

◆ A man in his landscape

PETER BRANDON 1927–2011

By Brian Short

In 1963 Peter Brandon was awarded a PhD for a thesis on the medieval commons and common fields of Sussex. This work set him on an academic career which resulted in many books and articles relating to the history of the landscape and society of Sussex. His writing, talks and media appearances made him a well-known figure, and an inspiration for many whose own enthusiasms were initiated by his accessible style. This paper interweaves his private, academic and intellectual pathways, critically assesses his writings, and pays tribute to his legacy.

'I remember the white dust of the tracks, the scent of thyme and the sense of space'
(Peter Brandon on the South Downs encountered in his youth)¹

I first encountered Peter Brandon in early October 1963 on my first day as an undergraduate in Geography at North Western Polytechnic, Kentish Town, London. I didn't realise it at the time, but that meeting precipitated my own career as an academic historical geographer. In what follows I have attempted to set out Peter's own landscape, both immediate and physical, and also metaphorical – his intellectual environment. I have tried to provide a narrative of the sources of his early inspiration, those who were his early intellectual mentors and co-workers forming the intellectual landscape around him, and his own achievements.

HIS EARLY LIFE

Peter Frank Brandon was born on 16 July 1927 at his maternal grandmother's home, 85 Gordon Road, Shoreham, the elder child and only son of Frank Brandon (1896–1957) and his wife Doris Edna (1900–91). Doris's father, Frederick Parsons, was a sand and beach merchant, and as a child she had picked up flints from Shoreham beach, work which frequently entailed fording the Surrey Hard (next to the modern Sussex Yacht Club) at low tide with horse and cart, filled with flint cobble and shingle. The alternative was to pay the toll at the Norfolk Bridge. The material was dispatched by train to London, for ballast and building purposes.² The Parsons brothers of Surrey Street and Gordon

Road undertook these operations from about 1895 until the First World War, when a government decree prohibited the removal of any material from the English foreshores.

Peter's father was a master butcher in Twickenham, where his own father, Charles North Brandon, had worked from 1903. Peter's grandfather died in 1920, when Frank took over the shop. He had been imprisoned during most of the First World War, as had his brother, Peter's uncle. Frank and Doris were married in 1925 and lived at first in Wellington Avenue, and then moved by 1933 to live over the shop in Hampden Road, Peter's home for more than 25 years (Figs 1 and 2). He did, however, regularly visit his maternal grandparents in Shoreham, until his grandmother Elizabeth Parsons' death in 1936. Vivid memories were retained of her cooking: luxurious suet and rice puddings and a love of sweet food and afternoon tea. He attended the Kneller Boys' [Secondary] School at Twickenham, which had opened in 1936, but soon moved on to Clark's College, Putney, where he studied accountancy, the career for which he was intended.

An Edwardian account book from the butcher's shop was discovered at Peter's home after his death, Peter himself having graduated to look after the accounts while his younger sister Gill took up the tasks of floor sweeping etc. Both, from a young age, worked in the shop and made deliveries by bicycle, which Peter later claimed gave him a sense of place and feel for the local landscape.

At an early age Peter found inspiration in the area just beyond Esher at Claygate, about a 6-mile cycle ride away, a location favoured by him and Gill for collecting wild plants for their pet rabbits'



Fig. 1. The wedding of Frank Brandon and Doris Parsons 1925. Family photograph collection, by permission of Mrs Gill Hooker (née Brandon).

food. He also fell in love with the writing of Richard Jefferies (1848–87) whose English nature writing depicting rural life Peter devoured. Jefferies had also lived briefly in nearby Surbiton, an additional source of inspiration, and a way into writing that was to remain with Peter throughout his life. Although he was a Wiltshire man through and through, in the last five years of his life Jefferies lived for short periods in several places in the South East, including Brighton, trying to find a climate that might help him recover from illness. He moved to Goring-by-Sea in 1886, by which time all his savings had gone on medical bills and he was almost entirely dependent on the charity of a few friends. Jefferies died there in August 1887 at the age of 38 and was buried at Broadwater cemetery, a fact recalled by Peter with his clarity of memory which lasted through to his own death.³

Peter was called up for war service in 1945, at the very end of the conflict, serving in the RAF, at Brize Norton among other places. He never flew, because of a heart murmur, hated drill (where he



Fig. 2. Frank Brandon and the family shop in Twickenham. Family photograph collection, by permission of Mrs Gill Hooker (née Brandon).

was probably a danger to others nearby), and did not really fit with military life. Instead he was given more clerical and book-keeping duties. A change of career then beckoned, however, and he undertook a teaching qualification, following which he began teaching (see below). On his father's death in 1957, he gave up teaching to take on the family shop (Fig. 2), but within a year or so the family sold it. Peter then moved with his mother and sister Gill to Greensleeves, Middle Road (or St Julian's Lane, as his part of Middle Road came to be called), Kingston Buci, Shoreham in 1959, aged 32. His sister married shortly afterwards and he continued to live with his mother until her death in 1991 and then alone.

This environment, his family, and the location, imbued him with passion for both North and

South Downs, for Sussex, and a dislike of ‘the big, the bigger and the biggest.’⁴ From Twickenham he cycled and walked over the Surrey Downs, writing that Box Hill was ‘deeply layered in nostalgia for me.’ At Juniper Hill Field Centre he was introduced to the techniques of Geography by S. W. Wooldridge (1900–63), first professor of geography at King’s College London from 1947, and whose own book on the Weald was to be such an influence, not only on Peter’s life, but on the lives of generations of post-war Wealden enthusiasts.⁵ The influence is perfectly captured in the opening lines to the editors’ preface:

It would be difficult to find anywhere in the world an area of comparable size which exhibits so perfectly the responses of plant, animal and human life to the stimuli of varied physical environments as the Weald which Londoners have at their doorstep.⁶

THE NARRATIVE OF HIS ACADEMIC LIFE

Peter twice failed the old 11-plus exam and his subsequent career is a vindication of the idea that our intellectual trajectories evolve at different speeds during our lifetimes, and also demonstrates his determination to progress along his own pathway. Dr Brandon (as so many knew him) actually gained his PhD at the age of 36 in 1963.

