four cartloads of his wood from 'le Depedene'. At the court on 11 April 1401, the defendants said they were not guilty and would make their law three-handed at the next court, that is, they would plead their innocence and bring three compurgators, or oath helpers, to swear to the truth of their statement (Fig.1). However, at the following court on 2 May, John Gylys did not appear to prosecute, for which failure he was fined 3d, and the case disappears from the rolls.\(^4\) From this suit it seems reasonable to assume that John Gylys was the tenant of the Deepdene and the first whose name is known.

The next tenants are shadowy figures, names only, occurring in manorial records. The first who can be named with certainty is Richard Palmer who
Fig. 1 Le Depedene, 1399. Extract from Dorking manor court roll, 11 April 1401. Arundel Castle MS. M. 744. Reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, EM, CB, CBE, MC

Translation of the Deepdene entry

John Gylys\(^1\) plaintiff makes suit against John Bouet of Dorking and Alice his wife in a plea of trespass and complains that the same John Bouet and Alice in the feast of St. Michael in the 23rd year of King Richard II in le Depedene 4 cartloads of wood belonging to the same John Gylys carted and carried away to his damages of 3s. And the said defendants say that they are not guilty thereof and wage their law three-handed at the next [court] pledge for the law Nicholas Henle.

\(^1\)Inserted above John Gylys: He does not prosecute [fined] iiid.
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in 1427 held a parcel of land called Depeden, paying 12d per annum rent.\textsuperscript{5} He was probably succeeded by William Palmer and then by Henry Gode, the latter being distrained at the manor court of 30 May 1446 to show by what right he held lands called Depeden, late William Palmers.\textsuperscript{6} The next named tenants, probably in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, are Henry Wood and Henry Rogers,\textsuperscript{5} about whom nothing further has so far been discovered. In the reign of Elizabeth I, George Fuller alias Daye held freely of the lords a grove (gravam) called Dybdeane, containing by estimation 16 acres of woodland, at a rent of 12d per annum.\textsuperscript{7} The wooded character of the holding is thus confirmed. There are several references to George Fuller alias Daye in the manor court rolls, and at the court on 2 October 1573 he was elected ale-taster for the Chipping Borough of the town.\textsuperscript{8} In 1572 he sold Dibden to Nicholas Humfrey and on 11 December that year Nicholas came to the manor court, made his fealty to the lords and acknowledged that he held the property for a yearly rent of 12d.\textsuperscript{7} Some information about Nicholas Humfrey has been discovered, if only tentatively, from manor records and parish registers. He is probably the same Nicholas Humfrey to whom on 30 March 1557 William Wyllott alienated a freehold curtilage of 1 rod of land called Letheers (on the west side of Chart Lane) with a new built house on it,\textsuperscript{9} and who in September of the same year, as Nicholas Umfre, married Mary Gates.\textsuperscript{10} If these identifications are correct, he was in his prime when in 1572 he added the nearby Dibden to his other property. By trade he may have been an inn-keeper, for as a common tippler (i.e. purveyor) of beer and baker of bread, he was fined 4d at the manor court on 7 October 1569 and on several subsequent occasions for breaking the assize of bread and ale.\textsuperscript{11} By 1589 Edward Goodwyne was in possession of Dibdene, a freehold tenement with 20 acres of land.\textsuperscript{12} This is the first time a tenement is mentioned, suggesting that a dwelling had been built on the property by this date. The yearly rent continued to be 12d. Edward Goodwyne was one of the well-known Goodwin family which held extensive property in Dorking. The modern Goodwins housing estate, built in the 1950s on the southern outskirts of the town, stands on land which took its name from them. Jasper Goodwyn had succeeded Edward as tenant of the tenement, land and wood called Dipden or Dypden by 1622, with Richard Shooe as undertenant.\textsuperscript{13}

The Goodwyns seem to have held the Deepdene only for two generations, for when William Forster made his survey of the manor of Dorking with Capel in 1649,\textsuperscript{14} the tenant was Edward Rose, who held freely a messuage and certain land called Dibden, late Goodwins, containing by measurement (no longer by estimation) 13a.2r.14p., for a yearly rent of 1s. The use of the word 'messuage' confirms the existence of a dwelling on the holding, probably no more than a one-storeyed cottage.\textsuperscript{15} The plan\textsuperscript{16} which accompanies Forster's survey identifies the position of the Deepdene, an elongated rectangular plot to the south-east of Dorking town, with an irregular western boundary, narrowing almost to a point at its northern end where it abuts on the Cotmandene. There were several families of Rose in Dorking in the mid-17th century, but Edward of Deepdene may be identified with the Edward who married Dorothie Wood in 1632\textsuperscript{10} and who died in 1675.\textsuperscript{17}
1655 he acquired a messuage and malt-house, with adjoining property called Barne Place (on the west side of Parsonage Lane, modern Station Road), being described as a blacksmith in this transaction. His son, William, was a silk- stocking maker. Edward Rose, who still held Deepdene in 1651, was the last of the obscure tenants of the property. A striking transformation in its character and status was about to take place.

HOWARD PERIOD

In 1652 Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, Surrey and Norfolk, died and settled his three-fourths part of the manor of Dorking with Capel on his fourth son, the Hon. Charles Howard of Greystoke, then aged 22 years. If John Aubrey is to be believed, it was not a very splendid inheritance and the new owner of the Deepdene lived in humble circumstances. 'Mr. Charles Howard's Cottage of Retirement', he wrote, lay 'far from any Road or Village in the Hope of a heathy Mountain ... where he had only one Floor, his little Dining Room, a Kitchen, a Chapel and a Laboratory. His Utensils were all of Wood or Earth; near him were about half a Dozen Cottages more, on whom he shew'd much Compassion and Charity.'15 Hearth tax returns for 1664, however, show that by that year Charles Howard's house had eighteen fire hearths.20 The position of this sizeable building is not known, but William Bray believed that 'the old house stood in the bottom, without any prospect of the beautiful country to the East, the N. and the W.', a few yards distant from a later Deepdene building.21 This description would agree with the siting of the house in the level bottom of the dene.

In the seclusion of the Deepdene, Charles Howard pursued his studies in chemistry and natural philosophy and built a laboratory for his experiments, with an oratory adjoining. He also laid out the garden which excited the interest of Evelyn and the admiration of Aubrey and where he experimented with the cultivation of saffron and with a new method of tanning leather. He contributed papers on both these subjects to the Royal Society.22 Besides this he was making a collection of wild flowers and flowering shrubs, which he pressed and mounted on absorbent paper in his Herbarium, arranging them roughly in alphabetical order of their Latin names, three or four to a page. There they may still be seen, some four or five hundred Surrey flowers gathered over three hundred years ago, most in excellent condition, some still showing vestiges of colour. He bound the pages between heavy oak boards and embossed on the leather covers the words '1660/Charls (sic) Howard/Darking'.23

