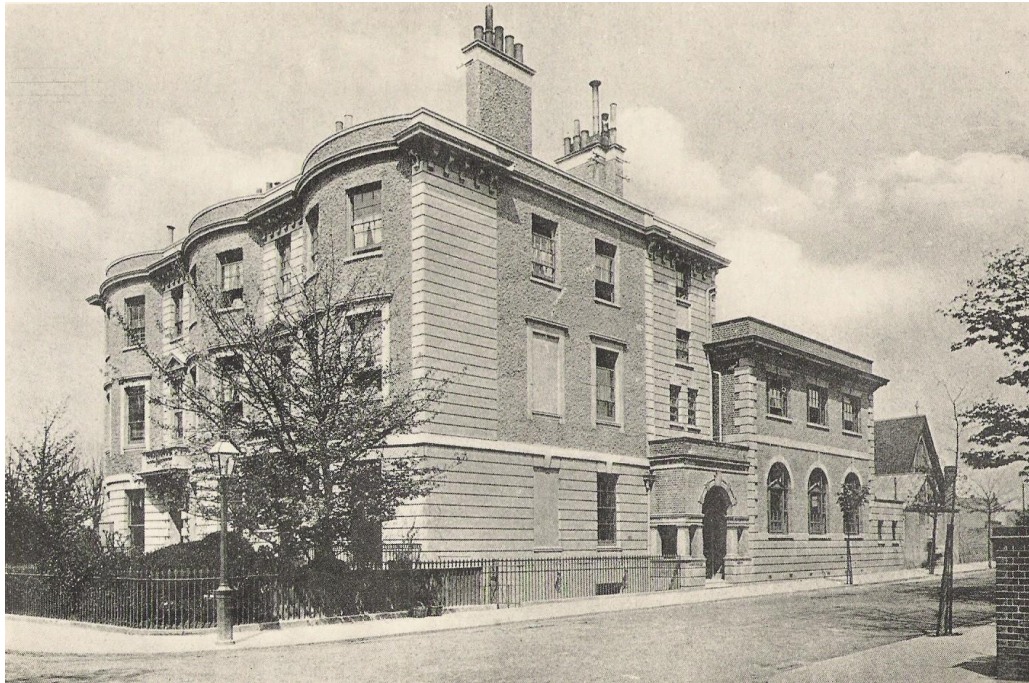


Chapter 3: Prep school, public school & some university, 1863 - 1870

Boarding at Windlesham House School, 1863 – 1865

If Herbert was showing early signs of his future passion for sport, then Henry Charles Malden had near perfect qualifications to be his headmaster. Son of the founding headmaster of Windlesham, Henry scraped his degree at Cambridge but rowed for Trinity College and represented the university at football, as sport and his many other interests claimed the lion's share of his attention at the expense of his studies¹. Whilst at Cambridge, in 1848 he earned a place in the history of the development of the rules of Association Football by chairing a meeting in his rooms at Trinity which was a key part of the production of the Cambridge Football Rules. When the Football Association was formed in 1863 and established its first set of rules, it drew heavily on the Cambridge model. Henry apparently considered himself to be the father of the Association Rules² but the wider consensus seems to be that while important, his so-called Malden Committee was just one element of a process of years. Either way his contribution illustrates the depth of his interest in sport and apart from rowing and football, his pastimes included beagling and rifle-shooting for which he later represented the 1st Sussex Volunteers³.



3.1 Windlesham House School c.1900, built in 1845 with extensions added from 1864⁴. Described by Donald Leinster-Mackay as the first purpose-designed preparatory school in England⁵.

¹ Information provided by Dr Tom Houston, MA DPhil FCIM, historian to Windlesham House School and author of "The Windlesham Dynasty and the Education of the Rich". Email 3/11/2009, letter 15/11/2009 p.5, etc. obituary Dorking & Leatherhead Advertiser 22/6/1907, p.2 (football)

² "History of Windlesham House School 1837 – 1937", G Herbert Wilson, M^cCorquodale & Co 1937, p.32

³ Dr Tom Houston Email 3/11/2009 (shooting), letter 15/11/2009 p.5 (beagling), GH Wilson p.33 (1st Sussex Volunteers) & p.41 (rifle-shooting for his Corps), obituary Dorking & Leatherhead Advertiser 22/6/1907 p.2 (shooting)

⁴ GH Wilson p. 49

⁵ "The Rise of the English Prep School", D Leinster-Mackay, Falmer Press 1984, p. 48

After leaving Cambridge, Malden became senior tutor at Windlesham and he took over as headmaster when his father died in 1855⁶. In the eighteen-sixties the school accommodated some forty pupils and the teaching staff was made up of Malden and two class teachers supported by drawing and French teachers and a matron⁷. The latter was an aunt of Henry's known to the boys as "Dim" – short for Dimity rather than a reflection of her mental capacity⁸ – and she was described by one distinguished old boy as a motherly woman who did much for the boys⁹. The headmaster was inevitably close to his pupils in such a small school and Malden was apparently an enthusiastic and engaging personality - an entertaining companion for adults and a charismatic leader for children¹⁰. Formal teaching gave him little pleasure and his enthusiasm was for extra-mural activities which included photography and gardening as well as a wide range of sports. It is likely that Herbert first became conscious of his own leanings to sport under his strong influence, although the duration of their relationship was just two and a half years or so. Cricket and football were played at the school and there would have been regular swimming and gym sessions - from 1871 at least there was gym on Tuesdays and Fridays and swimming on Mondays and Thursdays at the town's Brill's Baths (complete with tuition from one-legged Hoppy)¹¹. However, while it is likely that the timetable provided for physical exercise on every day of the week except Sundays, an old boy of the school present from 1866 to 1869 suggests that there was little concentration on organised sport and standards at Windlesham were if anything lower than at other local schools. Writing for the history of the school in 1932, Lord Midleton observed that the games were very haphazard and as a result the school "did not excel in contests with others", but he does record that the school fielded two cricket elevens in 1866 with some unscrupulous overlapping for stronger opposition. In a match against a well known neighbouring school called Lee's, Windlesham's "Second" Eleven was savaged by a nine-year old who hammered sixty runs – a tall, curly-haired Alfred Lyttelton who grew up to be "the most famous ball-game player of his day" and national real tennis champion for many years¹².

When he took over as headmaster Malden instituted annual athletics sports days and we can catalogue Herbert's exploits at these events¹³:

1863: 3rd in the under-thirteen 100 yards and the wide jump

1864, July: 1st in the over-thirteen high jump (prize: a cricket ball); 2nd in the over-thirteen 100 yards, the wide jump and throwing the hammer; 3rd in throwing the cricket ball

1865, June: 1st in the 250 yards handicap flat race (prize: a cricket bat); 2nd in the 350 yards handicap flat race and wide jump.

None of these can be said to give an early indication of his future athletic prowess but his running in 1865 perhaps hints at a tendency towards powers of endurance rather than agility and speed over very short distances.

⁶GH Wilson p.32.

⁷ Dr Tom Houston (TH) email 29/6/2013.

⁸ GH Wilson p.44. Dimity was Mrs Stevenson, the youngest sister of the founder's wife Fanny Malden who owned the school until 1884 (TH letter 2/7/2013)

⁹ GH Wilson p.42

¹⁰ TH email 3/11/2009 and letter 2/7/2013, p.1; GH Wilson, p.33.

¹¹ GH Wilson p.43, 44, 46

¹²GH Wilson p.40 & 41. At 50 pupils, Lee's was slightly larger than Windlesham. While at Trinity Cambridge, Lyttelton represented the university at cricket, football and real tennis; he represented England at football in 1877 and cricket in 1880, 1882 & 1884; by 1890 he had been amateur real tennis national champion seven times (Cambridge Alumni ACU, Badminton Volume on Tennis p.104, 108, 380).