We may start with Peter changing direction after leaving the RAF in 1948, and undertaking a three-year teaching qualification at Borough Road Teacher Training College. He finished in 1951, aged 24, gaining a distinction in ‘The Theory of Education’. But in the following year he was also awarded an External London second-class general degree in Geography, English Literature and History, which he had undertaken by private study, and by now he was clearly becoming more interested in academic work. He taught at the Rectory Farm Secondary Modern School in Hampton for 6 years from 1951 to 1957, and in fact claimed that he was given ‘the lowest of the low’ to teach – including the last person to be executed in this country!⁷

Always interested in geography, he had also enrolled for a part-time degree at Birkbeck College University of London, and in 1959 he achieved a first-class honours degree in Geography. Equipped then with a knowledge of literature, history

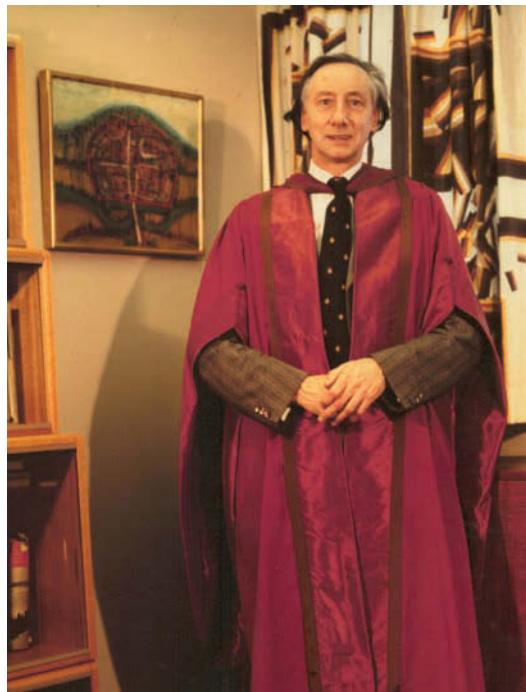


Fig. 3. Peter Brandon in academic dress following the award of a Faculty of Arts PhD degree, University of London, 1963. The design of the gown subsequently changed slightly in 1997 (information from Messrs Ede and Ravenscroft). By permission of Mrs Gill Hooker (née Brandon).

and geography, he then proceeded to a PhD in Historical Geography, also at Birkbeck, funded by the family, and supervised by the fearsome Eila M. J. Campbell (1915–94). He taught himself to read Latin in order to transcribe medieval documents for his thesis on Sussex medieval common fields and common lands. His examiners were Miss Campbell (as she was at that time) and the eminent geographer, Professor Dudley Stamp (1898–1966), who had retired from the LSE in 1958. It was common practice at that time for the supervisor also to be one of the examiners (Fig. 3).⁸ His thesis in many ways set the agenda for the rest of his lifetime’s academic work on the landscapes of Sussex.⁹

In 1961 he was appointed to teach Geography at North Western Polytechnic, Kentish Town, in an ugly building on the corner of Prince of Wales Road. By 1967 this had become the largest polytechnic in London, with many geography

undergraduates reading for the University of London External BA degree. He was at first a 'one-man-band' (his own term) and Head of Geography, although administration as such was never his real interest, or strength. By 1967 the Geography division of the Arts Department had grown to six full-time lecturers, together with part-time and technical staff. Postgraduates from the LSE or University College London, but with variable degrees of interest in teaching, were hired to offer lectures on some courses. By this time about 100 undergraduates were reading Geography. I began in 1966 as Peter's research assistant, working on past and present agricultural economies in the Sussex High Weald, work which was incorporated into his later books and articles, and which also formed the basis of my own PhD.¹⁰ Peter commuted from Shoreham to north London for 26 years, until his retirement in 1987, aged 60, from what had become the Polytechnic of North London, now subsumed into London Metropolitan University.¹¹ The following year he took on a fresh role, as a sessional tutor in the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Sussex, where he quickly became a popular lecturer on the Landscape Studies interdisciplinary BA degree.

A MAN IN THE INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE OF HIS TIMES

The period of Peter Brandon's formative years as a geographer were those dominated by regional, physical or commercial geographies, shot through with strongly descriptive writing. But there was also an emerging theme within British geography: the stronger interaction of geography and history to yield discussions of past geographies, of historical regional distributions, the growth of towns and cities, the changing patterns of farming through time, and the evolution of human landscapes. The origins of such a movement in mainland Europe and in North America are beyond this paper, but the strongest and most immediate British inspiration came in the 1930s at Cambridge from a group of geographers led by H. C. Darby (1909–92), and carried through into the 1950s by Darby and by his co-workers, for example on the Domesday Geography series.¹² This series' first volume, on South-East England, was co-written by Darby and Eila Campbell, when the latter was supervising Peter's thesis.¹³



Fig. 4. Professor E. M. J. Campbell (1915–94) (Source: <http://www.bbk.ac.uk/geds/our-research/research-events/eila-campbell-lectures/biography-of-eila-m.j.-campbell>)

Eila Campbell's connection to Birkbeck spanned more than 50 years, starting with her undergraduate degree in Geography in 1938–41, while supporting herself as a secondary schoolteacher in Middlesex – a very similar arrangement to Peter's own. Although she did not complete the PhD she began under Wooldridge's supervision, she nevertheless became professor of geography in 1970, retiring in 1981 (Fig. 4). An interest in field studies was now firmly implanted in Peter, and something of the origins of his own distinctive voice can be heard in the coming together of Campbell, Darby and Wooldridge.

The influence of these scholars was certainly significant in Peter's working life. He had little time for geographical theory, or even historiography, and never published anything which might remotely be regarded as conceptual or abstract, preferring empirical work. But one abiding influence was undoubtedly the French geographer, Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918). Widely acknowledged as the founder of French human geography, and reacting against a prevailing environmentalism, he held that the role of people

is not passive, since within limits they can modify their environment to advance their own ends. In 1891 he founded and, until his death, edited the periodical *Annales de Géographie*. His conceptual guiding theme was that of the inseparability of man and land, expressed through culture – building materials and styles, food and drink, language, costume etc. – ‘like a snail moulded to its shell.’ Vidal was the moving force behind a spate of lucid regional monographs on France and other parts of the world; his *La France de l’Est* appeared in 1917. Many of Vidal’s papers were collected in *Principes de géographie humaine* (1926).¹⁴ Here were guiding themes for Peter’s life work – which he translated into a south-eastern landscape, revealing how the interactions between culture and topography, or between farming and soil resulted in differing histories, chronologies and human landscapes.

Peter’s PhD topic, an investigation of the common fields and wastes of Sussex, developed the early work by Sawyer and Budgen on Sussex, and of Jolliffe and Gray more generally.¹⁵ He began by looking at the old common fields of Alciston, a place he came to know well and whose fields comprised the main element of Chapter 11 of his thesis, and which he later remembered as his favourite place in Sussex.¹⁶ He re-used his PhD diagram of the common fields there several times in later publications: his 1962 SAC article, for example, also contained it.¹⁷ The thesis version, also originally published in his *Sussex landscape* (1974), was rendered in slightly more complex form in Brandon and Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (1990), and retained in this later format in *The South Downs* (1998). The latter publications made it clear that there were furlongs which contained intermixed demesne and peasant strips.