John Evelyn, who first visited the Deepdene on 1 August 1655, remarked only on the gardens and made no reference to the house: 'I went to DARKING to see Mr. Charles Howard's Amphitheater Garden, or Solitarie recessse, being 15 Ackers, invirond by an hill; he shew'd us divers rare plants; Caves, an Elaboratory.' Evelyn records briefly two more visits to Mr. Howard, on 13 August 1664 and 13 September 1670, but without comment beyond
Fig. 2 The Deepdene, c.1673. Aubrey's sketch of the Honourable Charles Howard's garden. Bodleian Library MS. Aubrey 4, ff. 49-50. Reproduced with permission.
Another of Charles Howard's visitors, John Aubrey, on the other hand, described the Deepdene and its owner in enthusiastic detail, on visits made probably between 1673 and the 1690s. Of the house he now wrote, it 'is not made for Grandeur, but Retirement, (a noble Hermitage) neat, elegant and suitable to the Modesty and Solitude of the Proprietor, A Christian Philosopher...' His descriptions of the garden are too well-known and often quoted to be repeated here, but some features he describes can still be discerned, 'the ingeniously contriv'd long Hope... cast into the Form of a Theatre, on the Sides whereof he hath made several narrow Walks, like the Seats of a Theatre, one above another... The Pit... stored full of rare Flowers and choice Plants...' Aubrey also made a sketch of his friend's garden (Fig. 2). This shows the 'pit' or level bottom of the 'hope' laid out in ornamental flower beds. A short flight of broad steps rose to a central path leading to a plantation of cherry trees. The lower slopes of the steeply rising sides were planted with vines, figs, apricots, quinces, plums, pears and more cherries. At the southern end the ground rose almost sheer, 120 feet, to the terrace with its avenue of trees. Below the terrace on the southern slope was a vineyard of 7a.1r.15p. 'from the top of the Hill and the Vineyard', Aubrey noted, 'is a prospect over Sussex & to Kent & Northwards to Lethered Box hill over the fine valley & W. ward to Hampshire'. Howard's elaboratory is shown on the western side of the hope, or dene, with a parterre in front of it. At the north-west end are marked several 'chambers', a long cave, flower beds and a cherry orchard of one and a half acres. Also at the extreme north-west end, Aubrey indicates the site of several buildings which he describes, one as 'kitchen', two as 'chamber' and a fourth on the opposite side of formal flower beds as 'stable etc.' These buildings hardly seem extensive enough to represent the eighteen-hearthed house of the hearth tax returns. It is tempting, therefore, to conjecture that Aubrey sketched Howard's first 'Cottage of Retirement', still standing at the time of his visit. This conjecture, however, like much else connected with the Deepdene, awaits documentary proof.

Charles Howard was concerned to consolidate as well as beautify his estate. No records have been traced of his purchase of freeholds in the manor, but the court rolls show he was buying in neighbouring copyholds to extend and improve his boundaries. In 1656 he acquired four acres of land called Skeetes, which jutted into his north-western boundary, and in 1671 he bought from George Rose, blacksmith, 30 acres of copyhold land called Bridhills abutting on the south-eastern boundary of the Deepdene. It was on these sunny, well-drained slopes that he planted the vineyard referred to by Aubrey and later by Defoe and which produced 'most excellent good wines, and a very great quantity of them'.

Charles Howard died on 31 March 1713 at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in St. Martin's parish church, Dorking, where his wife, Mary, who died in 1696, already lay. He was succeeded by his son and heir, Henry
Charles Howard, who also made the Deepdene his home for the brief seven years before his death in 1720. He too was buried at Dorking.

Henry Charles Howard was succeeded by his only surviving son, another Charles, an infant less than a year old. It is uncertain how long Henry's widow continued to live at the Deepdene with her young son. She died in October 1747 and like her husband was buried at Dorking. The Dorking poor rate book shows that some time before 1759 the Deepdene was leased to Henry Talbot, esq. Mr. Talbot had bought the neighbouring property known as Chart, with the house on it called the Vineyard in 1746, so it seems likely he may have acquired the Deepdene lease after the widow's death in 1747. Talbot continued in occupation of both properties until 1767. Probably he did not live in the Deepdene house, as a passage in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1763 notes, 'at the seat of Henry Talbot, esq., formerly called the Vineyard and now Chart Park, there is a place called Dibden or Deepden...'

By February 1768, the Honourable Charles Howard was in occupation, the third generation of Howards to make the Deepdene their home. A Fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, he was, like his grandfather, a scholar and the author of several learned works, including a work on the penal laws against Roman Catholics and a genealogical treatise on the Howard family. The sheltered beauty of the Deepdene, now a hundred acre estate, must have attracted him and he sought at once to enhance it by building a new house there. William Gilpin, who travelled along the road from Reigate to Dorking on 24 August 1768, recorded in his Notebook, '...near Dorking at Dibden Mr. Howard is building a very handsome house...' In charge of the building works was William Gowan of Piccadilly, London, surveyor, who submitted his account in the following terms: 'To making several Setts of Drawings for a House and Offices built at Dorking in Surry and attending & giving Directions to the different Tradesmen, measuring and settling their Accounts from September 1769 to November 1775 amounting to the sum of £5376.11s.0d at £5 pr. cent—£268.16s.' He received payment on 16 April and 29 May 1778. This recently discovered 'Account of bills of work done at Dibden' shows that local brickmakers and bricklayers were employed on the building. Of the brickmakers, John Geale, Nicholas Smith and Israel Lynn (the latter submitting the first bill on 6 September 1768) bear Dorking names. John Rose was a Reigate brickmaker. Of the two bricklayers, George Gurnett was a Dorking man. Benjamin Kent, the second bricklayer named, supplied inter alia 'rubbed & gauged arches ... 213 ft. of cornice wrought by hand ... flat brick and tyle paving', and tempered and clayed the vaults with two courses of plain tiles cross jointed. Two carters were also local men, John Sawyer and John Constable, the latter's bill including carting bricks from Brockham kiln. John Wildsmith, mason, supplied statuary marble and fine jasper, and John Pratt, slater, 'best Westmoreland slates'. The accounts indicate that building work was virtually completed by 1775 although minor work on the kitchen building, and furnishing the chapel continued to 1780. The frequently quoted statement in the Gentleman's
that the house was built by the late Duke of Norfolk 'when Mr Howard' is thus confirmed by documentary evidence. Two paintings of Mr Howard's 'very handsome house' survive; one, an inset on a survey plan of the manor of Dorking drawn in November 1783 by J. Hodkinson, and the other in the familiar general view of Dorking from the north, with the Deepdene in the middle distance. Both paintings show a late Palladian style house of rather severe appearance, with two principal storeys and a half storey, a three-sided bay flanked on either side by five windows. It faces roughly north-west and is set on a wooded hillside to the south-east of Dorking.

Charles Howard, the builder of this house, succeeded as 10th Duke of Norfolk on the death without issue of his second cousin, Edward, the 9th Duke, in 1777. The 10th Duke and his Duchess Katherine spent the summer months at the Deepdene and the winter months in London, to judge from the evidence of surviving household accounts. The quarterly bills for butcher, baker, grocer and cheesemonger, for the period of the accounts, normally came to about £130 and black puddings featured frequently among the goods purchased. The Duchess was said to be 'very fond of gardens and formed a hermitage [there] with all the humble requisites for a holy anchorite'.

The 10th Duke died on 31 August 1786 and like his father and grandparents was buried at Dorking. His son Charles, the 11th Duke, did not for long make the Deepdene his home. He purchased an estate, Ewood, at Newdigate, and turned his attention to repairing Arundel Castle, which was to become again the principal seat of the Howards. In 1790 he sold the Deepdene, with all its furniture and fixtures, apart from some pictures and 'other small matters', to Sir William Burrell for £8,850. Included in the purchase were 24 acres of gardens and orchards and 24 acres of meadow land, part of Fosterwood farm.