¹³ TH emails 3/11/2009 and 29/6/2013. HCM took over as headmaster in 1855 and the 10th Annual Athletic Games was held in June 1865 (TH 29/6/2013)

Apart from his introduction to organised sport at Windlesham Herbert received a classics-based education, with Latin and Greek occupying around half the syllabus, within a staunchly Christian framework¹⁴. The Maldens admired Thomas Arnold, the reforming head of Rugby School, and accepted his view that the aims of a public school in order of priority were to instil Christian and moral principles, to teach gentlemanly conduct and to develop intellectual ability¹⁵. Whether Herbert learned much about gentlemanly conduct at Windlesham is open to debate as the relationship between teachers and pupils was something close to open warfare (within the tradition of the time but against the policy of the founding headmaster) and the behaviour of some boys could be described only euphemistically as naughty and high-spirited. Malden was strong-willed and respected by the boys as a disciplinarian but he was famed for “roaring” at his pupils and he beat liberally¹⁶. In his 1932 letter Midleton describes systematic bullying amongst the boys, although it seems to have had the virtue of moving between targets:

*“[There was] a most un-English tendency to persecute any particular boy who might become unpopular. No one knew who might be the victim till a whisper went around that ‘So-and-so was going to be humbugged’. He then became for a few days the butt of everybody’s tongue and the goal of everybody’s toe.”*¹⁷

Lord Sligo, who left Windlesham in 1870, also penned a letter for the school history and he referred to two events of extreme misbehaviour by pupils in his time: the first involved a barricade and mini-siege, the second the destruction by fire of a classroom. Sligo himself was the ringleader of the “barring out” incident and his self-portrait is that of chief trouble-maker: “I seem to remember that I was caned every Monday (my hands are much broader than they ought to be, due to the incessant caning!)...I was always in trouble for fighting, swinging and doing gymnastics on the skylights of the schoolroom, and all sorts of mischief.”¹⁸

The barring out took place in July when Malden was away shooting at Wimbledon and the catalyst seems to have been the cancellation of a half holiday or excursion which Sligo considered unfair¹⁹. Some twenty boys barricaded themselves into an isolated upstairs room called the New Room with lavatory en suite and access by staircase from a dedicated lobby at ground level. The room stood on iron stilts over the open school yard and its lobby adjoined the main building – a clever choice by Sligo who showed early flair for military planning and leadership. The rebels took with them jugs of drinking water and provisions of bread, butter and jam which were to be supplemented by brandy-balls supplied from the street under a pre-arrangement with an itinerant vendor. Holes were cut in the wood-panelled walls and ceiling of the stairs and the boys squirted ink onto the masters and maids who approached and called upon them to surrender. Demands were made for an extra week’s holiday and cricket matches every half-holiday until the end of term²⁰. The protest lasted two days and two nights and ended abruptly in unconditional surrender when Malden returned from Wimbledon. Reprisals seem to have been relatively mild, as Sligo could recall nothing more than a caning, and Malden seems to have forgiven the main instigator in no time at all because he appointed

¹⁴TH letter 15/11/2009 p.3 & 4

¹⁵ “Eminent Victorians”, Lytton Strachey, 1918, p.171; TH letter 15/11/2009 p.4.

¹⁶ TH email II 3/11/2009

¹⁷GH Wilson p.41

¹⁸GH Wilson p.39

¹⁹GH Wilson p.39. This was probably in 1868/9 as it was during the time of Lord Midleton - 1866 to 1869 – and prior to the destruction by fire of the New Room in December 1869. Sligo was born on 1/9/1856 so that in July 1869 he was still only 12.

²⁰ GH Wilson p.41

Sligo school Monitor in 1870 - broadminded enough to be impressed by his qualities of leadership during the siege²¹.

The incineration of the classroom seems to have been a less calculated act of vandalism and Malden's daughter Rose recounted the tale in the 1937 school history²². In December 1869, when Rose was just nine years old, a boy was kept in on a Saturday afternoon for misbehaviour and left to his own devices in the New Room, previously the scene of the barring out. With nothing to do, he decided to entertain himself by applying a red-hot poker to the wooden knots in the floor "to make them hum". He was caught and punished and water was poured down the holes but with insufficient effect. He had penetrated to a considerable depth and the fire smouldered on after his departure then erupted into flames in the early hours of Sunday morning. The fire brigade was called and everyone in the main building was required to dress and assemble on the ground floor. Rose and her sister collected their pet dormice and then took up position in the photographic/junior classroom to observe the conflagration. When the firemen arrived they managed to control the blaze quite quickly and the damage was confined to the one room which was burnt out. Blame for the event was directed at the builder of the New Room, who was said to have been guilty of faulty construction (a fig-leaf, perhaps, for inadequate teacher supervision), but the young arsonist must have viewed the results of his handiwork with gleeful satisfaction.

Sligo mentions fighting between the boys and Middleton offers a personal example which also illustrates the school's close links to Harrow. Middleton was destined for Eton and he reminisced that Windlesham was the only "society" he was ever part of in which the Eton connection was a cause for "reproach":

"The tone at Malden's was predominantly Harrow. The Macans and others afterwards celebrated in the Harrow Eleven were leaders in the school. I can still recollect challenging a boy for calling me a 'Coxy Etonian'; his spirit did not last him through the ensuing battle. I recollect that for various offences he was caned on three different portions of his person on the same morning, on one occasion, having richly deserved each application."²³

Boarding prep school would have been a radical change of environment for Herbert and for many of his generation the process of adaptation at tender ages under twelve was a harsh and unpleasant experience. The caring and protection of parents and servants was removed and boys were confined in a latently insensitive single sex society in which they had to fend for themselves and literally fight their own corner from time to time. For a section of society it was the Victorian way – emotional toughening for the male by separation from "soft" female influences, strength through suffering, self-reliance through lack of support – and Thomas Lawford seems to have been well satisfied with Herbert's schooling for he sent his second son Ernest to Windlesham in 1866 and subsequently his youngest, Sydney, in 1879. Thomas's cousin Henry Lawford – the last solicitor to the East India Company - was also persuaded of the virtues of the school and his sons Godfrey and Philip were sent there for the years 1867 to 1869, which means that three Lawfords may have participated in the great barring out²⁴.

²¹ GH Wilson p.207, 1870 George Ulick Browne. There was normally only one Monitor - Head Boy in modern parlance - but Malden occasionally appointed one or two others (TH letter 2/7/2013). Sligo was the only Monitor in 1870.

²² GH Wilson p.23

²³ GH Wilson p.41/42. "Coxy" probably means "cocky".

²⁴ TH email I 3/11/2009. Philip was my great-grandfather.

Herbert left Windlesham in the summer term of 1865 and moved on to public school the following September, becoming the sixth Windlesham boy to take up a place at Repton School in the 1860's²⁵.



3.2 Philip Lawford c.1870



3.3 Godfrey Lawford c.1868²⁶

Contemporary “court” games at leading public schools

In 1865 cricket and football were well established at English public schools but none of the schools played real tennis, or just “tennis” as it was then called before lawn tennis emerged to appropriate the name in the late 1870's. Judging by John Heathcote's summary of the kingdom's tennis courts in 1890, in the sixties there would have been only about thirty real tennis courts serving the whole of England with four owned by clubs in the London area, two at provincial clubs, some three between Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the rest owned by the aristocratic and rich, so it was a minority sport par excellence²⁷. The small-ball “court” games played at leading public schools were Fives, Rackets and Bat Fives²⁸, with Squash probably only played at Rugby and Harrow where it had been invented some years earlier as a junior version of Rackets²⁹. For most of the first generation of Englishmen who competed in

²⁵ TH email I 3/11/2009. Letter from JP (Repton archivist) 5/6/1997.

²⁶ Godfrey made a career as a solicitor and was co-executor with HFL for the will of Thomas Acland Lawford (per TAL probate 5/1/1885 ACU)

²⁷ Badminton Library, Tennis, “History of the Court, Racket and Ball”, JM Heathcote, p.22. Heathcote's list for England included 4 dukes, 1 marquis, 1 earl, 4 lords and 4 sirs.

²⁸ “Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and Great Public Schools”, AC Croome (editor), Southwood London, Vol.3, 1923 – “Eton, Harrow, Winchester”

²⁹ Article by Dale Vargas (author of Harrow School history 2010) from the EFA/RFA Annual Review 2006 – 2007; Vargas suggests a date from 1850. Squash seems to have been taken up at Rugby soon after 1860 – per archivist 22 Nov. 2010. See also Badminton Library p.361/2 (EO Pleydell-Bouverie) which refers to Squash at Harrow and Rugby.

the leading lawn tennis tournaments in London and Dublin these games therefore provided an introduction to the mysteries of court ball games. Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Cheltenham, Radley, Winchester, Marlborough, Uppingham, Repton, Brighton, Westminster – all were represented by old boys at the All England Championships of 1877 or 1878³⁰ and rackets schools in the shape of Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Cheltenham provided all the last six competitors in 1877 (the 3rd Round) and four of the last five in 1878 (the 4th Round)³¹, Herbert Lawford of Repton spoiling the party on his first appearance³² (but belonging to the rackets fraternity outside school bounds).