In the early pages of his thesis, Peter was at pains to point to the early work of those scholars who believed the Weald to have been a forested waste until about the 16th century. Thus the writings of Fussell, Bindoff and Beresford were cited, but these had been based on the generalized views of 17th-century writers such as Camden, Norden and Evelyn. Thus Bindoff could write in 1950 of ‘great woods [such as] the Weald... which remained virtually untouched.’¹⁸

But instead, primarily using court rolls, ministers’ accounts, surveys and rentals, Peter built on more recent work by Kenyon on Kirdford and Clough on the Pelham estates in the High

Weald, who saw evidence of significant medieval colonization.¹⁹ Today that view is commonplace, but it is salutary to recall that 50 years ago the idea of a great wealden barrier forest still prevailed and that Peter’s work, amongst that of others, did much to change perceptions of the Weald of Sussex. Ideas of a wilderness, an infertile ‘desert’, were promulgated by early-modern protagonists of tillage and enclosure. As such Peter’s work foreshadowed that of later writers such as Keith Thomas, whose seminal work on man and the natural world similarly pointed to the exaggerated claims of writers such as Walter Blith in 1649, John Houghton in 1681, Timothy Nourse in 1700 or even Arthur Young in the later 18th century.²⁰

His Sussex working environment was conducive to a steady research output. In the acknowledgements to his PhD thesis, he included thanks to Ken Dickins, for help with producing ‘many hundreds’ of documents in the care of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and Richard Dell, then East Sussex County Archivist. Others thanked included L. F. Salzman and Francis Steer. Beside these custodians of archives were fellow researchers, such as J. L. M. Gulley, whose powerful and innovative 1960 PhD also investigated the Wealden landscape, and Marie Clough, whose Cambridge PhD (1956) was based on the estates of the Pelham family in eastern Sussex before 1500. From his fellow worker John Moore’s research on Laughton unpublished material was garnered. Peter’s thesis depended, of course, on the availability of primary sources. These included material in the well-established national institutions such as the British Museum and the Public Record Office (as they were then known), on which Gulley and Clough mainly relied. But Peter was among the first to draw extensively on the early records then being listed in the newer local repositories, in the Barbican of Lewes Castle as well as in the county record offices.

Interestingly, Gulley quoted a noted French rural historian, Roger Dion: ‘Geographie agraire – les faits avant les theories’ – a maxim that characterized Peter’s own work, certainly at this earlier stage.²¹

Between 1962 and 1978 he published six articles in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (SAC), and by the early 1980s he had produced a steady stream of scholarly articles in many of the leading national Geography, History and Regional journals. During that period, in 1974, he also produced

his highly acclaimed, and still widely cited, *The Sussex landscape*. With this and his edited *South Saxons* and his *History of Surrey* (both produced in the late 1970s), he came to be increasingly known to a wider audience. In 1963 he became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, subscribing until 1986, and then again 1988–98 although, not surprisingly to those who knew him, according to the RGS ‘during this period he did not keep up his subscription continuously’.²²

As is so often the case, Peter’s early academic papers were primarily extensions of his PhD work. Prior to the 1962 SAC paper on Alciston, he had published a shorter paper in *Sussex Notes and Queries* on the enclosure of commons at Keymer.²³ This was almost certainly his first publication. The PhD provided the material for an important 1969 paper on medieval colonization in the Weald in what was, and remains, the most influential British geography journal, the *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. This was followed by another in 1971, on the relations between late-medieval weather and farming in Sussex, and in turn this was given a more local slant in an SAC paper the same year on late-medieval Barnhorne and its weather. The interdisciplinary nature of his work as a historical geographer was also demonstrated by publications on demesne arable farming in coastal Sussex in the *Agricultural History Review* 1971, and on cereal yields on the Battle Abbey estates in the prestigious *Economic History Review* for 1972.²⁴ The latter paper was important in that it demonstrated the fundamental point that yields varied regionally across England. J. Z. Titow’s work was widely influential in setting out medieval cereal yields but was based primarily on the manorial accounts from the Bishop of Winchester’s vast estate between 1208 and 1350. Peter hesitated to go further in his critique of Titow, however, since the latter was at that time very ill.²⁵ And in a follow-up to Peter’s work, the Sussex Archaeological Society made a Margary Grant in 2005 for Bruce Campbell’s project ‘Harvest failure and success: crop yields on the Battle Abbey manor of Alciston, East Sussex, 1300–1500’.²⁶ Peter published one further paper at this extremely productive time, in SAC 1971, on the cutting in the early 16th century of the ‘New Haven’ where the River Ouse entered the sea.²⁷

Given this demonstration of expertise it is little wonder that he was invited to contribute to the standard work on agrarian history, the *Cambridge*

agrarian history of England and Wales. This series had been planned in the 1960s, primarily due to the energy of Professor H. P. R. Finberg at the Department of Local History, University of Leicester. The volumes are nearly all compendious collections of chapters by various authorities and cover specific periods from prehistory through to 1939. Peter contributed two sections to volume II, 1042 to 1350: one on new settlements in the period, and one on farming techniques, both relating specifically to South-eastern England.²⁸ The volume took an inordinate amount of time to appear, partly due to increasing academic pressures on the contributors. H. E. Hallam, the volume editor, was first asked to take on the task in 1965. But the volume appeared only in 1988, with the contributions written at various dates between 1973 and 1983. Peter was probably not the only author to receive a letter in 1976 from the Cambridge University Press on Hallam’s behalf, asking for urgent consideration to be given to completing his chapter! Peter’s section on new settlements begins:

A central, even dominant theme of the medieval south-east is the story of man’s reclamation of farmland from the remaining forest, heath and bog of the Weald, the largest expanse of wild country cleared in England since Domesday, and which offers one of the clearest examples in Britain of the struggle between man and a continually receding, uncultivated, waste. The history of this achievement has yet to be fully written, for many questions will be resolvable, if at all, only by large-scale intensive archaeological fieldwork, which has hardly begun.²⁹

It was, he felt, perhaps best to regard the medieval colonization at that time as a process of recovery of previously lost farmland, rather than as an assault on primeval woodland or on virgin lands. He did not contribute to volume III of the *Agrarian history*, 1350–1500, the commission going instead to Mavis Mate, Professor of History at Oregon University. The precise reasons for this are unknown to me, but Professor Mate stepped in at very short notice to undertake the work when the original proposals broke down, and these may well have involved Peter.³⁰

The bibliography of the *Agrarian history* cited three further important works in the 1970s – all books. Chronologically first came the very

influential contribution to W.G. Hoskins' and Roy Millward's edited county series, on *The Sussex landscape* (1974). The series was designed to follow on from Hoskins' own seminal *Making of the English landscape* (1955). In November 1970 Peter wrote to Hoskins:

For some time I have been studying the evolution of the Sussex landscape... I should be most grateful if you would let me know whether you envisage the possibility of a volume in that series being devoted to Sussex.³¹

Hoskins replied in January 1971, apologizing for a delayed response ('I gradually got bogged down and Christmas finished me off'), accepting Peter's offer to produce the Sussex volume in his series by the end of 1972, and asking for a provisional scheme for the book. The project then proceeded, with Hoskins making small changes to Peter's first draft, a contract issued, and reading an over-length second draft. Hoskins was concerned that the first page was too dull, there was too much 'jargon' and the language 'isn't "human" enough'. But in a postscript, he wrote 'I enclose p.2 to cheer you up. I don't want to change a word of it. This is where you really get going'.