**BURRELL PERIOD**

Sir William Burrell, baronet, doctor of laws, Commissioner of Excise, was a scholar and antiquary. He was already in poor health when he came to the Deepdene, following a paralytic stroke, and he did not live long to enjoy his new home. He died in 1796. His widow, Sophia, an authoress of minor repute, composed the verses in praise of Charles Howard, which were engraved on a votive tablet fixed near his elaboratory. She married the Reverend William Clay in 1797 and lived intermittently at the Deepdene until her death in 1802. The Deepdene at this period was described as a 'modern built brick house', with four principal rooms on the ground floor, the library, breakfast room, the spacious, elegant dining-room with stained glass in the windows, and the billiard room; also a handsome bedroom with a marble chimney-piece. The elegant drawing-room, handsomely papered, finished with gold mouldings, enriched cornice, statuary marble chimney-piece, inlaid with verd antique, with bowed front, and with a
commanding view of a beautifully diversified country, was on the principal or first floor, with the four principal bed chambers. Five more good bedrooms were on the upper storey, while in the basement were the still room, stores, housekeeper's room, servants' hall, butler's pantry and the wine cellar: In addition there was a 'noble kitchen', a capital well of excellent water, with a Patent Forcing Engine that supplied the premises copiously by numerous cisterns. There was stabling for thirteen horses and standing for four carriages. To the back of the mansion was a beautifully diversified pleasure ground, planted with luxurious forest trees, thriving shrubs and evergreens, most tastefully arranged with walks, rural retirements, grottos, caverns and a terrace, which commanded a most unrivalled and extensive view over a variegated and enchanting country. There was also a pleasure garden, with alcoves; grottos and a canal of water and two capital hothouses, planted with choice fruit trees of various descriptions. Nearby was an excellent kitchen garden and melon ground.

Sir William's son, Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, did not settle in Dorking for long and on 26 May 1807 the Deepdene, with a hundred acres of land and right of common on the Holmwood, was offered for sale by auction. The property included also a farm and a three-storeyed brick farmhouse. The sale was followed in 1812 by non-contentious Chancery proceedings, from the records of which it emerges, on the affidavit of the auctioneer, Mr John Robins of Warwick Street, Westminster, that he had agreed for the sale of the property to Thomas Hope, esq., for £15,000. Nevertheless, when the purchase was completed on 26 April 1808, Thomas Hope, as the purchaser of the estate devised by the will of Sir William Burrell, paid only £9,030 to the Accountant-General of the Court. This sum represented the value of the mansion house (£7,000), of the land of the late Sir William Burrell (£980) and the land of Sir Charles Merrik Burrell (£1,480), a total of £9,460, from which was deducted £430 for land tax (£280) and for the purchase of brewing utensils, turret clock, etc. A possible explanation of the discrepancy between the purchase sum agreed and the sum paid to the Court could be that the sum of £9,030 was accepted by the Court of Chancery as an equitable valuation for the satisfaction of trustees acting on behalf of other beneficiaries of the settled estates under Sir William Burrell's will, but of this no documentary evidence has been found.

HOPE PERIOD

Thomas Hope took possession of the Deepdene in 1808, possibly at the Midsummer quarter day, for he is first rated as the occupier in September that year. Thomas Hope, an interesting character, has been rescued from the oblivion of the past hundred years by Dr David Watkin in *Thomas Hope and the neo-classical idea*, published in 1964. Born in Amsterdam in 1769, he was the offspring of a family of eminent and wealthy Dutch merchants, of Scottish origin, and he grew up in an atmosphere of opulence in a home filled with fine furniture and works of art. At the age of eighteen
he embarked on a series of Grand Tours, which took him during the next seven years to the Middle East and western Europe. From these travels developed his love of classical Greek art and architecture and the romance of the orient. When he came to England in 1795 to escape from the French Revolutionary armies in Holland, he had already begun collecting antique sculptures and works of art and was quickly recognised by connoisseurs in London as a collector and writer of distinction on architecture and design. He settled in London, buying a splendid house in Duchess Street, in which to display his already notable collections. He used his wealth to give patronage to modern artists and sculptors, including Thorwaldson and Flaxman. He was also writing a highly romantic novel, *Anastasius*, received with great acclaim when it was eventually published in 1819. In 1806 he married Louisa Beresford, offspring of a branch of the prolific Irish Beresfords of Waterford. Within a year he was looking for a suitable residence in which to establish himself as a country gentleman. The Deepdene provided the right background. Contemporary diarists and letter writers provide lively information about the Deepdene at this period and from 1812 Mrs Hope kept a 'Deepdene Album' in which her guests wrote tributes to their hostess and her home. Among the many famous and brilliant people who visited the Deepdene were Sir Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Washington Irving, George Crabbe, Samuel Rogers, Humphrey Davy and the Misses Berry. In later years came Princess Amelia, a personal friend, and the Duke of Clarence (later William IV) and his duchess.

Mr. Hope soon began to improve and enlarge his estate. In 1811 a proposal was before the Surrey Justices of the Peace to divert a public highway which crossed the Cotmandene diagonally from Ram Alley (now Dene Street) and passed close in front of his house. A few years later a proposal to stop up a footpath over 'the Glory of Dorking' was opposed by the Vestry. The most important addition to the estate at this period was Chart Park, bought for £30,000 and presented to him by his brother Henry Philip Hope, in the latter part of 1813 or early in 1814 (Fig. 3). Thomas is first rated as the occupier on 18 March 1814. To commemorate this splendid gift, he built a small 'vaguely Etruscan' temple on the Deepdene terrace, inscribed affectionately 'Fratri Optimo-H.P.H.' The Talbot's house was demolished, the building materials and fixtures being offered for sale by auction on 28 March 1814, the site to be cleared within three months. For some ten years Thomas Hope was content with his 18th century house, but between 1818 and 1823, he designed and built, in conjunction with his architect, William Atkinson, major additions incorporating his neo-classical ideas and uniting house and grounds in one architectural and artistic whole. He added a completely new eastern or carriage front 'in the Grecian taste, with a semi-circular portico and ornamental columns supporting lanterns.' So wrote J. P. Neale, continuing, 'Above is a large and beautiful window... with smaller lights on each side.... A bold arch on the left supports a verandah.... The arch entablature is ornamented with paterae of varigated marbles, porphyry, etc.....' A new library was created and on the north-eastern flank a new dining-room. A few years
Fig. 3 The Deepdene, c 1825, the Seat of Thomas Hope, Esq. London Borough of Lambeth Archives Dept. Minet Library, Maps file 185 (post 1814). Reproduced with permission.
later he threw out on the southern side an attractive wing which included a sculpture gallery, two orangeries and a conservatory. The 18th century core of principal rooms, the Old Library, the boudoir, drawing-room and billiard room on the north-west front were redecorated but otherwise substantially unchanged. The new sculpture gallery was needed to house his growing collections of sculptures and he employed the Dorking masons, the Gilliam brothers, to unpack and install his antique marbles, statuary and vases. A charming pictorial record of Thomas Hope's house has been preserved in the water colour drawings of William Bartlett and Penry Williams, prepared for a projected history and description of the Deepdene by John Britton, sub-titled 'Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties'. In a dedicatory letter to Mrs Hope Britton wrote, 'Instead of the small red brick commonplace House which was here when he [i.e. Mr Hope] first took possession of the Demesne, we now beholda spacious Mansion of pleasing colour diversified and varied in its features, replete with interior luxuries and exterior beauties.' In 1833 J. C. Loudon described it as 'the finest example in England of an Italian Villa, united with the grounds by architectural appendages ... rich in classic forms and combinations .... an example of what the Germans call the ecstatic in architecture.' Thomas Hope built the North Lodge, on the south side of the Reigate Road (near the junction of the present A24 and A25) and probably the East Lodge, now Ladygate Lodge (at the junction of Punchbowl Lane and Ladygate Road). He also made a new drive, 'rising gently from the entrance ... cut deep through the hill over which is a road conducted between the high embattled parapets of an arch.' The domestic offices were as picturesque as the house itself. William Bartlett's drawings show a charming kitchen and dairy building topped by an Italianate loggia and, in the drying ground, an ice house, the entrance of which is flanked by classical pillars supporting a plain triangular pediment. Of Mr Hope's improvements to the gardens Ackerman wrote, 'It is not in the house alone that Mr Hope's fine taste is displayed; for the romantic grounds abound in embellishments, unique in their kind. Not a seat but bears the mark of a master hand, to say nothing of ornamental bridges, entrance gates, lodges ....'