Fives was a game built around hitting a ball against a wall with a gloved hand, commonly in a court open to the elements. To the modern eye it presents itself as a game with strictly limited appeal, such as might have developed in England primarily as a pastime for bored schoolboys, but it was widely popular at the time. The two best known versions of the game were Eton Fives and Rugby Fives but Winchester developed its own variety as did other schools. By 1840 the game had emerged at Eton on the nursery court outside the school chapel - if court it may be called as it was no more than a partially walled area with paving on two levels and the intrusion at the left-hand side of the end of a low balustrade from the chapel steps³³. Between 1840 and 1847 six or seven courts were built in imitation of this chapel facility and these served the school until 1870 when the number was doubled. The buttress from the chapel steps, with its sloping top, and the different floor levels made for a more complicated game and set the Eton court apart from all other types which generally roughly resembled small rackets courts (rectangular, on a single level and with no buttress or obstructions)³⁴. At Rugby the game was popular as early as 1813 when a pupil recorded the use of various improvised courts:

“...Our most fashionable game now is Fives, which has been principally brought in by the Quadrangle, where there is good room to play, and also against the end of the school towards the play-ground, and in the great school. I am fond of it, tho not yet very expert. It is very good exercise, and makes one warm without putting one out of breath”³⁵.

In due course Fives at Rugby was played under both Rugby and Eton rules and Bat Fives was also played. Open courts had been purpose-built by 1855 and in 1865 two covered Eton Fives courts were erected³⁶. At public schools in general the game developed in parallel with rackets and it was described by A.C. Ainger in the Badminton Library volume of 1890 as “really a form of rackets played with the hand instead of a racket, and with a somewhat larger ball...”³⁷.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Rackets was at an early stage of its development in England. It was a game based on hitting a small hard ball with a racket against a single wall, and a court could be improvised almost anywhere there was a flat wall with a hard foreground; for a return to be good it had to be made before the ball bounced twice and

³⁰ Sources: T. Todd p.219 & 220 lists of 1877 & 1878. AELTC entrants checked over to school registers & Oxbridge Alumni records; further sources: MCC register for 1877, newspaper reports, obituaries etc.

³¹ 1877: Gore (Harrow), Langham (Eton), Erskine (Rugby), W Marshall (Cheltenham & Rugby), J Marshall (Harrow), Heathcote (Eton); 1878: Erskine (Rugby), Hamilton (Eton), P Hadow (Harrow), Myers (Cheltenham)

³² In 1879 Eton, Harrow & Cheltenham provided 4 of the last 6 (4th Round), the other two being the Irishmen Vere Goold and CD Barry (Todd. P.221). Barry was a rackets player while at Trinity Dublin (obituary Northern Whig 15/2/1928 p.6)

³³ Badminton Library, “Fives”, AC Ainger, p.424/5

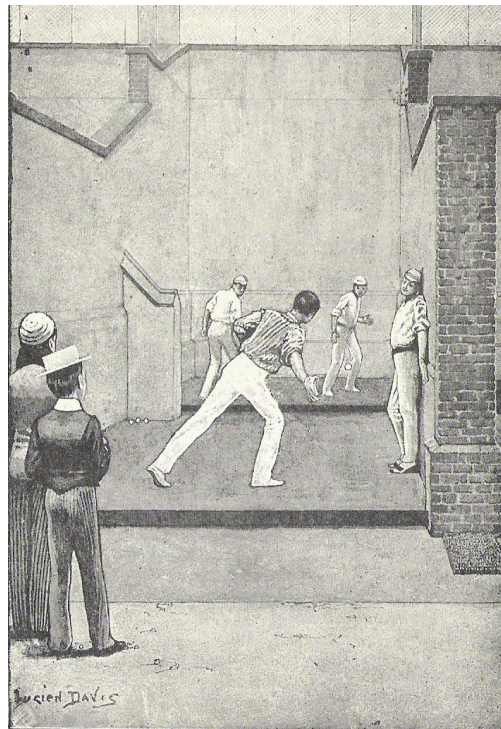
³⁴ Badminton Library, p.416

³⁵ Pupil was Thomas Churton, at Rugby 1812 to 1817, account per Rugby archivist 15/11/2010.

³⁶ Rugby archivist, 15/11/2010.

³⁷ Badminton Library, “Fives”, AC Ainger, p.416

this was an adaptation from real tennis³⁸. The racket was long-handled with a small head – typically - and the game called for a good eye and sharp reflexes. If real tennis was the game of kings, then this was the game of everyman - including the inmates of London’s Debtors’ Prison who played on compressed gravel against a rough brick wall (and whose pastime was immortalised by Charles Dickens in his *Pickwick Papers* of 1836/37)³⁹. Harrow is reputed to have been the first public school to play rackets, from around 1822, and its facility then was an “open court” - a wall in the School Yard⁴⁰. Two courts were purpose-built in 1850, both uncovered without back walls, and one with just one side wall⁴¹. Cheltenham College – school to the Renshaw twins from 1872 to 1874 - was also playing the game by 1852⁴². The court matured into its modern form when Prince’s Club of Knightsbridge constructed a closed and covered court in 1853 and established a new standard for the game. The ball could now be



FIVES AT ETON
3.4 Fives played at Eton c.1890

played off front, side and back walls and the game was transformed. Rugby built a similar enclosed court in 1860⁴³, Harrow and Cheltenham built theirs in 1864, and Eton followed in 1866⁴⁴. A public schools championship was held for the first time in 1868, at Prince’s Club, Hans Place with entries just from Eton, Harrow, Cheltenham and Charterhouse, and Eton

³⁸ Badminton Library, “Rackets”, EO Pleydell-Bouverie, p.356

³⁹ Badminton Library, p.357

⁴⁰ “Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and Great Public Schools”, p.356, EB Noel on Rackets, 1923.

⁴¹ Dale Vargas, article in EFA/RFA Annual Review 2006 – 2007. Minor variations to EB Noel account on p.356

⁴² Memoir by William Thomas Jones, pupil at Cheltenham 1848 – 1852, Cheltenham College Archives.

⁴³ Rugby archivist, email 22 Nov. 2010

⁴⁴ Harrow: Dale Vargas, per footnote 41 above; Cheltenham Chronicle 26/1/1864 p.5 & Karl Cook 2010; Eton: “History of Eton College”, Maxwell Lyte, 4th Ed’n 1911, p.559, also Lionel Cust history 1899, p.251

narrowly defeated Cheltenham in the final. Rugby “was willing but unable to come” and Marlborough was “prevented by having no holidays”⁴⁵. Rugby more than compensated for its absence by winning through to the final in 1869 and then defeating Eton to become champions the following year⁴⁶. Marlborough remained laggards for some years and delayed their appearance at Prince’s to 1873. More schools took up the game in the seventies, with Haileybury, Winchester and Wellington adding their names to the roll of competitors at the annual championships⁴⁷, and for some team players it was the precursor to success at real tennis and lawn tennis in adult life. Cricketers often played it in winter – “winter nets” as Cheltenham’s master of racket sports put it in 2010. The game was hard and fast, played on a court sixty feet by thirty, and can perhaps be described for the modern reader as like playing Squash with a golf ball in a court with double the floor space (not a game for the leaden-footed).



3.5 Cheltenham College gymnasium with its twin spires, built in 1864 (photo by kind permission of Cheltenham College). Two Eton fives courts can be seen at the right hand side butting on to the end wall of the first (west) rackets court. The skylights of the second rackets court can be seen just to the right of the left spire. The gymnasium/rackets building ends after the second (east) gable and the remaining buildings to the left of the block comprise the tuck shop, Engineering Department and then four Rugby fives courts. The Renshaw twins would have played fives here and perhaps also rackets, either in their time as pupils at the school or as old boys resident in the town⁴⁸; perhaps here they first sensed their natural affinity for racket sports.

⁴⁵ “The Cheltonian”, May 1868, p.109 - “Harrow is the school which has had racquet courts for by far the longest time, and has turned out almost all the great racquet players.”