It was the ninth volume in the series to appear, and followed others by such distinguished writers as Christopher Taylor (Dorset and Cambridgeshire), Trevor Rowley (Shropshire) and Frank Emery (Oxfordshire). Extraordinarily useful, it is a pity that the series did not progress much further, since it was part of Hoskins' grand vision to bring landscape studies to a wider audience. Certainly Peter's volume has succeeded in that aim and it has become a standard fixture on reading lists to accompany undergraduate and adult education courses. In the introduction he wrote 'I have written this book in the hope that readers will take to the by-roads, footpaths, bridleways, coastal creeks and waterways, and so savour the real essence of the Sussex scene.'³² The wording of the sentiment is interesting in that there was less attention paid to the development of towns in Sussex, a facet of the landscape that clearly held less interest for him. And in a concluding sentence to the book he anticipated a later passion, for landscape preservation or conservation, by quoting William Morris:

Surely there is no square mile of the earth's habitable surface that is not beautiful in

its own way if we men only abstain from willfully destroying that beauty.³³

The second book of the 1970s, produced in the popular Darwen County History series, later continued by Phillimore, was *A history of Surrey* (1977). A volume in a series covering 21 counties, it took Peter back to his early days in Surrey, and the flyleaf notes that he 'has long had a deep interest in the history of Surrey, acquired by walking and cycling many hundreds of miles among its hills, woods and heaths in the course of the past thirty years.' His landscape interest is nowhere more apparent than in the sentence in the text: 'These activities of man in Surrey have been played out in a landscape which is the joint product of man and nature. Its essence is a remarkable variety of surface.'³⁴ His approach in stressing the landscape as a forceful element in Surrey's history is in contrast to the emphasis in Roy Armstrong's companion volume, *A history of Sussex*, first published in 1961 and going through later editions, still giving a disproportionate attention to buildings, Armstrong's own passion. Where Peter devoted eight pages of text to the landscape, Armstrong devoted just over two.³⁵

The third book is his edited *The South Saxons*. This was produced in 1978, following a proposal made in 1974 to the Friends of the University of Sussex Library by the late Cmdr R. B. Mitchell that the 1500th anniversary of the founding of the Saxon kingdom of Sussex should be celebrated. Several events in Sussex under the theme of 'Aelle and after' were organised, and Peter was asked to edit the volume. Contributions of chapters came from eight other authors, including Martin Welch, Martin Bell, John McNeil Dodgson and Barry Cunliffe, while Peter contributed an introduction 'The Saxon heritage' and chapter 6, 'The South Saxon *Andredesweald*'.³⁶

In 1979 there was, in retrospect, a significant shift in Peter's writing. Prior to this he was publishing within a mainline historical geography tradition, emphasizing empirical data, drawn from archival sources, to establish either spatial distributions or trends through time. But in that year he published a chapter in Harold Fox and Robin Butlin's edited volume, *Change in the countryside, essays in rural England, 1500–1900*, another publication for the Institute of British Geographers. The topic retained his lasting interest in landscape, whilst imparting a newer emphasis, that of the infusion of artistic



Fig. 5. North-Western Polytechnic, Prince of Wales Road, Kentish Town in 1966. Source: Ann Winser personal collection.

creativity into the landscape. He was picking up the trend in human geography for the analyst to be concerned not only with the objective 'facts' of landscapes and environments but also with the perceptions of, and cultural reactions to, those environments by different groups of people.³⁷ The piece dealt specifically with the spread of designed gardens and parklands in the South East, and the theme of creative endeavour and its links to the environment, particularly in Sussex, stayed with him for the rest of his life.³⁸ And with its greater interest in the 18th century and beyond, the chapter marked a real shift from his earlier concern with the realities of colonization and farming practice in the medieval period, underlined by a piece of 1981 on the designer Philip Webb and his links with Sussex and William Morris c.1900.³⁹ This material was the basis for an influential paper later published in the *Journal of Historical Geography* 1984 which also investigated the interaction of London's presence in the Wealden landscape, and the interpretations of that landscape by 19th-century artists.⁴⁰

However, research progress during the 1970s and 1980s was not always readily maintained. The departmental situation at the Polytechnic of North London was certainly uneasy, and administrative

duties frequently summoned, with the time somewhat grudgingly given. The department had moved from Kentish Town (the building being now an Italian restaurant and partly converted into flats, Fig. 5) by 1975 to the Marlborough Building in Holloway Road (now the City and Islington College). The Polytechnic's academic work was disrupted in the early 1970s by controversy around the first director, Dr Terence Miller's links with the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith; and then in 1984–5 by vociferous student anti-National Front confrontations, internal friction, sit-ins and the then director's resignation in 1984. The plethora of working parties, departmental meetings and the normal run of academic crises were never to Peter's liking, and his somewhat cavalier departmental budgeting eventually resulted in many of his responsibilities being removed, enabling him to concentrate more on his research.

Peter's output therefore continued, confirming the new research directions he had taken. Back home in Shoreham, and as an outcome of meetings held in Shoreham by local history workshops, he edited transcripts of the 19th-century census returns for the town, which were published in 1986 and 1987. It was probably with great relief that he could devote his spare time to

such local interests.⁴¹ The new journal *Southern History*, first published in 1979 to complement the established *Northern History* and *Midland History*, offered outlets for his work on Surrey. Based on a close reading of the family and estate correspondence he published in 1982 a paper on the socially aware, but also traditionally squiarchical, Reginald Bray of Shere (1869–1950), an early exponent of landscape protection. Two years later followed a paper on the Tillingbourne Valley, between Guildford and Dorking, where much of the Brays' estate was located, but this time concentrating on an analysis of the role of water power along the valley in the early-modern period.⁴² As well as these papers, he was active in delivering lectures to local history societies in this part of Surrey. Much later, in 2003, came a 36-page paperback booklet, little known in Sussex, published by the Shere, Gomshall and Peaslake Local History Society on the valley of the Tillingbourne, a short stream arising on the flanks of Leith Hill. It joins the River Wey at Shalford but incorporates many water-mills, watercress beds, landscape gardens and tanneries. Peter had originally written an earlier version of this in 1984, and had published it in *Southern History* (see above) but this was now expanded with new co-authors.⁴³

He was also very active in the sphere of local history during the 1970s. He was appointed editor of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, taking over from Francis Steer for volume 112 in 1974 and continuing until volume 117 in 1979. Thanks possibly to the Society's new wealth from the bequest by Ivan D. Margary and relatively generous funding from rescue archaeology, the volumes increased greatly in length; indeed in volume 112 he introduced the larger format still used. He contributed two shorter notices, one on deserted medieval villages and one on Broadstone Warren on Ashdown Forest.⁴⁴ Between volumes 112 and 114 he included 'A Society Anthology' wherein he, as editor, reprinted comments on the society's activities. One particularly apt quotation, indicative of Peter's own leanings, from Richard Cobden, is to be found in volume 112:

I was talking with Durrant Cooper, one of the leading members of our Sussex Archaeological Society, and told him if instead of devoting a volume a year to the remains of old castles and monasteries, they would give us some

facts throwing light on the social and political condition of the inhabitants in former ages, it would be a much more useful employment of their talents.⁴⁵

The editorship of SAC was, of course, being undertaken while he was still commuting to north London. And his Achilles' Heel revealed itself again: administration and adherence to timetables and committees were never strong points. Some lengthy delays in publication ensued and volume 116 was published to cover the years 1977 and 1978. Following complaints to the society's Council, Peter was not re-appointed at the 1979 AGM, being replaced by Owen Bedwin, who was to be supported by an editorial board from volume 118 (1980).⁴⁶

At the same time Peter was active in the Sussex Record Society. He was literary director 1971–1979, at first jointly with Francis Steer until 1978 and then with Marie Clough in 1979. He was president in 1978, and indeed a member for over 50 years, having joined in 1959.⁴⁷ He maintained a close engagement with local history activities, very much in Shoreham, but also, for example, as president of the Danehill Historical Society. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in November 1985, and a vice-president of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 2005.

In 1981 Peter and I signed an agreement with the Longman Group to produce a volume on South East England in a series of regional volumes on the history and archaeology of England. It eventually appeared in 1990 as *The South-East from AD 1000*, the companion to the archaeology volume by Peter Drewett, David Rudling and Mark Gardiner of two years previous.⁴⁸ By then, having in 1987 taken early retirement from the Polytechnic, Peter was turning his attention ever more to the localities and landscapes of Sussex.

RETIREMENT – OF A SORT

Freed from departmental obligations and commuting to north London, Peter's writing career flourished as never before, and the last 20 years of his life were extremely productive. His old department of Geography in London, however, had not thrived as well, and in 1997 the separate department of Geography was closed in a reorganization and Geography ceased to be offered as an honours degree.⁴⁹ Peter now became a

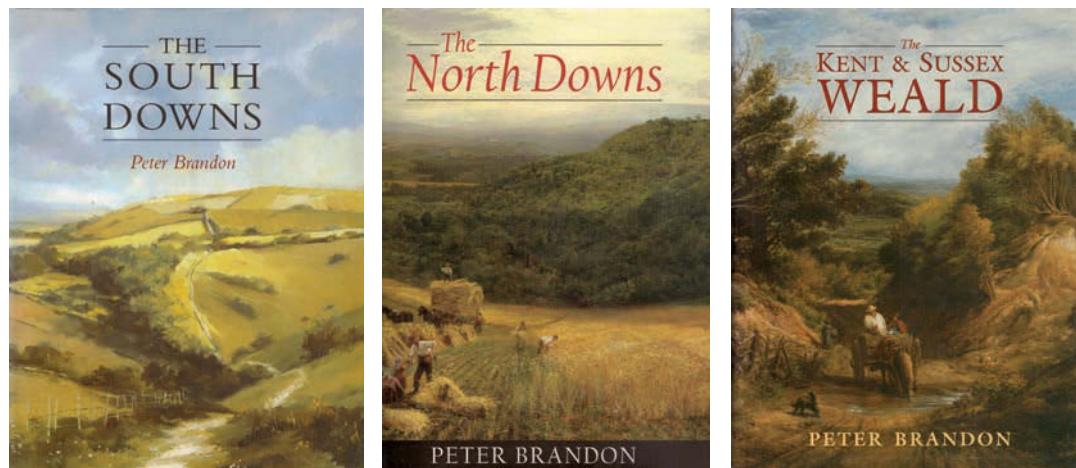


Fig. 6. The regional triumvirate. (Reproduced with permission from The History Press (now incorporating Phillimore).)

sessional tutor for the University of Sussex's Centre for Continuing Education, from 1988 until 2006. He was also intensively engaged with delivering talks to local history societies, Women's Institutes, conferences and other gatherings.

Another theme in his interests and writing now also emerged strongly: a fierce resistance towards any development which threatened to deface or otherwise spoil rural landscapes, whether the iconic South Downs or the more 'ordinary' (and thus less protected) areas such as the Sussex Low Weald. He was never content to shut himself in his study and he came to evince a great concern, not only for the discovery of past landscapes, but for their present and future. He became engaged with a variety of conservation organisations: a member of the Society of Sussex Downsmen (now the South Downs Society) from 1987, he was its president from 2004 until his death; he served as chairman of the Sussex branch of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (as it then was) for 13 years, from 1986 to 1999, remaining as a vice-president and chair of the judges of the CPRE Sussex Countryside Awards. He led the move for the CPRE to set up the first Sussex Branch office at Southerham Farm near Lewes, put in place the rudiments of how to keep in contact with the Districts, and placed the Branch in a strong negotiating position with environmental and countryside groups at all levels. Later, after this small beginning at Southerham Farm, the office was moved to Blackboys, where it continues today

as a focal point for Branch activities.⁵⁰ From 1992 he was a founder member of the Sussex Downs Conservation Board, the forerunner of the present National Park, when the Sussex Downs was an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

As a result of the blending of these different interests and activities, he struck up a solid working relationship with the publishers Phillimore which produced three masterful evocations of the South Downs, North Downs, and Kent and Sussex Weald (Fig. 6). Aiming at a wider audience, 'P. F. Brandon', the academic writer of journal papers, now became the more accessible 'Peter Brandon'.

The volumes required a different approach to scholarship, more reliant on surveys of printed secondary sources, or with archival research now more concerned with modern administrative records. In part he also recycled some of his earlier work. His coverage was nevertheless as comprehensive as could be expected within the confines of the publishers, with their eye on the projected readership. The most important source of literature now became the London Library, to which he was devoted and which in turn extended an understanding leniency to their misplaced volumes in his later years.

The first of this trilogy, *The South Downs*, was published in 1998.⁵¹ In a review, I was able to comment on Peter's 'characteristic verve and depth of feeling', and that 'much of the charm of this volume lies in its synthesis of historical and contemporary, artistic and literary themes



Fig. 7. Peter Brandon in characteristic sweater. (Family photograph collection, by permission of Mrs Gill Hooker (née Brandon).)

throughout, and its grand sweeps of vision.⁵² Following an introductory chapter, he begins with what was to become a trademark introduction to the physical basis of the region under discussion, a characteristic of the regional geography stemming in large part from the ideas of Vidal de la Blache, 'The chalk takes care of all'. Thereafter he treats the downland in a series of chapters organised chronologically, ending with 'After Eden' and 'Places and ideas: the Downs in literature and painting'. A final, more grim, chapter is 'The austere present', exactly the same title as he had given to the final chapter of his *History of Surrey* and indicative of the influence of his CPRE activities (Fig. 7).