In his later years Thomas Hope achieved county distinction as sheriff of Surrey in 1828, but his earlier wish to acquire a peerage was not fulfilled. His contribution to art and architecture was, however, widely recognised and by the time of his death in 1831 he had been elected to all the most important artistic and learned societies in the country. He was buried in the mausoleum he had built in 1818 and in which his young son Charles already lay. The mausoleum, which still survives, was permanently sealed and buried in earth to roof level in 1957. To his widow, Louisa, he left a life interest in the Deepdene and its contents. She re-married in 1832, her second husband being her cousin, William Beresford, and chose to accept the alternative bequest of £12,000 provided for in her late husband's will.

The Deepdene now became one of the principal residences of her eldest son.
Fig. 4  The Deepdene estate c 1870. Sketch plan by Beryl Higgins, based on an estate plan, SRO. Acc. 1199. The stippled area shows the extent of the estate
Henry Thomas Hope. Like his father, Henry had ambitions as an architect and made further extensive alterations to the house. They were completed about 1840, converting it into a 'sumptuous High Renaissance palazzo', entirely altering the east carriage front, and creating a large, colonnaded entrance hall, both familiar from the steel engravings of T. Allom's drawings by E. Radclyffe and M. J. Starling. He also built two lodges, one to replace the original North Lodge, and Middle Lodge, placing on the latter the Hope device, a broken orb, or world, and the punning motto Ac spes non fracta.

Henry Hope made major territorial additions to the estate. In 1834 he bought the Betchworth Castle estate, immediately to the east of the Deepdene property, from the Peters family. He entirely dismantled the Castle, already badly out of repair, leaving only a ruined core. Four years later; in 1838, he contracted with the Duke of Norfolk for the purchase of the manor of Brockham, with many farms and 718 acres of farming land and woodland, for £19,000. The estate now measured some twelve miles in circumference, extending over the northern slopes of Box Hill and south to the Holmwood. It stretched eastwards to Brockham village, but expansion westwards was limited by Dorking town.

The first threats to this splendid property came with the cutting through it from east to west of the Reigate, Guildford and Reading railway, opened in 1849 and, less than two decades later, the completion of the Dorking to Horsham section of the London, Brighton and South Coast railway, which bisected it from north to south.

Henry Hope entered parliament in 1829 as the member for the rotten borough of East Looe (Cornwall). He subsequently represented the City of Gloucester from 1830 to 1840. A Tory, he became the friend of Benjamin Disraeli and a strong supporter of the latter's Young England movement, with which the Deepdene was closely associated. The group held meetings there and it was to Henry Hope that Disraeli owed the idea of popularising his political ideas in a novel. Coningsby was the result. 'Conceived and partly executed amid the glades and galleries of Deepdene', it was dedicated by the author to his friend Henry Hope.

There were lighter moments too at the Deepdene. Disraeli, writing to his sister, describes a Christmas party there, 'very merry and agreeable and we have had many Christmas gambols, charades and ghosts, and our princely host made all the ladies a Christmas box—to my wife two beautiful specimens of Dresden china.'

Like his father, Henry Hope was a vice-president of the Society of Arts and held office in other learned societies. He became a life member and vice-president of the newly formed Surrey Archaeological Society and was host to its members when the Society's General Meeting was held at the Deepdene in the summer of 1857.

In 1851, Henry Hope married, against his family's wishes, Anne Adela Bichet, a Frenchwoman with whom he had been acquainted for many years.
Their daughter Henrietta married in 1861 Henry Pelham Clinton, later to become the 6th Duke of Newcastle. Henry Hope died in 1862 and his neighbours and tenants resident in Brockham erected the fountain which still stands on Brockham Green 'to commemorate his numerous acts of benevolence and his readiness on all occasions both to promote and support public improvements'.

To his widow Anne, Henry left all his possessions, including the Deepdene and the famous Hope diamond which with other jewels became his after bitter family quarrels. There is little information about the Deepdene at this period. Only the Census enumerator's return for 1871 gives some evidence of the size and nature of the household. In residence on census day were Mrs Hope and three companions, including a cousin, Elizabeth Hope. Resident domestic staff consisted of the butler, the housekeeper, three ladies' maids, three laundry maids, three housemaids, a cook, a kitchen maid, a footman and an underbutler. The outdoor staff included four gardeners, two coachmen and two grooms. Of the staff only two were Dorking born, Patrick Croucher, gardener, and Thomas Knight.

Surrey guide books refer at this time to the Hopes' liberality in allowing access to their house and gardens, creating paths and walks and providing seats for public use. New private roads improved access to the western parts of the estate. The Brockham coach road, a private toll road, made a short cut from the Box Hill bridge and Reigate Road to Brockham village for those in carriages, on horseback or on foot who were prepared to pay the toll levied. With the Horseshoe road from Ladygate Lodge, which crossed Punchbowl Lane by a suspension bridge and skirted the northern edge of what is now Betchworth Park golf course, it provided a short, direct route from the Deepdene to Brockham. The Hopes were generous too with gifts of land and money for local causes. St Paul's church and vicarage, Brockham church, the Dorking cottage hospital, the Chart Lane Technical Institute (now the Adult Education Institute), Pixham Infants' school and St Martin's vestry and church room all benefitted from their munificence. Mrs Hope also presented a stained glass window to St Paul's church in memory of her husband.

THE PERIOD OF DECLINE

Mrs Anne Hope, who died in 1884, bequeathed her settled freehold estates to trustees for the use of Henry Francis Hope Pelham Clinton, second son of her daughter, the Duchess of Newcastle, subject to the proviso that he took and used the name and arms of Hope for all purposes. This he did by royal licence in 1887. Lord Francis Hope (as he wished to be known) did not settle at the Deepdene, although he entertained shooting parties on the estate. Records show that during the season of 1892, for example, the total bag for Lord Francis and his guests was 2,812. The game included pheasants, partridge, hare, rabbits and an occasional landrail. At the end of the shooting season, the tenants were allowed to shoot rabbits. The
shooting was sometimes let to increase revenue from the estate. The estate, however, was in serious financial difficulties. Lord Francis was declared a bankrupt in 1894 and discharged on payment of 10s in the £ to the creditors of the estate.