⁴⁶ Tennis & Rackets Association list of finalists from 1868

⁴⁷ “Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and Great Public Schools”, p.356 etc & p.378 for competitors by school, EB Noel on Rackets, 1923

⁴⁸ The Renshaws were pupils at Cheltenham from 1872 to 1874 and the school magazine of 1874 records that while the popularity of rackets was then in decline (p.82), fives was played widely and there was talk of the school council building additional courts (p.142 & 179).

Bat Fives, was a variant of fives and rackets and involved hitting a ball with a short wooden bat rather than the hand or a racket. At Charterhouse in its London days there were initially two open courts for bat fives, one featuring just a front wall with a paved play area, the other a side wall as well as front⁴⁹. The game was played using “an ordinary racquet ball and a wooden bat of the shape and size of a battledore” (more normally partnered with a shuttlecock). To add to confusion over the categorisation of this pastime, Charterhouse boys called the game “tennis”. By the early 1860’s, the bat had been dropped, the racket adopted and the Charterhouse game had evolved into recognisable open-court rackets⁵⁰. At Winchester, bat fives was still being played at the beginning of the twentieth century and in an account written in 1913, Evan Noel, old boy of Winchester and sports historian, described different types of bat in use and the varieties of court:

“There are two different forms of Bat Fives at Winchester. The first is played by College Men against the wall of the school that faces Mead’s, and is played with the oval bat with a thin and long handle that is familiar to a number of other schools. The other..... was played with a bat of considerable thickness of wood and with a short handle, the face being in the shape of a butter-pat. In length it is about 13 inches, of which the face and handle are about equal parts. The breadth across the face is some 5 inches. Bats of much the same description are used in one of the many forms of Pelota in the Basque Provinces and other places.....

In either a short or four-wall court this is a very good game. In the court of E House with three walls, where I learnt it, it was a very high-class game, and one could make beautiful strokes and the feel of the well-hit ball was delightful....The bats in those days used to be kept with the greatest care, oiled and “mugged” continually. They used to get almost black in colour and drove furiously.”⁵¹

Bat Fives was also played at Rugby⁵², Tonbridge⁵³, The Godolphin⁵⁴ and Haileybury, where a young Eyre Chatterton cut his teeth on the game before moving on to lawn tennis in 1881 at Trinity College, Dublin, and subsequent success as one of the leading Irish tennis players⁵⁵.

If Herbert had progressed from Windlesham House School to Harrow like so many fellow pupils, he would have enjoyed a head start to his career in racket sports at one of the best connected schools in the country. He would have followed in the footsteps of two of the early movers-and-shakers in lawn tennis who were contemporaries at Harrow - Sir William Hart Dyke and Julian Marshall – and formed an old-school bond with the winners of the first four Wimbledon Championships – Spencer Gore (1877), Patrick Hadow (1878) and John

⁴⁹ “Charterhouse in London”, Gerald Davies, John Murray 1921, p.296

⁵⁰ “Charterhouse in London”, p.296

⁵¹ “Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and Great Public Schools”, “Winchester – Bat Fives”, EB Noel, 1913, p.343. Evan Baillie Noel was born in 1879 and educated at Winchester and Trinity Cambridge. He was Sports editor of *The Times* 1903 – 09 and secretary and manager of Queen’s Club from 1914 to 1928 (Cambridge Alumni, 2013 ACU).

⁵² Badminton Library p.362

⁵³ “History of Tonbridge School”, S Rivington, 2nd Edition 1898, p.236, 240, 241; Article by William Gunyon, “History of Fives at Tonbridge School”, internet Sept. 2010

⁵⁴ Ernest Wool Lewis played bat-fives at the Godolphin before moving on to rackets and then lawn tennis (*Pastime* biography 11/8/1886, p.108)

⁵⁵ “Biography” in *Pastime* magazine 14 July 1886, p.29; Haileybury Register 1862 – 1887, p.127. As Haileybury competed in the public schools rackets championships from 1869 it seems surprising that bat fives is quoted as his racket game at school; however, he is absent from the list of players at Prince’s (School Register p.265).

Hartley (1879 & 1880). Hart Dyke was national rackets champion in 1862, a real tennis player, a director of Prince's Club when it was incorporated in 1864⁵⁶, principal instigator of the public school rackets championships in 1868, and a member of the tennis committee of the MCC which advanced the rules of lawn tennis in 1875⁵⁷. Marshall was a leading rackets player at Harrow, a player and historian of real tennis, a member of the All England Club sub-committee which drew up the definitive rules of lawn tennis in 1877, and Secretary of the All England Club from 1880 to 1888⁵⁸. As a schoolboy at Harrow Herbert would have enjoyed outstanding sports facilities, received sports coaching of a high standard and benefited from strong competition from his fellow pupils. Arriving after the introduction of squash and a year or so after the completion of the school's first modern rackets court, he would have lost at squash to John Hartley (who was two years his senior and seems to have taken up rackets proper only at Oxford⁵⁹), perhaps played rackets on level terms with Spencer Gore (just one year above him⁶⁰) and given a lesson in an old boys match to Patrick Hadow (nearly four years his junior)⁶¹. History after 1880 would have been much the same – nothing would have mitigated the Renshaw effect - but his schooldays would have been more enjoyable and perhaps the personal connections would have prompted an earlier start at lawn tennis; he might then have picked up the Wimbledon title in one of those early years. He no doubt forgave his father for choosing Repton but sent his own son to Eton⁶².

Repton and the move north, 1865 – 1868

Legend has it that in 1854 when Dr Steuart Pears first visited Repton School as headmaster designate, he was for a moment totally overwhelmed by the desolate prospect presented and sank down at a table head in hands, appalled by the magnitude of the task he had set himself⁶³. Although founded as a grammar school in the sixteenth century, and possessed of a long tradition of academic excellence⁶⁴, Repton was in near terminal decline with pupil numbers down to less than fifty and premises comprising just the Hall, which provided the headmaster's house and accommodated some of the boarders, and the Old Priory building that had been acquired three hundred years earlier⁶⁵. Pears' mission was to transform this failing institution into a modern public school comparable in all but size with Rugby and a reformed Harrow⁶⁶. Despite his initial moment of weakness, he succeeded to a remarkable extent and such was his impact that he came to be called the Second Founder of the school⁶⁷.

By the time Herbert arrived in 1865, pupil numbers had risen to two hundred⁶⁸ and the facilities had been dramatically improved. A range of new activities had been introduced

⁵⁶London Standard 24/5/1864 p.2 etc

⁵⁷ Obituary in the Times 4/7/1931 p.14; Badminton Library, "Tennis" etc, p.139 & 364; ODNB 2011; British History Online on Prince's Club

⁵⁸Harrow register; ODNB 2013; Badminton Library, "Tennis" etc, p.141 & 151.

⁵⁹ Hartley played squash at Harrow, won the Oxford University rackets singles and doubles in 1869 and represented Oxford at real tennis in 1870, winning the doubles (Yorkshire Evening Post 16/11/1933 p.8, Times obituary 28/8/1935 p.12, & 50 Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge & Grt PS, p.17)

⁶⁰ "Harrow School Register, 1800 – 1911, Daughlish and Stephenson, p. 366

⁶¹ Harrow Register, 1800 – 1911, p.426, "Wimbledon Gentlemen's Singles Champions 1877 – 2005", p.3.

⁶² Eton register p.82 – HAL at Brinton's House 1902 & 1903 (email from archivist 26/7/2011)

⁶³ "A Short History of Repton", Alec Macdonald, 1929 ("Macdonald"), p.166.

⁶⁴ "Repton 1557 to 1957", Bernard Thomas, 1957 ("Thomas"), p.25

⁶⁵ Macdonald p.166, & Thomas p.25

⁶⁶ Macdonald p.167

⁶⁷ Thomas p.23/24

⁶⁸ Macdonald p.179

together with typical public school practices such as the wearing of a uniform dress - black neck-handkerchiefs and jackets of plain dark cloth⁶⁹. The school was still small by public school standards – Cheltenham College was founded in 1841 and the student body had grown to six hundred by 1861⁷⁰ – but capital resources were limited and both Pears and his house masters invested their own money in bricks and mortar. A school chapel had been built with funds raised by subscription and also new classrooms and boarding houses⁷¹. Pears had financed a new house near the chapel (later known as The Orchard); Edward Latham, a new master, had bought a building known as the Old Malt House and fitted it out as accommodation for thirty or so boys⁷²; and Joseph Gould had adapted an old inn called *The Mitre* as another boys' house. Sports facilities had been developed. There were now four fives courts, a cricket pavilion had been installed on the cricket field and a gymnasium improvised from an old barn. Football was played at all levels of the school and in season there were paper chases and swimming in the nearby River Trent⁷³. A rifle corps was started in 1860 (but restricted to firing blanks) and Pears developed musical activities, personally rehearsing the chapel choir⁷⁴. The school magazine was founded in 1866⁷⁵.