The second volume was *The Kent and Sussex Weald* (2003). The format was similar: following introductory chapters which set the scene and the boundaries, there were chapters on the natural setting, soils and earth history before moving into a chronological sequence. The greater emphasis now accorded to more recent cultural appreciations was recorded in a chapter 'The wildness pleases: the changed appreciation of the Weald' which

included sections such as 'Italy in England' and 'The "discovery" of heathland'. Among many acknowledgements, we may note one to Fred Tebbutt 'whose brilliant field work around Ashdown Forest freshly opened my eyes to new aspects of the Weald and who was also a mentor and longstanding friend.' Although the book ostensibly dealt with Kent and Sussex there were also plentiful references, and illustrative material, relating to the Surrey Weald.

The final book of this regional trio was *The North Downs* (2005). Now partly back on the Surrey soil of his youth, the book is dedicated to his late father, 'who inspired me by repeatedly grinding his pedals through the Vale of Mickleham.'

In the introduction he wrote:

The present volume draws its inspiration from my youth and early manhood when from Twickenham I cycled and walked over the Surrey Downs and first experienced their beguiling close-ups and unforgettable panoramas.⁵³

Again, with a bow to Vidalian geography, the

physical basis is presented first ‘the natural and man-made setting’, followed by an approximately chronological approach through into the 20th century, and finishing with a chapter on ‘The present and uncertain future’. As a Man of Kent, I do feel it only right to point out that the book is shot throughout with Peter’s own Surrey focus, and that chapters such as ‘London’s playground’ have far less meaning for the downland of East Kent.

As well as these three influential books, others appeared. Peter cooperated with photographer Mike Read to produce *The South Downs* in 2003, for which he wrote the text to accompany the exceptional photographs. The text again starts with ‘The rocks beneath’ and ‘Climate, vegetation and wildlife’ but then moves on to ‘Man’s influence’, ‘Land use and culture’, ‘Customs and folklore’, ‘Recreation’ and a final one on ‘Exploring the area’. The book is one of the ‘Discover’ series published in Tiverton by Halsgrove which includes many other landscapes such as Dartmoor or the Jurassic Coast, and is designed to help visitors extract the best experience from their visits. More solid was Peter’s 2006 book *Sussex*, dedicated to his late mother, and which was organised in four parts. The first part serves as an introduction to the county and its early peoples; part 2 is ‘The making of Sussex’; part 3 is ‘Sussex themes’; and part 4 is a topographical survey. He could now expand upon his more recent interest and so we have chapters dealing with parks and gardens, writers and artists, and Sussex in music.⁵⁴

Between 2006 and 2011 Peter continued his prodigious work routine. Despite entering his 80s, he showed little sign of slowing down, although there were increasing worries by his friends and relations about the state of his health. But the publications continued. In 2007 he co-edited, with Gerald Smart, a book for Packard publishers, on the future of the South Downs, primarily a planning and landscape volume, and the fourth in their ‘Vulnerable and Threatened Environments of Britain’ series.⁵⁵ In 2009 came a small volume for the Snake River Press, *The shaping of the Sussex landscape*. The series is aimed at the informed field walker to whom Peter recommended acquiring ‘an historical eye’ as well as ‘good camera, possibly binoculars, stout shoes or boots and weatherproof clothing...and a map...crucial to an understanding of countryside or town.’⁵⁶

The foreword was contributed by Lord Denis Healey, who referred to Peter’s book as ‘wearing its erudition and experience lightly’ – a perceptive comment indeed.

His final contribution to *Sussex Archaeological Collections* came in 2010 with his article on John Halsham, the pseudonym of George Forrester Scott (1863–1937). He clearly strongly identified with Halsham’s writings which recorded ‘the lives, histories, habits and speech of the working-class Wealden inhabitants who shaped the region’.⁵⁷ He felt that Halsham’s writings, such as *Idlehurst: a journal kept in the country* (1898) or *Lonewood Corner; a countryman’s horizons* (1907), have never been bettered. His concerns both for social justice for working people and for the protection of the environment clearly endeared him to Peter.

A final collaboration with Phillimore enabled Peter to publish *The discovery of Sussex* in 2010.⁵⁸ This volume, again well produced as all his books have been, differs from the others in that the long-term regional narratives are replaced by a thematic treatment. It examines the social, cultural and environmental changes within Sussex from the end of the 18th century through to 1939 – covering roughly 150 years of ‘discovery’. Much is linked to the influx of Londoners and their impact on a county which otherwise seemed more resistant to metropolitan influence than other counties equidistant from the capital. There were many who encouraged and initiated change, but also many who abhorred modernity in its many guises. Rapid urbanisation precipitated its own counter-culture, and Sussex saw a remarkable flowering of painting, writing, arts and crafts design, vernacular architecture and landscape design, all charted carefully through the volume.⁵⁹ The chapter on ‘Writers and the new Sussex’ introduced the reader to a large group of newcomers and visitors, not just to Belloc and Kipling, who looked to a precious Sussex past, largely as an escape from an enveloping urban present. The book was dedicated to Arthur Beckett (1872–1943), ‘Indefatigable promoter of the discovery of Sussex and the guardian spirit of the Downs he did so much to save.’ The last few lectures he delivered were on the topic of this book, such as that to a packed Shoreham Ropetackle Centre late in 2010, when he dealt with questions and signed copies of the book. The theme came to fascinate and absorb him: he

remained an avid reader, uninterested in either television or even listening to the radio.

His earlier passion for literature was retained until the end of his life. More and more, his affection for the Sussex landscape was blended with his knowledge of literature and with painting. The subject of his last book was *Sussex writers in their landscapes*, on which he was still working in his hospital bed, and which, it is hoped, will be published posthumously. In the book he rescues from the past some completely, but perhaps unjustly, forgotten authors, such as Habberton Lulham and Charles Dalmon, to sit alongside the better-known Belloc and Kipling.

Through these books and also through his prolific lectures and media appearances – television and radio, as well as local newspapers – over many years but especially since his retirement from the Polytechnic, he had established himself as the distinguished authority on the landscape history, and protection, of Sussex and South-East England. And he was certainly never content to remain within his book-filled study. In the field he remained energetic into his 80s, as many who tried to keep up with him on a field trip will testify. With minimal notice he invariably set off at a great pace, soon leaving a long crocodile behind. An article in *Country Life* in 2011 provided a showcase for many of his thoughts: 'My mother took me up to Thundersbarrow Hill as a boy. There was a finger post at Shoreham railway station, and one finger read "to the sea" and the other "to the Downs". As a child this mesmerised me.' He now hoped, he went on, to see the new National Park providing more incentives for farmers to re-create traditional downland sward, and more interpretation guides for archaeological features.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

So many books, then, on Sussex and the South East – most with an acknowledgement to Ann Winser for her proof reading and indexing. He

acquired a large group of friends through his work and writing, whilst managing to disarm tetchy administrators who were invariably upset by his chaotic approach to record keeping. To see his book-lined house immediately after his death was to experience something akin to an avalanche of papers, books, newspaper cuttings, slides and assorted ephemera in every conceivable corner of the house. There were many who lent Peter a book, never to see it again.