The Marlborough Period

It was now necessary to let the Deepdene and a suitable tenant was found in Lilian, the American-born Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, who took a 21 year lease of it from 25 December 1893 at a rent of £1,500 per annum. Of her it is said she married first for money (a wealthy American), second for a title (the Duke of Marlborough) and third for love. Her third marriage in April 1895 was to Lord William Beresford, V.C. Her nephew by marriage, Winston Churchill, wrote, 'Their union was happy, prosperous and even fruitful. They settled down at the beautiful Deepdene near Dorking and bade me visit them continuously ... Thus I paid frequent visits to Deepdene with its comfort and splendour.' He also recounts how on one occasion he inadvertently kept the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) waiting twenty minutes for dinner. The prince, superstitious about the number thirteen, refused to sit down to table without the fourteenth guest, young Mr Churchill.

The Deepdene in the duchess's time was the venue for shooting parties (she leased the shooting rights for her guests) and at her balls and evening entertainments, there were waltzes, quadrilles, lancers, polkas, schottisches and barn dances and the evenings closed with Sir Roger de Coverley. Many pictures and postcards survive of the Deepdene at this time, showing trim paths and ornamental flowerbeds on the level bottom of the dene. The gardens were the subject of an article in *Country Life Illustrated* in 1899—'fine coniferous tress and magnificent banks of rhododendrons luxuriate and glorify the place with sumptuous colour.... Deepdene never looks so beautiful as on a summer evening when the rhododendrons are weighted with their magnificent wealth of flowers. In banks and masses they break in upon the green lawns ... or as single bushes, adorn the winding paths.' Mention is also made of brilliant hardy azaleas, glorious copper beeches, the splendid tulip tree, larches, silver birches, yews, evergreen oaks, exotic conifers and 'that splendid noisette rose, William Allen Richardson ... planted only two years ago', producing crowds of apricot-coloured blossoms. The duchess, a lover of orchids, carnations and other exotic flowers, built new plant houses where Thomas Hope's sculpture gallery and orangeries had once stood. The interior of the house was illustrated in the *Tatler* in 1908, showing Henry Hope's classical columns and arches in the great hall adorned with the trophies of big game shot by the late Lord William Beresford, and encumbered in the Edwardian manner with a superfluity of furniture, pictures and objets d'art.

Lord William Beresford died in 1900 and the duchess continued to live in the Deepdene until her death on 11 January 1909. She filled the rôle of the
great lady of the town and the school treats at the Deepdene were described in the Dorking parish magazine as red-letter days in the lives of Dorking children. A tablet in her memory was placed in St Martin's parish church 'by Friends and Parishioners of Dorking'. The streets, Marlborough and Beresford Roads, on a council estate of the 1920s on the south-west side of the town also commemorate this period.

After the duchess's death, the Deepdene was leased in 1911 to Almeric Paget, esq. (later Lord Queenborough), Conservative MP for Cambridge, who lived there only until 1914. In December of that year the duchess's glass-houses and garden equipment were sold by order of her executors. The estate was again in financial difficulties and, with other property of Lord Francis Hope elsewhere in the country, had been in the hands of receivers since 1912.

The First World War and the first sales

From December 1914 to June 1915, the Deepdene was occupied by the military, who paid a rent of £20 to £30 a week for its use. When the military left, a staff of ten men and women were kept on to look after the house and its grounds, but by 1917 only a caretaker was in charge. In that year the greater part of the contents of the Deepdene, the splendid art collections and furniture of the Hopes was sold at Christies. The Deepdene was now an encumbrance and the decision was taken to dispose of the house and the greater part of the estate. On 20 July 1920 the house with some fifty acres of surrounding ground was sold to Deepdene Ltd., the new owners, according to Dorking rate books, being Hammersley, Kennedy & Co. Ltd. In July 1921 large portions of the estate in Box Hill, Brockham and Dorking were offered for sale by auction in 63 lots. The sale included 13 freehold farms, woods, accommodation lands, small holdings and cottages, with a total of 2,200 acres and a rent roll of £2,824 13s 6d. Included in the sale were the Brockham Lime Works, the Betchworth Fort and the Castle Mill. The Deepdene Wood and adjacent lands were offered for sale by private treaty in lots of half an acre (£2 50 a lot) and upwards 'for large or small country residences'. Every effort was to be made, according to the sale brochure, to preserve the amenities of the park and woodland. The sole agents were Arnold & Son of Dorking and Leatherhead.

The Deepdene Hotel

The Deepdene house, converted into a residential hotel in 1920, was acquired in 1923 by David Givotovsky and Princess Valentine Nigeradse. A hotel brochure, probably from this period, claims it was luxuriously furnished with sole regard to the comfort of visitors. A three-room suite with bathroom and lavatory, with full board, cost £6 3s 6d a day. The hotel ballroom could be hired for private dances and older Dorkinians still recall nostalgically the splendours of the ballroom, with its alcoves for sitting-out, which 'made a lovely setting for our evening dresses and men's tails'. In the late 1920s the Deepdene provided the background for a
detective film, *Lloyd of the C.I.D.*, released in 1932, with Jack Lloyd (Claude Saunders) in the title rôle.\textsuperscript{104} The highly melodramatic story hinged on the theft from its English owner of a necklace from the tomb of Tutankhamun and Egyptian emissaries trying to recover it. The Deepdene was again sold in 1930 to Lewis Richard Peters, a London quantity surveyor, who leased it in August 1931 to Peter Mazzina and Arthur Giordano, restaurateurs,\textsuperscript{97} both associates of the notorious Maundy Gregory, purveyor of honours during the premiership of Lloyd George. Although his name is not mentioned in the lease, Gregory's biographer considers he was behind the venture.\textsuperscript{105} During this period the Deepdene hotel is said to have acquired a somewhat unsavoury reputation. It did not flourish and in 1936 Mazzina was declared a bankrupt. The hotel lease was then taken over by Madame Maria Grimaldi Colletta, Mazzina's mother-in-law, who assigned it to Central Hotels and Catering Ltd, of which she and her husband Pasquale were directors.\textsuperscript{97} It has not been possible to identify the 'Russian princess' clad in fox furs who, according to local memory, was associated with the hotel in the late 1930s. The date is too late to equate her with Princess Valentine Nigeradse.

During the early 1930s controversy was raging over the route of the proposed Dorking by-pass. The Deepdene route was chosen by the Surrey County Council and the Ministry of Transport,\textsuperscript{106} and work began on the Deepdene estate in June 1931. The road followed part of the line of the old drive and cut a swathe through the hotel grounds within a few hundred feet of its north-west front. The hotel's country house atmosphere was much impaired and this no doubt contributed to its decline.

**The Railway Occupation and the Second World War**

In June 1939 the Southern Railway Co. bought the Deepdene house and grounds from L. R. Peters as a war emergency measure, using it eventually for the Chief Accountant's Department and the Chief Civil Engineer's Bridge Office.\textsuperscript{107} The old house inevitably suffered from the railway occupation coupled with war-time stringencies. Of this period Ian Nairn wrote, 'The inside in its final state is tragic—fragments of Hope detail lost in a warren of partitions and corridors'.\textsuperscript{108} David Watkin is even more scathing. 'During the railway occupation', he wrote, 'the house was reduced to a uniquely detestable state'.\textsuperscript{109} It is of passing interest that the Deepdene caves referred to by Evelyn and Aubrey nearly three hundred years earlier, had a rôle to play in our own time. During the railway's war-time occupation one served as a practice shooting gallery and another as a telephone exchange.