Pears therefore broadened the education offered and developed at Repton the main distinctive features of a public school such as boarding houses, chapel and organised games⁷⁶. He set great store by the boarding house life expressing the view that "It is the club life of the Boarding House which gives to the public school boy that independence of bearing, that habitual love of fun and mischief, and that free and easy manner....."⁷⁷ Under his leadership the school achieved national standing and joined the ranks of the leading public schools.

Harrow, rather than a school set in a small village about a hundred miles north west of London, would still have been a more obvious choice for Thomas Lawford because the culture of Repton was based on Harrow, which in turn had been heavily influenced by Rugby. This was the time when the modern public school was emerging and the new philosophy was shaped by a combination of like-minded headmasters. "Goddard's Winchester inspired Arnold, and Arnold's Rugby had an even closer influence on Harrow, which at an earlier time had been influenced by Eton."⁷⁸ Harrow was reformed by C.J. Vaughan (a former pupil of Arnold) during his tenure as headmaster from 1845 and Pears joined him in 1847 to serve his apprenticeship as a schoolmaster. Pears taught at Harrow for seven years, progressing to the role of housemaster, and became one of Vaughan's most loyal admirers. When the vacancy arose at Repton Vaughan approached the Governor of the school to suggest Pears as the new headmaster and thus the gospel of modernisation was spread to Repton⁷⁹. The Harrow link was cemented by the appointment of a Harrow old boy - Edward Latham – as a Repton master in 1856, and Rugby made its presence felt directly through the "second master" G.M. Messiter, who "had been Captain of Rugby under Arnold, and rightly or wrongly was believed to have been 'Cock' of the School and was respected accordingly..."⁸⁰.

⁶⁹ Thomas p.38

⁷⁰ "Cheltenham College – The First Hundred Years", MC Morgan, 1968, p.43

⁷¹ Thomas p.28 & 31 etc

⁷² Thomas p.31 & 32; Macdonald, 1929, p.172

⁷³ Thomas p.31-36 & p.137

⁷⁴ Thomas p.45 & 30

⁷⁵ Thomas p.44

⁷⁶ Thomas p.33

⁷⁷ Thomas p.60

⁷⁸ RL Archer in his "Secondary Education in The Nineteenth Century", per Macdonald p. 167

⁷⁹ Thomas p.24

⁸⁰ Macdonald p.177 (Messiter), Cambridge Alumni (Latham)

The progressive view was that sport had an important part to play in the development of character and this drove the development of organised games. Cheltenham College's historian of the 1960's saw the building of the school's new gymnasium block in 1864 as symbolic of the enhanced status of games and "muscular activity", as the new building incorporated rackets courts, gym, fives courts and a cricket pavilion⁸¹. To him Thring of Uppingham led the public schools with his enthusiasm for games closely followed by Temple of Rugby (headmaster 1857 to 1869). Temple expressed the view that games "were part of the training of character; and the slackness that led a boy to drop a catch at a critical point of a match, or to shirk the game on the last day of a big football match, was as much to be expelled as that which led to false concords or incorrect reasoning...."⁸². Pears saw organised games as an indispensable feature enthusing over "that healthy exertion of body and spirit together, which is found in the excitement, the emulation and the friendly strife of school games"⁸³. He played fives on the school courts – in a top hat – as did his housemasters Messiter, Clarke, Johnson and Gould, and he himself played in a cricket match he arranged against his old house at Harrow⁸⁴. The attitude to sport at Repton would have suited Herbert well enough but the school lacked the funds to match the investment in facilities and staff of the leaders of the sporting pack.

Cricket was the senior sport at public schools and it was Herbert's good fortune that as he arrived at Repton so did an energetic new member of staff by the name of Edward Estridge who was an accomplished cricketer and whose coaching was destined to bring about a notable advance in standards at the school⁸⁵. Estridge had taken to the game at an early age at Tonbridge School and played for the school first team for four years, leading as Captain in his final year⁸⁶. At Oxford University he failed to distinguish himself in the freshmen trial matches⁸⁷ and thereafter contented himself with representative play for both his college – Trinity - and the *Gentlemen of Kent*, with matches also for clubs near the Kent parental home. He was primarily a batsman but bowled as well⁸⁸ and could provide all-round coaching. His widowed mother lived in Southborough, about two miles north of Tunbridge Wells on the road to Tonbridge, and it is likely that the Lawfords and Estridges met socially and indeed that family contact prompted the choice of Repton for the Lawfords' eldest son. Loraine Estridge, one of Edward's older brothers, had joined the Repton staff in 1863⁸⁹ and was well placed to advise on the school's merits while being a recommendation in himself. Like Edward, he was a keen cricketer and the two had played together for Tunbridge Wells Cricket Club and also the Gentlemen of Kent, opening the batting together on occasion⁹⁰. Loraine went up to Trinity College, Oxford in 1858 and was elected a choral scholar of New College the following June⁹¹. His talents were broad and apart from raising the standard of cricket at Repton, the two brothers trained the school's Orpheus Glee Singers who performed on special occasions such as Speech Day⁹². He remained at Repton throughout Herbert's time there but in 1868 decided to change horses and took up the post of housemaster at Malvern College some sixty miles

⁸¹ "Cheltenham College – The First Hundred Years", M.C. Morgan, 1968, p.49

⁸² Quoted by MC Morgan, page 49, from "Godliness and Good Learning", Newsome.

⁸³ Thomas p.33

⁸⁴ Thomas p.33 & 37

⁸⁵ Macdonald p.180 (cricket) & 230 (retirement in 1904 after 38 years service), Tonbridge school register.

⁸⁶ "The Register of Tonbridge School 1820 – 1886" p.102

⁸⁷ Oxford Chronicle 18/5/1862

⁸⁸ Macdonald p.181 (eg. Ashbourne match 1871)

⁸⁹ Repton Register 1620 – 1894, Hipkins 1895, p.xx record of Assistant Masters

⁹⁰ Eg. Kentish Mercury 16/9/1865 p.7, both play for Tunbridge Wells Club & open batting; Hereford Times 2/8/1862 p.2, open batting for Gentlemen of Kent, Loraine No.1, Edward No.2

⁹¹ Morning Chronicle 23/6/1859 p.5

⁹² Thomas p.43

away in Worcestershire⁹³. Thomas Lawford then demonstrated his allegiance to Loraine by enrolling his second and third sons Ernest and Archibald in Estridge House at Malvern rather than sending them to Repton – evidence perhaps that Loraine was the original link⁹⁴.

Edward played for Tunbridge Wells Town Cricket Club soon after graduating in 1865⁹⁵ and it may be that Herbert was a fellow (if junior) member and they met on the field of play before the trek north to Repton. We do know that Herbert and his brother Ernest played in the club's opening match in 1870 - for the Under 30's versus the Over 30's⁹⁶ - and Ernest was a boy of fourteen at the time; Herbert was fourteen in 1865. At Tonbridge Edward had played first team football for three years, as well as being school champion at fives⁹⁷, and as an all-round sportsman he was well equipped to feed Herbert's appetite for outdoor games. He would have been an important influence on his cricket. Repton's first public school cricket fixture was in 1865 against Uppingham and there were other matches against local clubs⁹⁸. House matches are first reported in 1866 when four teams were made up from the six houses⁹⁹. The Reptonian magazine records Herbert's performances for Latham's in 1866 and 1867 but there is no mention of him playing for the school and he had left by summer 1868. Latham's won the final in 1866 with Herbert contributing an undistinguished two runs but bowling one first team player and catching another¹⁰⁰. 1867 was worse for him as a batsman but better as a bowler: he scored no runs, being bowled out twice, but he took five enemy wickets as Latham's lost by an innings¹⁰¹. At university his prowess was to be as bowler rather than batsman.