Here was a man possessed of élan, vitality, enthusiasm, a love of countryside, an ability to communicate with everyone, whether undergraduates or adult audiences. He was quite incapable of being dull, and his conversation matched his writings: erudite, lively and even joyous on occasion. And there were always surprises. His favourite place in Britain? Loch Torridon, Scotland. Perhaps an unexpected choice for such a south-eastern scholar. But as one who accompanied him on a Geography field class there in the 1960s, I can perfectly understand the love for the grandeur and sweep of that countryside. His favourite building? Again perhaps a surprise – Lincoln Cathedral. Favourite music – perhaps less of a surprise – Elgar's *String Quartet*. His favourite book – Cobbett's *Rural rides*. And his hero? John Evelyn – Surrey landowner and a major influence on gardens and landscape gardening.⁶¹ His enthusiasm in life persisted to the very end, despite his increasingly poor health in those last few months. He died on 2 November 2011 at the Royal Sussex County Hospital renal unit, Brighton. Asked on the day before he died 'What present advice would you pass onto folk?' he replied 'We must fight to keep what countryside we have left!'⁶²

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The author acknowledges the help in producing this paper of those who knew him personally and/or professionally: Ann Winser, Gill Hooker, John Farrant, Joy Hall, Geoffrey Mead, Margaret Moore, Dr John Wareing, Jola Zdunek (Society of Antiquaries), Messrs Ede and Ravenscroft, Denise Nicholls (University of London Research Degree Examinations Office), Julie Carrington (Royal Geographical Society) and Robert Cheesman (South Downs Society).

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NOTES

- ¹ Jack Watkins, 'Interview: Peter Brandon, historian and South Downs specialist – discovering the meaning of landscape', *Country Life* 29 June 2011, 76.
- ² The 1901 census for Shoreham includes Frederick Parsons, aged 30, a sand and beach merchant, and his wife Elizabeth and their 5 children, including Doris, 4 months, living at Albion Terrace, Shoreham: www. Ancestry.co.uk.
- ³ Much of the material on Peter's early life is drawn from personal conversation with him over the very many years since I was an undergraduate and then a postgraduate under his supervision. I am also indebted to his former colleague and friend of 50 years, Ann Winser, to his sister Gill Hooker, and to Joy Hall, who had the presence of mind to record three separate conversations with Peter when he was hospitalised in Worthing and Brighton during 2011.
- ⁴ P. F. Brandon, *The North Downs* (Chichester: Phillimore 2005), xvi.
- ⁵ S. W. Wooldridge and F. Goldring, *The Weald*, The New Naturalist 26 (London: Collins 1953).
- ⁶ Wooldridge and Goldring, 'Editors' preface', viii. The editors were a celebrated team: James Fisher, John Gilmour, Sir Julian Huxley and L. Dudley Stamp.
- ⁷ Peter Anthony Allen (4 April 1943–13 August 1964), as given in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Anthony_Allen [accessed 26 January 2012]. The name was not, however, actually mentioned to me by Peter.
- ⁸ I am grateful to Mrs Denise Nicholls, University of London Research Degree Examinations Office, for this information.
- ⁹ P. F. Brandon, The common lands and wastes of Sussex (unpub. PhD thesis, University of London 1963).
- ¹⁰ B. M. Short, Agriculture in the High Weald of Kent and Sussex 1850 to 1953. A case study in the application of multivariate techniques in the field of historical geography (unpub. PhD thesis, University of London, 1973).
- ¹¹ The North Western Polytechnic was established in 1929 and opened by HRH Edward, Prince of Wales. In 1971 the Northern and North Western polytechnics merged to form the Polytechnic of North London which, after Peter's retirement, in 1992 became the University of North London. In the first merger between two UK universities London Guildhall University joined the University of North London to form London Metropolitan University in 2002.
- ¹² H. C. Darby, *An historical geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1936), revised as *A new historical geography of England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1973).
- ¹³ H. C. Darby and E. M. J. Campbell (eds), *The Domesday geography of south-east England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1962).
- ¹⁴ Translated as P. Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of human geography* (London: Constable, 1926; repr. 1965).
- ¹⁵ F. E. Sawyer, *Land tenure and division in Brighton and the neighbourhood* (London: Spottiswoode, 1881), 12; W. Budgen, 'The working of a medieval manor', *Sussex Notes and Queries* 9 (1942–3), 10–13, 59–61 [1366 reeve's account for the Manor of Streat]; 'Wists and virgates of land', 10 (1944), 74–6, 97–9; 'The acreage of the Sussex hide of land', 11 (1946–7), 73–7. H. L. Gray, *English field systems* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1915); J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England: the Jutes* (Oxford: OUP, 1933).
- ¹⁶ Brandon, Common lands, 238–54.
- ¹⁷ P. Brandon, 'Arable Farming in a Sussex scarp-foot parish during the Late Middle Ages', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 100 (1962), 62–73.
- ¹⁸ S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950), 10. And see G. E. Fussell, 'Four centuries of farming systems in Sussex, 1500–1900', SAC 90 (1951–2), 61, 68; M. W. Beresford and J. K. St Joseph, *Medieval England: an aerial survey* (Cambridge: CUP, 1958), 237.
- ¹⁹ G. H. Kenyon, 'Kirdford inventories, 1611 to 1776', SAC 93 (1955), 89; M. Clough, *The estates of the Pelham family in East Sussex before 1500* (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1956).
- ²⁰ K. Thomas, *Man and the natural world* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 254–69.
- ²¹ J. S. Moore, *Laughton: a study in the evolution of the Wealden landscape*, University of Leicester Occasional Papers in Local History 19 (1965). J. L. M. Gulley, The Wealden landscape in the seventeenth century and its antecedents, 2 vols (unpub PhD thesis, University of London 1960), was innovative, in that it begins with the 17th-century landscape and proceeds to peel away the landscape, working in reverse chronological order until the primitive 'urlandschaft' is finally attained in volume 2. The quotation from Dion on p.23 is from 'La geographie humaine retrospective', *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 6 (1949), 6. For his theoretical contribution, see J. L. M. Gulley, 'The retrospective approach in historical geography', *Erdkunde* 15 (1961), 306–9.
- ²² I am grateful to Julie Carrington, library, Royal Geographical Society, for this information.
- ²³ P. F. Brandon, 'The enclosure of the Keymer Commons, 1828–9', *Sussex Notes and Queries* 15 (1960), 181–6.
- ²⁴ P. F. Brandon, 'Medieval clearances in the east Sussex Weald', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 48 (1969), 135–53; 'Late medieval weather in Sussex and its agricultural significance', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 54 (1971), 1–17; 'Agriculture and the effect of floods and weather at Barnhorne, Sussex, during the late Middle Ages', SAC 109 (1971), 69–93; 'Demesne arable farming in coastal Sussex during the later middle ages', *Agricultural History Review* 19 (1971), 113–34; 'Cereal yields on the Sussex estates of Battle Abbey in the later middle ages', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., 25 (1972), 403–20.
- ²⁵ J. Z. Titow, *Winchester yields: a study in medieval agricultural productivity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972). I am grateful to Ann Winser for this information. The study of medieval yields has now been developed to take account of regional variations, as can be seen in The Medieval Crop Yields Database which currently contains over 34,000 individual precisely-dated yield observations, 31,000 of them relating to the yield of grain. Most of the current work, however, is still based on sources taken from south and east of a line from the Wash to the Severn: <http://www.cropyields.ac.uk/project.php> [accessed 26 January 2012]. And see Bruce M. S. Campbell, *English seigniorial agriculture 1250–1449* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).
- ²⁶ Margary Grant, £1220 for the project, Nov. 2005 to March 2006.