Some information about estate matters in war-time is provided in a letter book\textsuperscript{110} of the Duke of Newcastle's agent, who reported incidents with more zeal than discretion: July 1940, tree cutting and lopping along the river at Castle Gardens 'on instruction by the military authorities'; the groundsmen saw the military cutting scotch firs near Dorking golf course, 'I can only conclude some of the mad Canadians have taken it for fire-
wood'; 4 October 1940, six bombs dropped on the golf links, two on Inholms meadow and six elsewhere on the estate; 16 October 1940, two bombs on Saturday night, one between the railway entrance and Scammell’s Farm, and five more the same week, all clear of buildings, the only casualty being a hunter (this report is accompanied by a request to camouflage the sheds); 9 December 1940, 'I notice the military have vacated Betchworth Park camp ... Bushbury Farm had another bombing visit last Wednesday morning' when eight bombs fell on the estate.

Deepdene Terrace

In 1938 the Terrace, upon which Thomas Hope had built his little temple, was threatened with building development. The Dorking and Leith Hill District Preservation Society was active in efforts to save this beauty spot with its fine beech avenue and splendid views over the Weald and South Downs. The war changed the position and the Terrace, with neighbouring land, was acquired by the Southern Railway Co. in 1942. In March 1943 the railway company conveyed the Terrace to Dr Ralph Vaughan Williams and others, trustees for the Preservation Society, the purchase money of £1,270 having been raised by public appeal. At a public ceremony, organised by the Society and held on the Terrace on 31 July 1943, the Deepdene Terrace 'was presented to the People of Dorking' and the title deeds handed to the chairman of the Dorking Urban District Council. The Terrace is now owned and managed by the Mole Valley District Council and is subject to National Trust covenants ensuring that the land be kept 'as a natural and peaceful woodland pleasure resort for the free use and enjoyment of the public'. Land adjoining the Terrace to the north and north-west was acquired by the Surrey County Council, also for use as an open space. The temple, which fell into decay during the war, was repaired, but it was subsequently wantonly damaged on several occasions and demolished in 1955, not being considered worthy of restoration or preservation. In 1970, the J. Gordon Elsworthy Memorial Fund was used to improve and extend the paths and provide seats, and improved access paths and sign-posting were provided by the county and local authorities.

THE FINAL SALES AND DEMOLITION

In February 1955 the Duke of Newcastle sold the last remaining portions of his Deepdene estate to the Metropolitan Railway Country Estates Co. Ltd and the Ortem Estates Ltd. By order of the two companies 576 acres of land and other properties not sold to sitting tenants, were offered for sale by auction the following June. Betchworth Castle and Dorking's two golf courses, included in the sale, were bought by the Dorking Urban District Council and are now owned by the Mole Valley District Council. The railway staff vacated the Deepdene house in March 1966 and the house remained empty for two years—a 'deeply depressing carcase'. On 29 December 1967 Deepdene house and grounds were sold to Federated
Fig. 5 The Deepdene, 29 April 1969. Demolition in progress Water colour by Dorothy Parsons.
Reproduced with permission.
Homes Ltd. The house, listed as a building, grade III, of architectural and historic interest, was demolished in April and May 1969, few voices being raised in protest (see Fig. 5, one of six water colours painted by Dorothy Parsons between 20 April and 17 May 1969).

CONCLUSION

On the site of Charles Howard's house and Thomas Hope's mansion now stands the new Deepdene House, a modern office building, designed for Federated Homes Ltd. by Scherrer & Hicks, the architect being E.C. Percy, ARIBA. Completed in 1971 it won a commendation from the Concrete Society as 'an elegant solution to the problem of providing a building of this type in a rural setting'. It was sold on 31 March 1971 to the Gisbourne Life Assurance Co. Ltd (part of the Noble Lowndes Group, Croydon), the present owners, by whom it is leased to various commercial firms. The former stable site is occupied by another office building, Guthrie House, owned by the Guthrie Corporation. The grounds, the property of Federated Homes Ltd., are scheduled under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949, as an area of outstanding natural beauty.

Some relics of the former splendour of the Deepdene still remain—two lodges, now private residences, some gate pillars and iron railings, a fragment of Thomas Hope's castellated archway, a flight of garden steps, four caryatid heads, a circular tower, the ice house. The 'pit' of Howard's 'amphitheatre' is partly occupied by a car park, but the dene with its steeply sloping sides covered with rhododendrons, remains. The paths and the steps which led up to the Terrace and temple are sadly decayed and overgrown, but only a little effort would be needed to clear them. The rhododendrons still provide a colourful background for the new buildings in early summer, splendid cypresses, beeches and chestnuts have been preserved and the giant tulip tree, described in 1826 as 'one of the largest in the kingdom', still stands, a reminder of past glories.

Many writers have described the Deepdene and its inhabitants. Much more could be written than is possible in the scope of this article and much more could be discovered by further research, particularly in the medieval period. More detailed work could be done on the build-up of the estate in the 18th and the 19th centuries. Worthwhile studies could be made of the history of the individual farms which became part of it, and of the development of the area between the wars into middle class housing estates, while an index and analysis of Charles Howard's Herbarium could reveal how much the Surrey countryside has lost or how much it has preserved.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

The following works have been consulted for general information throughout this article:

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Bright, J. S., *A history of Dorking*, 1884

Cockayne, G. E., *Complete Peerage*

*Dictionary of National Biography*

Manning and Bray, *The history and antiquities of Surrey*, 1804–14 (reprint 1974), 1 (M and B)


Deepdene is spelt in many ways. I have followed the variant used in the document or text referred to

1 An 'obituary' of the Deepdene by L. Green was printed in *Sy AC* 70, 131–3. Material for the following article was being collected before the 'obituary' or the V & A exhibition, some of it being used in the Dorking Historical Group's contribution to the Surrey Local History Symposium in November 1973

2 *The place names of Surrey* and *Chief elements of English place names*, English Place Name Society, 11, 275, and 1, pt. 2, 21
The Deepdene, Dorking—Rise and Decline Through Six Centuries

3 VCH, 4, 144

4 Arundel Castle MS, M. 744, Dorking manor court roll, 1400-1401

5 BL. ADD. MSS 27535. A survey of the manor of Dorking, early 17th C. Arundel Castle MS MD. 2341, endorsed 'A survey of Dorking, including a brief abstract of the title of several properties made probably in the reign of Jas. 1st.', gives similar but not identical information. Sy AS, Hooper papers, 4/25, pp. 1-74 appears to be a transcript of the latter

6 GMR 85/41/1, p. 444, Bray MSS (add.), extracts from Dorking manor court rolls

7 SRO 196/1/1, p. 349, Dorking MSS (add.), Dorking manor court roll, 1540-77

8 Ibid., p. 357

9 Ibid., p. 143

10 GMR PSA/DO/M/1/1, Dorking parish register, 1538-1646

11 SRO 196/1/1, pp. 313; 329, 344, 360, Dorking manor court roll, 1540-77

12 Arundel Castle MS MD. 1203, f. 3d., Survey of the manor of Dorking, 1589

13 BL. ADD. MSS 27535, op. cit.; Sy AS, Hooper papers, 4/25, p. 83; pp. 75-105 of this item contain a transcript of a survey of the manor of Dorking, 1622, but give no reference or location for the original. Arundel Castle MS MD. 2341, op. cit., gives the acreage as 30 acres, as does SyAS 4/25, p. 28, op. cit. (see note 5)

14 SRO 196/2/1, 'The Surveigh of the Manor of Dorking in the Countie of Surrie performed by William Forster, Anno Domini 1649'

15 Aubrey, J. The natural history and antiquities of Surrey, 1718 (Kohler & Coombes reprint, 1975) 3, 211. Aubrey places this note at the end of the Frimley section, but it clearly relates to Dorking and the Deepdene.