Herbert would have played football – a compulsory sport for juniors in the winter terms – but the *Reptonian* is silent on his achievements. The *Pastime* "portrait" of 1886 gives a partial explanation when it relates that while he was soon conspicuous at games on his arrival at Repton, "his career there was destined to be short as he met with a severe accident at football which laid him up for months"¹⁰². Cricket was by then a well-established game, played under standardised rules, but football was at a much more primitive stage and in Herbert's time Repton played under its own rules based on the Harrow game. Descriptions of the game are incomplete but it is known that the ball was oval, there were scrums, "charging" was allowed and although handling was an integral part of the game, dribbling dominated. Mention is made of games being played with forty on each side and these encounters can have been little more than legalised brawls¹⁰³. There were no inter-school matches in Herbert's time.

Apart from the paper chases in the spring, athletics events were held featuring the usual pastimes of running, hurdling, jumping and throwing cricket balls but the name of Lawford appears only in the Reptonian reports for May 1866 against success in heats for the

⁹³ Malvern College opened in January 1865 (Malvern register 1905, Chronological summary). Loraine maintained a link to Repton after leaving by marrying the headmaster's niece Maria Salome Pears in 1869 (Maidstone Journal 16/8/1869).

⁹⁴ Ernest: Malvern register p.49, 1871 – 1873; Tonbridge register 1869-70. Archibald: Malvern register p.59 1872-76.

⁹⁵ Sussex Advertiser 5/12/1865 p.6 (club batting averages).

⁹⁶ Maidstone & Kentish Journal 30/4/1870 p.2

⁹⁷ Tonbridge register 1820 – 1886 p.102. Fives – winner of singles & doubles: Maidstone Journal 31/3/1860 p.3

⁹⁸ Macdonald p.181

⁹⁹ Macdonald p.183

¹⁰⁰ Reptonian 1866 p.52 (JH Clay, bowled, C Tillard, caught)

¹⁰¹ Reptonian July 1867 p.117

¹⁰² "Biography" in *Pastime* magazine 9 June 1886, p.391

¹⁰³ Macdonald, p.183-6; Thomas p.33-34. A booklet of *Repton School Football Rules* was produced in 1862, based on the Harrow game, but it seems to have been incomplete dealing mainly with grey areas (Macdonald p.184).

hundred yards and hurdles¹⁰⁴. The nearby River Trent provided the school's swimming facility – off a field called Ferry Acres bequeathed to the school in 1654 – and swimming sports were held at the end of each summer term with events which included sprints, long distance races and diving¹⁰⁵. Rowing was impractical in the River Trent because of treacherous currents and shallows and so was missing from the sporting curriculum¹⁰⁶. At Repton therefore Herbert was introduced to “court” games through fives and he would have continued to develop his prowess at running, swimming, football and cricket. His interest in sport generally would have been encouraged but his initiation into the pastimes of rowing, rackets, cycling and shooting depended on his own initiatives beyond the school boundaries.

Pears may have been a “moderniser” and reforming headmaster but he remained totally committed to the classics as the main vehicle of education and for Herbert this meant a heavy diet of Latin and Greek. Pears was proud to reassure the Inspector of Charities that “many of the boys leave the School having read all Sophocles, more than half Thucydides, half of the *Iliad*, Virgil, Horace and part of Juvenal, Tacitus, Cicero, Lucretius, Aeschylus, Euripides”¹⁰⁷. All boys were required to learn set passages by heart “and no boy was promoted to the sixth form until he had memorised 300 lines of the Fourth Georgic”¹⁰⁸. One feels for Herbert whose primary interest was in matters non-academic and whose name was notably absent from the long lists of literary recitations and prize-winners at his last speech day in June 1867¹⁰⁹. Mathematics, English and Divinity were also taught and French was an option. Christian beliefs and values permeated school life and Pears believed that “the Schoolmaster is the Spiritual pastor of his Scholars”¹¹⁰. The list of masters appended to the 1859 staff photograph reflects his priorities – like Pears himself all six senior staff members had been ordained¹¹¹ (although the policy shifted slightly in 1869 when Edward Estridge became the first lay housemaster on the opening of a House financed by his family)¹¹².

Life for Herbert in Latham's house was probably more comfortable than at Windlesham. The Reverend Edward Latham came to Repton in 1856 as his first teaching appointment after graduating from Cambridge¹¹³ and was a relatively young man when he refurbished the Old Malt House to accommodate boarders. School historian B. Thomas describes the building as “rather more luxuriously furnished” than Johnson's house¹¹⁴. In the fashion of Harrow, the beds were “turned up” in the daytime so that the dormitories also served as studies which were fitted with carpets, chairs and tables, and were heated by open fires. The passages and staircase were “warmed by hot water” so the boys seem to have benefited from an early form of central heating. Latham also saw fit to invest in a fives court for the use of his charges¹¹⁵.

Pears celebrated the “club life of the Boarding House” but it is a struggle to match his notion with the reality of life at his school. In England male clubs for the upper classes were certainly plentiful – sports, dining, gambling, politics - but similarities beyond dedication to one sex and social stratum are hard to find. There are few clubs where members are arranged into a hierarchy of seniors and juniors so that seniors can discipline juniors and those at the bottom

¹⁰⁴ Reptonian May 1866 p.8 & April 1867 p.89

¹⁰⁵ Thomas p.34 & 35; Reptonian Nov 1867 p.149 & June 1868 p.225

¹⁰⁶ Macdonald p.187, Thomas p.34

¹⁰⁷ Thomas p.40

¹⁰⁸ Thomas p.40/41

¹⁰⁹ Reptonian June 1867 p.95 etc. Thomas p.46-48

¹¹⁰ Thomas p.27

¹¹¹ Pears ordination per JP, history master at Repton, October 2010.

¹¹² Thomas p.32

¹¹³ Cambridge Alumni 2016, Trinity College ACU

¹¹⁴ Thomas p.32

¹¹⁵ Thomas p.33

of the heap can be required (amongst other things) to provide domestic services to those at the top. The school followed the practice of Arnold at Rugby in delegating to the sixth form the “control and government” of the body of pupils during recreational periods of not less than three hours a day¹¹⁶. In one incident in 1859 the exercise of control took the form of the head boy beating a boy with a whip for refusing to play football (- with the consequence his parents immediately withdrew him and complained to the board of governors)¹¹⁷. Beating by prefects continued well into the twentieth century¹¹⁸. As in many public schools fagging by juniors involved both tidying and cleaning studies and acting as servants to seniors - making tea and toast, fetching and carrying, polishing shoes and generally providing for their comfort¹¹⁹. One old boy of the 1840’s looked back on the experience with something resembling approval:

“I cannot bring against it any serious charge of hardship or cruelty ... On the contrary I have found it useful especially in my College Life where I brought my youthful lessons in fagging to bear on practical economy. I was always able to keep my rooms in some kind of comfort, and in particular I never neglected my fire or tolerated an untidy hearth”¹²⁰.

There were other customs more naturally associated with a martial arts club - older boys organised bare knuckle fights amongst the juniors at least as late as 1858. These encounters were brutish but well controlled with challenges issued and seconds chosen; “the ring was kept and any unfair fighting was stopped by the bigger boys”¹²¹. Nevertheless bare fists left their mark - the boys “mauled each other a good deal” – and the masters seem to have tacitly accepted the practice, turning a blind eye to cuts about the face, swollen noses and black eyes.

Pears’ style as headmaster was a complete contrast to the “roaring” and beating of Malden of Windlesham. Professor William Sanday of Oxford – a pupil between 1858¹²² and 1862 – referred to “the air of gravity and almost austerity – but cultivated and refined austerity – that always went with him....he was an English scholar and gentleman intent upon serious things. Everything about him was rigorously under control....Never once throughout the whole of our intercourse did I see him lose his dignity...”¹²³ Another of his pupils – George S. Messiter – described him as a born ruler who never used “the old flogging block and seldom applied the cane”¹²⁴. His approach was low key and some of his most impressive addresses to the school were delivered in the quietest of tones - he enjoyed natural authority. Messiter goes on to tell how his “quiet and convincing sincerity” was a feature also of his teaching. The pupil Messiter may have been attracted to a style distinct from that of his father – Second Master Messiter – who was depicted as “manly, vigorous, kindly, hot-tempered, in all respects a pedagogue of the old school” - a man of “rugged force”¹²⁵. There was no uniformity of approach amongst the masters and although Pears was the dominant influence, he probably saw virtue in a mixture of styles.