- ²⁷ P. F. Brandon, 'The origin of Newhaven and the drainage of the Lewes and Laughton Levels', *SAC* **109** (1971), 94–106.
- ²⁸ It seems from a surviving letter dated 4 Dec. 1972 that Peter had originally hoped to contribute to the volume in collaboration with John Moore, then at the University of Bristol, but this clearly failed to materialise. According to Moore, Hallam, as editor, wanted to write as much as possible himself (personal communication).
- ²⁹ P. F. Brandon, 'South-eastern England' in H. E. Hallam (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales, II, 1042–1350* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 174–89 (174–5 quoted). His section on farming techniques is at pp. 312–25.
- ³⁰ M. Mate, 'Kent and Sussex' in the section 'Occupation of the land', and 'Kent and Sussex, in the section 'Farming practice and techniques', in E. Miller (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales, III, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 119–35 and 268–84. The reference to Mate's late entry is in the editor's preface, xxi.
- ³¹ Letter from Peter Brandon's private papers November 1970.
- ³² Peter Brandon, *The Sussex landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), 8. A corrected reprint was published in 1978.
- ³³ Brandon, *Sussex landscape*, 274. The quotation is taken from William Morris, 'Art and the beauty of the Earth' in his *On art and socialism* (ed. H. Jackson) (London: John Lehmann, 1947), 169.
- ³⁴ Peter Brandon, *A history of Surrey* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1977), 15.
- ³⁵ J. R. Armstrong, *A history of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1961, 3rd edn 1974). The edition published in 1995 had text added by Richard Pailthorpe and Diana Zeuner.
- ³⁶ Peter Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (Chichester: Phillimore 1978).
- ³⁷ See, for example, D. Lowenthal and M. Bowden, *Geographies of the mind: essays in historical geopolity* (New York: OUP, 1976).
- ³⁸ P. F. Brandon, 'The diffusion of designed landscapes in South-east England', in H. S. A. Fox and R. A. Butlin (eds), *Change in the countryside, essays in rural England, 1500–1900* Inst. Brit. Geog. Special Pub. **10** (London: the Institute, 1979), 165–87.
- ³⁹ P. F. Brandon, 'Philip Webb, the William Morris Circle, and Sussex', *Sussex History* **2(1)** (1981), 8–14.
- ⁴⁰ P. F. Brandon, 'Wealden nature and the role of London in nineteenth-century artistic imagination', *Journal of Historical Geography* **10** (1984), 53–74.
- ⁴¹ P. F. Brandon (ed.), *New Shoreham census return 1841, ...1851, ...1871, ...1881* (Shoreham: Shoreham & Southwick History Workshop Publication, Nos 3, 4, 1, 2 (1986–87).
- ⁴² P. F. Brandon, 'A twentieth century squire in his landscape: Reginald Bray of Shere, Surrey', *Southern History* **4** (1982), 191–221; P. F. Brandon, 'Land, technology and water management in the Tillingbourne valley, Surrey, 1560–1760', *Southern History* **6** (1984), 74–103.
- ⁴³ Peter Brandon, Robin Skinner and Claire Wastie, *The Tillingbourne story: The river in Wotton, Abinger, Gomshall, Shere, Albury, Chilworth and Shalford* (Shere, Gomshall and Peaslake Local History Society 2003). The original version was P. F. Brandon, *The Tillingbourne River story* (the Society, 1984, revised and reprinted 1988).
- ⁴⁴ Peter Brandon, 'Deserted medieval villages in the Brighton district', *SAC* **112** (1974), 162–3; and 'Warrens and fossil fields on Broadstone Warren, Ashdown Forest', *SAC* **112** (1974), 164.
- ⁴⁵ The editor, 'A Society anthology 1', *SAC* **112** (1974), 85, quoting John Morley, *The life of Richard Cobden* (Macmillan, 1908), 468.
- ⁴⁶ East Sussex Record Office, ACC 9048, SAS business archive. The first editorial board comprised the editor, Fred Aldsworth, Colin Brent and John Farrant.
- ⁴⁷ J. Farrant, *Sussex depicted: views and descriptions 1600–1800*, Sussex Record Society **85** (2001), 366–7.
- ⁴⁸ Peter Brandon and Brian Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1990); P. Drewett, D. Rudling and M. Gardiner, *The South East to AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1988).
- ⁴⁹ Prior to its closure, the Department of Geography had moved again in 1992 to Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5.
- ⁵⁰ I am grateful to Margaret Moore, CPRE, for the information about Peter's CPRE activities.
- ⁵¹ Peter Brandon, *The South Downs* (Chichester: Phillimore 1998).
- ⁵² Brian Short, 'Review of Peter Brandon, *The South Downs*', *Agricultural History Review* **48** (2000), 114–15.
- ⁵³ Peter Brandon, *The North Downs* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), xvi.
- ⁵⁴ Peter Brandon, *Sussex* (London: Robert Hale, 2006).
- ⁵⁵ Peter Brandon and Gerald Smart (eds), *The future of the South Downs: landscape, ecology, land use and conservation* (Chichester: Packard, 2007).
- ⁵⁶ Peter Brandon, *The shaping of the Sussex landscape* (Alfriston: Snake River Press, 2009).
- ⁵⁷ Peter Brandon, '"John Halsham": the perfect countryman', *SAC* **148** (2010), 213–24, at 213.
- ⁵⁸ Peter Brandon, *The discovery of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2010).
- ⁵⁹ See my review in *Sussex Past & Present* **123** (April 2011), 15.
- ⁶⁰ Watkins, 'Peter Brandon', *Country Life* 29 June 2011, 76.
- ⁶¹ All as communicated in Watkins, 76. A similar article by Jack Watkins, primarily concerned with *The discovery of Sussex*, appeared as 'The oracle of Sussex history', *The Countryman* March 2012, 60–65.
- ⁶² In discussion with Joy Hall, 1 November 2011.