16 SRO Ph. 166, photostat copy of the survey plan of the manor of Dorking with Capel made by William Forster in 1649 and copied in 1783 by J. Hodkinson. The original is Arundel Castle MS PM. 191

17 GMR PSA/DO/M/1/2, dorking parish register, 1647-84

18 SRO 196/1/2, pp. 48 and 259-60, Dorking manor court roll, 1648-83

19 Arundel Castle MS A. 504, rental of the manor of Dorking, 1651

20 Surrey Hearth Tax, 1664, p. 82 in alphabetical list (Sy RS, 41 and 42)

21 GMR 85/41/1, Bray MSS, pp. 461-2

22 Causton, H. K. S. The Howard papers, 1862, 366

23 The Herbarium, a leather bound volume, with oak boards, approx. 7 ins thick and 20 ins by 12 ins, is preserved among the Arundel Castle MSS
24 De Beer, E. S. (ed.) *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 1959, 360, 462 and 546
25 Aubrey, 4, 164-7; *Sy AC* 55, 48, provides the date July 1673
26 Bodleian Library MS Aubrey 4, ff. 49-50
27 SRO 196/1/2, pp. 96 & 225, Dorking manor court roll, 1648-83
28 *Sy As*, Hooper papers, 4/19, extract made by Wm. Bray from Dorking manor records (undated), 'Vintage House & Gardener's house, vineyard with orchards and parcels of land belonging to the same all heretofore called Bridehills.'
30 *Complete Peerage* and M and B, 587. The burial has not been traced in the Dorking parish registers. There is a gap in the entries in GMR PSA/DO/M/1/3 between 6 Feb. 1712/13 and 25 Aug. 1713
31 Dorking poor rate book, 1759-71
32 M and B, 1, 562
33 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1763, 220-3, reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine Library. Topographical History of Surrey and Sussex*, 1900, 71
34 *Sy AC*, 6, 252
35 SRO 196/2/2, Survey of the manor of Dorking with Capel, made by William Forster in 1649 and copied in 1753 by Joseph Connor. Undated marginal entries show Charles Howard in possession of freehold and copyhold lands totalling 93a 2r 21p and some land for which no acreage is given
36 Bodleian Library MS Eng.misc.e 522, Gilpin notebooks
37 Arundel Castle MS A. 1932, 'An Account of the Bills of Work done at a new House and Offices erected for His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, at Dibden, near Dorking, Surry. By Wm. Gowan, Piccadilly', 1768-1780. I am indebted to Miss M. Swarbrick, BA, ALA, archivist, City of Westminster archives department, for identifying Gowan as an associate of Hardwick and Soane in matters concerning repairs to St James's church, Piccadilly
38 Dorking poor rate book, 1759-71. Some tradesmen were also identified in SRO QS7/5/2, Freeholders Lists, 1762-71
40 Arundel Castle MS LM. 9
41 Reproduced in *Sy AC* 54, pl. 22. The painting by an unknown artist belongs to the MCC at Lord's Cricket Ground
134 The Deepdene, Dorking—Rise and Decline Through Six Centuries

42 Arundel Castle MS A. 67, Housekeeping account book, 1778-94
43 Timbs, op.cit., 267
44 Arundel Castle MS MD. 653, Correspondence with Sir William Burrell and other papers relating to the purchase of the Deepdene, 1790
45 DNB and Timbs, 265-6. The whereabouts of the votive tablet is not known
46 RIBA Library, Sale catalogue of the Deepdene, 1807
47 Chancery proceedings in the matter of Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, bart., 1812, in the possession of Sir Walter Burrell, bart., at Knepp Castle
48 Dorking poor rate book, 1804-18
49 Watkin, D. Thomas Hope, 1769-1831, and the neo-classical idea, 1964; pp. 1-60 provide biographical information and pp. 158-192 describe 'The Deepdene and the development of the picturesque'. Law, H. W. and Irene, The Book of the Beresford Hopes, 1925. Much information and some references for the paragraphs on Thomas and Henry Hope are derived from these two works
50 SRO QS5/8/39 and 47, Highway diversion papers, 1811-13; certificate of completion, 6 March 1813. GMR PSH/DO. M 9/1/3, p. 242, Vestry Minutes 1817-30
51 Law, op.cit., 69-72. Minet Library, Maps file, 185 (post 1814) is a plan of Thomas Hope's estate after this purchase
52 Watkin, op.cit., 165. A pencil drawing of the temple by William Bartlett is in the Minet Library (see note 57) and is reproduced in Watkin, pl. 56
53 Sale catalogue (marked copy) of the 'Valuable Building Materials and Fixtures of Chart Park Mansion, etc., etc., near Dorking, Surrey', 28 March 1814 and the five days following. The site was to be cleared in three months; materials of a farm house in Chart Lane and Crisp Hall (north-west of the Cotmandene) were also to be sold (in private hands)
54 Neale, J. P. Views of the seats of gentlemen, 2nd series, 2, 'The Deepdene Seat of Thomas Hope, Esq.', 1826. This carriage front is familiar from the engraving by Neale and W. Wallis
55 Watkin, op.cit., 170-9; see also fig. 19 on p. 162 for a ground floor plan of the Deepdene in 1826
56 Burgess, F. English churchyard memorials, 1963, 276-7. I am indebted to Dr D. B. Robinson, Surrey county archivist, for drawing my attention to this reference
57 Minet Library, Lambeth, S. 3247/185/188, 'Illustrations of the Deepdene, Seat of T. Hope Esqre 1825-6'. See also RIBA Library,
Drawings collection, 'History, etc. of the Deepdene, Seat of Thos. Hope Esq., 1825-6', which contains further sketches and drawings by Bartlett and Williams; photographs, black and white, of these can be seen at the Minet Library. Watkin, op.cit., 164-6; pp. 250-4 catalogue the drawings in both the Minet and RIBA albums; many of the drawings are reproduced

58 Loudon, J. C. Gardener's Magazine, 5, 1829, quoted by Watkin, op.cit. 175

59 Watkin, op.cit., 168; a sepia and wash drawing of North Lodge by Bartlett is in Minet Library, op.cit., reproduced by Watkin, pl. 57. This lodge was rebuilt by Henry Thomas Hope and demolished in the 1920s. The tentative attribution of East Lodge to Thomas Hope may be put in doubt by a recently discovered map of the Deepdene estate area, undated, scale 1 in = 16 chains (SRO Acc.1531). It appears to date from 1840-48, but does not show the East Lodge.