¹¹⁶ Thomas p.38

¹¹⁷ Thomas p.38

¹¹⁸ Per JP, history master at Repton, 25 October 2010, note on Fagging.

¹¹⁹ “Cheltenham College”, MC Morgan, 1968, p.91

¹²⁰ Rev. Vignoles, per JP, 25 October 2010, on Fagging

¹²¹ Reminiscences of Sir William FA Archibald, Repton 1858 – 1864; Thomas p.37 & 38. Archibald dates per archivist 5/11/2010.

¹²² Thomas p.50. Fellow of Exeter College etc, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity 1895 to 1919. See also Oxford Men and Their Colleges 1880 - 1892

¹²³ Macdonald 1929 p.174

¹²⁴ Thomas p.59. GSM arrived at Repton in 1859 and went up to Cambridge University in 1866.

¹²⁵ Thomas p.41.

Herbert's schooling in England ended in the spring of 1868 when he was a month or so short of seventeen¹²⁶. He had been soundly educated in Latin and Greek. He had learned to survive within an almost exclusively male society, been toughened physically and emotionally, imbued with Christian values and beliefs and taught the ethics of the exercise of power as a leader. His leanings towards sport had been nurtured in some measure but not as much as they would have been at half a dozen of the most well-known public schools. Who can tell what his father expected from Repton but the school was on the crest of a wave when Herbert arrived and Thomas's choice was both perceptive and sound.

From Repton Herbert moved north to Edinburgh but not immediately to the university. Curiously the next stage of his education was a term at the Edinburgh Academy and there is no obvious rationale for such a brief stay, although sporting considerations may have played a part. The Academy was a well-regarded day school founded in 1824 to provide a first class education in the classics. For Herbert this might have meant out of the Latin frying pan into the Latin fire but by 1865 the curriculum had progressed and the senior school was organised into two divisions - Classical and Modern. Classical was designed "for those boysdestined for the learned professions" (presumably teaching, medicine and law) and Modern was "intended for those who are to enter into the Civil or Military Service, or upon Mercantile pursuits, where high classical attainments are not necessary"¹²⁷. Destined from birth to follow mercantile pursuits - to earn his living in the commercial world - Herbert's choice was straightforward and he was readily absorbed into the Upper Modern School, a class of just fourteen. One can almost hear his sigh of relief at escaping Repton's trial-by-ordeal for the Sixth Form of memorising 300 lines of the *Fourth Georgic* (poetry by Virgil in Latin)¹²⁸, and he showed his appreciation in the summer of 1868 by winning a general prize for second place in his class, although he missed out on the various subject prizes on offer for Maths, German, French, English and Book-keeping (no Greek or Latin)¹²⁹. On the playing field he was promptly welcomed into the school cricket second eleven and the contacts he made stood him in good stead during his university years¹³⁰, indeed they may have been the prime motivation for his admission to the school. The Academy offered accommodation with masters when it advertised for pupils in England¹³¹ so the likelihood is that Herbert's introduction to the traditional Edinburgh landlady was postponed until the autumn.

Half-hearted studies at Edinburgh University, 1868 – 1870

During the eighteenth century Edinburgh University rose to international prominence on the back of its medical and scientific teaching¹³². Its medical faculty was patronised by both local and foreign students and in the absence of competition from Oxford and Cambridge, where "medical lecturing was spasmodic and clinical teaching non-existent"¹³³, the faculty

¹²⁶ Repton's register records that Herbert left in April 1868. Edinburgh Academy's register (p.275) shows Herbert as a pupil in 1867/68 but the Academy archivist could find no evidence that he joined before summer term 1868 (per email 5/8/2016); he was absent from the fee register for 1867.

¹²⁷ Advertisement in the Edinburgh Evening Courant 14/9/1868 p.1; and see also the advertisement for King's College School, London, in the London Standard 19/4/1875

¹²⁸ Thomas p.41

¹²⁹ Edinburgh Evening Courant 23/7/1868

¹³⁰ Emails dated 16/7/2016 & 5/8/2016 from E' Academy archivist. Cricket - Fife Herald 4/6/1868 & Scotsman 17/6/1868 p.8

¹³¹ "Boarders are received by the Rector and several of the masters". Sheffield & Rotherham Indep't 11/9/1867 p.1, etc

¹³² "Edinburgh University Life 1583 – 1983", Edited G. Donaldson 1983, JB Morrell, p.38

¹³³ Donaldson 1983, p.40

reigned supreme in Britain. In those days Oxford and Cambridge saw fit to discriminate on religious grounds and their exclusion of protestant dissenters further boosted student recruitment for their more tolerant Scottish rival¹³⁴. By the early nineteenth century Edinburgh provided a sound basic training for Law and the Church as well as Medicine¹³⁵ and in the decade before Herbert's arrival its high profile in Britain was reflected in the appointment of William Gladstone and then Thomas Carlyle as Rectors, and Lord Brougham as Chancellor¹³⁶. A royal seal of approval was added in October 1863 when Queen Victoria's second son Prince Alfred joined the student body to attend classes in History, Natural History, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, while roughing it in digs at Holyroodhouse¹³⁷ (Edinburgh's royal palace). Prince Alfred, anointed Duke of Edinburgh in 1866, was then a junior officer in the Royal Navy¹³⁸ so it seems unlikely that he was in residence for more than the university sessions for 1863/64. The heir to the throne – Albert Edward – had passed the summer of 1859 in intensive study at the university before moving on to Oxford and then Cambridge¹³⁹. Thomas Lawford's choice of Edinburgh for Herbert therefore made sense academically and socially, and probably financially as well because the university was considered to be much cheaper than Oxford and Cambridge¹⁴⁰. For sporting opportunities, however, his choice was even worse than preferring Repton to Harrow.

Grandfather James Turing Bruce was born in Scotland and - as his name suggests - came from a family with deep Scottish roots. The Lawfords were of solidly English stock so it seems that the choice of university was probably influenced by the family links of Herbert's mother and these may also have provided him with an entrée to Scottish society (so important for shooting and fishing). It may also be that Edinburgh offered more suitable courses of study for those whose aspirations did not extend to graduating with a degree.

In Carlyle's time as an undergraduate at the university many of the students came without any ambition to obtain the "MA" degree and were content to leave without graduating or completing even the first stage of a professional qualification¹⁴¹. They came for a training of the mind. "The Arts course in the Scottish Universities presupposed that a general grounding in philosophy – the training of the mind in several specialised branches such as logic, moral philosophy, natural and mathematical philosophy, and training in languages – was a necessary prerequisite to a specialised training in Divinity, Law, Medicine"¹⁴². Herbert's studies some fifty years later would have had a similar limited aim judging by the content of his course and its outcome, although he was destined for mercantile pursuits rather than the learned professions. At the end of October 1868, at the age of seventeen, he entered the hallowed precincts of Edinburgh University and registered in the Faculty of Arts for classes in Logic (Junior), Rhetoric & English Literature, and Natural Philosophy, taught by Professors Fraser, Masson and Tait respectively¹⁴³ (Tait having taught his subject to Prince Alfred some years earlier¹⁴⁴). His second year course was similar but reduced in scale – he persevered with Tait and Masson's subjects and gave up on Fraser's Logic. In the Synopses of the Courses for 1869/70, Fraser's Class of Logic is described as covering inter alia "Classification of the

¹³⁴ Donaldson 1983, p.43

¹³⁵ Donaldson 1983, p.67

¹³⁶ Donaldson 1983, p.68 & 76

¹³⁷ Donaldson 1983, p.76/77

¹³⁸ ODNB, Prince Alfred May 2016

¹³⁹ ODNB, Edward VII May 2016

¹⁴⁰ Donaldson 1983, p.66

¹⁴¹ Donaldson 1983, p.57

¹⁴² Donaldson 1983 p.58

¹⁴³ Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, matriculation & class register records, reviewed in 1998. Per Edinburgh Evening Courant 13/10/1868, the session commenced on Mon. 2/11/1868.