60 Neale, op.cit. A sepia and wash drawing of the arch by Bartlett is in Minet Library, op.cit. A fragment of it survives in private grounds

61 This little building is shown in Bartlett's water colour drawing of the drying ground, Minet Library, op.cit. and Watkin, op.cit. pl. 43. I am indebted to Mrs Beryl Higgins, registered architect, for identifying it for me

62 Ackerman, R. The repository of arts. 3rd series, 1, no. 6, June 1823

63 Noted in HMC list 7411, Newcastle MSS Ne 023, at the University of Nottingham. Also County Genealogies: Pedigrees of Surrey Families, collected by William Berry, 1837

64 PRO Prob.11/1783

65 Law, op.cit. 106-7

66 Watkin, op.cit., 182

67 Engraved for Brayley

68 Middle Lodge, now a private residence, is 200 yards south of the A24/A25 roundabout, at the junction of A24 and Deepdene Drive

69 Bright, op.cit., 160. A plan of the Betchworth Castle estate, 1834, and a schedule of farms, tenants, acreages, etc., are in SRO Acc.1199

70 Arundel Castle MS MD. 805, includes a contract 31 May 1838 between the Duke of Norfolk and others, and Henry Thomas Hope for the sale of the Manor of Brockham for £19,000, the sale to be executed on or before 29 Sept. SRO Acc.370 includes surveyor's a/c, 1838, in connection with the Brockham sale negotiations and a list (undated) of property sold, 'Brockham Lands, Mr. Hope, £19,000.'

71 Brayley & Britton, A topographical history of Surrey, 1850, 5, 87. SRO Acc.1199 includes a map of the Deepdene Estate, post 1869, drawn
on a 6 in OS plan (see Fig. 4). William Keane, *The Beauties of Surrey*, 1849, 152-7, provides a good description of the gardens in Henry Hope's time

72 SRO QS6/8/338, dep. 1845, Reigate, Guildford & Reading Rly.; the relevant act of parliament was 1846; the Redhill to Dorking section was opened in July 1849

73 SRO QS6/8/575, Session 1861-2, Horsham, Dorking and Leatherhead Rly.: the Dorking to Horsham section of the London, Brighton and South Coast Rly. was opened in May 1867 (ex information from the Officer-in-Charge, PRO, British Transport Historical Records)

74 Moneypenny & Buckle, *The life of Benjamin Disraeli*, 1, 592, 595-7; also Disraeli's dedication in *Coningsby*, 1844 (Everyman Library edn. 1911/71)


76 Law, op.cit., 106-7; also *Complete Peerage*. Bright, op.cit., 132, gives the date of Henry Hope's marriage incorrectly as 1841

77 PRO RG.10.828, f. 95

78 Black's *Guide to Surrey*, Aug. 1860; also Bright, op.cit., 131

79 Toll book of Brockham coach road, 1925-26 (in private hands). Tolls of 3d and 6d were charged. The building of the suspension bridge by Mr Thomas Hope was authorised by the Dorking Vestry on 22 Jan. 1819 (GMR PSH/DO. M 9/1/3 p. 241). The bridge, however, is not shown on SRO Acc.1531 (c 1840-48) but does occur on SRO Acc.1199 (post 1869)

80 Bright, op.cit., 41, 92, 97; Stiff, N. G. J. *The church in Dorking and district*, 1912, 92, 98; Mayo, Mary. *Pixham*, 1862-1912

81 Abstract of title to land adjoining Torthorwald in Dorking, recites, *inter alia*, the will of Anne Adele Hope, of Deepdene, near Dorking, widow, 11 April 1876, proved, 29 July 1884 (in private hands)

82 Game book of the Deepdene estate, 16 Sept. 1891-27 Jan. 1894 (in private hands)

83 Rental, undated, post 1905, of Deepdene estate (in private hands)

84 *Complete Peerage*

85 Churchill, W. S. *My early life*, 1930, 100-3 (Reprint Society edn, 1944)

86 SRO Acc.1358, Dorking valuation list, 8 April 1892, with later pencil amendments including those relating to the Duchess of Marlborough

87 *SyAS* LG/542

88 *Country Life Illustrated*, 20 May, 1899, 624-8, 'Country Homes—Gardens Old and New. Deepdene, Dorking, the seat of Lord William Beresford'

89 *Tatler, Sporting and Country House Supplement*, 22 April, 1908, 'Homes
of Sport: Lily, Duchess of Marlborough at Deepdene, Dorking', written and illustrated by L. Willoughby

90 Dorking Parish Magazine, August, 1904

91 SRO Acc.1358, Dorking rate book, April, 1911

92 Sale catalogue of 'The Deepdene Gardens', 15 December, 1914 (in private hands)

93 Hope Settled Estates, appointment of receivers, 28 October, 1912 (in private hands)

94 Cash book, Deepdene estate, 1 Nov., 1912-13 April, 1918 (in private hands)

95 Wages account book, Deepdene estate, 1916-25 (in private hands)

96 Watkin, op. cit., 191 and 256-7. 'The sale of the Final Portion of the Hope Heirlooms' took place at the Deepdene in September 1917 (sale catalogue in private hands)

97 Title deeds belonging to Federated Homes Ltd and ex information Mrs Grimaldi, formerly Mazzina

98 SRO Acc.1358, Dorking rate book, April, 1921

99 SRO 858/40, Sale particulars, 7 July, 1921; prices fetched are noted in pencil in some cases

100 Sale advertisement of Deepdene Park Estate, c1920 (Dorking Museum, Sellick collection)

101 Kelly, Directory of Surrey, 1927

102 Brochure of the Deepdene Hotel, undated, 1920s (Dorking Museum, Sellick collection)

103 Letter from former Dorking resident (in private hands)

104 Ex information from the British Film Institute. The film was reviewed in The Bioscope, 17 Feb, 1932. I am indebted to Mr Horace Houghton, who as a boy saw the film being made, for knowledge of this incident

105 Cullen, T. Maundy Gregory, the purveyor of honours, 1974

106 Surrey County Council minutes, 8 Jan. 1929-24 April, 1935 passim. The certificate of completion is dated 28 March, 1935 but the road was open to traffic for some months before that date

107 Ex information from the Estate Surveyor, British Rail, Southern Region

108 Nairn, I. and Pevsner, N., Surrey, 3rd edn. revised by B. Cherry, 1971, 191-4

109 Watkin, op.cit., 192
110 Out-letter book, Deepdene estate, 19 May, 1925-5 October, 1941 (in private hands)

111 Minutes and other records of the Dorking and Leith Hill District Preservation Society

112 Ex information from the Estate Office, Mole Valley District Council

113 Ex information from Newcastle Estates, and sales particulars of 'The Remaining Parts of the Deepdene Estate', for sale by auction, 20 June, 1955, with 4 plans. (Dorking Museum)

114 Ex information from Mr J. Benjamin, MSAAT, Chief Architect, Federated Homes Ltd.

115 The Dorking Advertiser, 2 June 1972

116 Ex information from the Planning Dept., Mole Valley District Council

117 Other relics are believed to be scattered in private hands. Precise information of the whereabouts and nature of them would be welcomed by the author, c/o the Honorary Editor, Surrey Archaeological Collections, Castle Arch, Guildford

118 Neale, op.cit.