¹⁴⁴ Donaldson 1983, p.77

Mental Phenomena”, “Elementary exposition of the Laws of Thought” and “Nature and occasions of Error or Fallacious Thinking”¹⁴⁵. Rhetoric & English Literature with Masson seem more practical and include “lectures on Style and the more minute points of English Composition” illustrated throughout by references to authors and examples from their work; lectures on the history of English literature covering the lives and works of the more important writers; and practical instruction in English composition and reading, including readings by the students in prose and verse, written exercises to be done in the class room, and “essays to be written at home”¹⁴⁶. Natural Philosophy with Tait was a remarkably broad course in science ranging from Abstract Dynamics (“commonly called Mechanics”) through Sound, Heat, Light and Electricity to Astronomy and Meteorology¹⁴⁷.

To our modern eye this breadth of subject seems more characteristic of school than university and Herbert ended his studies before specialising and progressing to graduation. When he left Edinburgh in 1870 he appears to have completed just two years of a four year Master of Arts course – most probably as originally intended but it is fairly clear that academe held little appeal for him and he would have been relieved to launch into a career trading in stocks and shares and continue a lifetime’s pursuit of salmon, grouse and variegated small balls.

According to the Pastime portrait of 1886 Herbert spent most of his time at university shooting, fishing and playing rackets, as “his inbred love of sport predominated over his studious inclinations”¹⁴⁸. He also apparently found time to play cricket for the university cricket eleven, demonstrating “run-getting powers [that] were not below the average of his companions”. Much of his time therefore would have been spent outside the university precincts because in his time Edinburgh provided neither residential accommodation nor proper sports facilities nor indeed cultural or religious amenities – it was the bare bones of a university compared to Oxford and Cambridge.

There was no college system at Edinburgh and traditionally the university authorities saw no reason to concern themselves with where a student lived or to assume any responsibility for accommodating him¹⁴⁹ - their focus was on teaching. Attitudes were changing in the 1860’s but the modernisers faced entrenched opposition from those keen to preserve the “traditional independence of the Scottish student”. The Principal, Sir Alexander Grant, was a staunch supporter of a residential system but as late as 1883 he wrote despairingly that the whole conception of a college hall seemed to be “at variance with the genius of a Scottish University”¹⁵⁰. (With an education of Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, followed by an Oriel Fellowship and a lengthy period of residence as a private tutor in Oxford, Grant was unlikely to see much virtue in the Scottish way and his appointment in 1868 must have been viewed with horror by traditionalists¹⁵¹.) Some university lecturers capitalised on the situation by taking in students as lodgers but in general in Herbert’s time the Edinburgh landlady reigned supreme¹⁵². Whether Herbert lodged with relatives, professor or private householder we know not for sure, but one of his class records shows the address *25 India Street* against his name (rather than the label *Kent* or *London* displayed in the others), and this suggests that he lived in private lodgings in the smart New Town area – no less than one would expect. The 1871

¹⁴⁵The Edinburgh University Calendar 1869/70, p.61 & 62

¹⁴⁶ University Calendar 1869/70, p.67 & 68

¹⁴⁷ University Calendar 1869/70, p.64

¹⁴⁸ “Portrait” in Pastime magazine 9 June 1886, p.391

¹⁴⁹ “Edinburgh University Life 1583 – 1983”, Edited G. Donaldson 1983, Pinkerton, p.118

¹⁵⁰ Donaldson p.119

¹⁵¹ Grant was head boy at Harrow and also played for the school cricket XI (Harrow register p.118, entrances Jan. 1838; Oxford Alumni ACU; ODNB 22/3/2016, EEC 18/4/1868 p.5 etc)

¹⁵² Donaldson p.118

census records this as the lodging address of John James Reid – a good friend of Herbert’s during his time at Edinburgh University – and it may well be that they lived there together¹⁵³.

If the university authorities were prepared to entrust the provision of accommodation wholly to the general lodgings industry, then it was hardly to be expected that they would concern themselves with student leisure activities – the mind was to be trained, but body and spirit were the preserve of the individual. There had been sports facilities of a sort as early as the seventeenth century – fields set aside “for the students to divert themselves in”¹⁵⁴ – but the objective then was mainly to control a nuisance, to remove improvised sports activities from the College and protect the buildings which were “greatly damnified by students playing at rackets and handballs”¹⁵⁵. In spite of this, when students formed a University Athletic Club in 1866 the senate provided encouragement and certain individual members took an active interest. The first president of the Club was the Hon. Lord Neaves, who had come a close second to Gladstone in the election for Rector in 1859, and the professors of the university were all vice presidents. The club had official recognition and supportive sentiments but there was little forthcoming in the way of funds¹⁵⁶.

The immediate aim of the club was to organise an athletic sports event like that held annually between Oxford and Cambridge and the first University Sports was held in June 1866¹⁵⁷. In the same month a swimming match open to members of the club was held and organised sport at the university could be said to have been launched, though on a very minor scale. The only sporting activities recorded before this time in the nineteenth century were occasional cricket and rugby matches¹⁵⁸. The first annual general meeting of the club was held in 1867 and close to this time the gymnasium in the College was made available to members of the Athletic Club¹⁵⁹ and the Edinburgh University Boat Club came into being (a reincarnation of the Alexandra Amateur Rowing Club but with membership restricted to graduates¹⁶⁰). In Herbert’s time therefore there were university facilities of some sort for gymnastics and rowing, but the Athletic Club lacked both sports field and pavilion so cricket seems to have consisted of fixtures against six or so schools played on their grounds¹⁶¹ and rugby was even more limited. For the first seven years the annual University Sports event was held on third party premises at Greenhill Park, Morningside, courtesy of a Mr Swan¹⁶².

The *Pastime* portrait of 1886 related that Herbert had played rackets from boyhood and that during his time in Edinburgh he played the game on “The Old Racket Court” in Rose Street principally with “R.T. Reid (the Oxford champion) and his brother”¹⁶³. The Reid brothers were all accomplished rackets players and Herbert must have played to a high standard to have survived in their company. There were actually three Reid brothers educated at Cheltenham College – John, Robert and James in order of birth – and all three had been rackets champion at the school while James had partnered Arthur Myers in the final of the first

¹⁵³ Census JJ Reid, 1871. Head of household was William Cropper 67, painter & glazier, living with his wife, adult son, 2 small children and a general domestic servant. At same address 1851 & 1861.

¹⁵⁴ “The story of Edinburgh University Athletic Club”, Col. Usher, 1966, p.1 & 2

¹⁵⁵ Usher p.2. Here the term College means the main university buildings – the Royal Charter of 1582 was for a “College of Edinburgh”.

¹⁵⁶ Usher p.2 - 4

¹⁵⁷ Usher p.2

¹⁵⁸ Usher p.2 & 235

¹⁵⁹ Usher p.4.

¹⁶⁰ Usher p.3 & 106. The advertisement in the University Calendar 1869/70 p.355 appears to contradict Usher by stating “The club is composed of present or past students of the university”.

¹⁶¹ Usher p.138

¹⁶² Usher p.37, Edinburgh Evening Courant 19/6/1868 & 24/6/1869, p.8

¹⁶³ *Pastime* 9 June 1886, p.391

public schools' championships in 1868¹⁶⁴. John and Robert were some years older than Herbert while James was a close contemporary, born in January 1851. Robert achieved greatest sporting success after leaving school - playing for the Oxford University cricket eleven for three years, becoming university rackets champion and representing his university against Cambridge at rackets between 1865 and 1867¹⁶⁵ - but Herbert's principal relationship in Edinburgh during his student years would have been with John. The Reid family was Scottish but had been based in Corfu for much of the brothers' childhood because their father was a member of the Supreme Council of Justice of the Ionian Islands (then a British protectorate)¹⁶⁶. When their father retired, he took up residence firstly in Cheltenham but then moved to Mouswald near Dumfries around the mid 1860's¹⁶⁷. After leaving Oxford, Robert embarked on a career as a lawyer in England and was called to the bar of the Inner Temple in 1871, therefore is likely to have been no more than a visitor to Scotland between 1868 and 1871¹⁶⁸. James moved to Scotland after leaving Cheltenham in June 1868 but died at the family home of Mouswald Place in April 1869¹⁶⁹. Herbert may have played rackets with him in Edinburgh but the relationship would have been brief. John went up to Cambridge University in 1864, graduated in due course and by 1868 was studying Civil Law at Edinburgh University¹⁷⁰. In August 1869 he claimed second prize in the Faculty of Law's final examinations for Civil Law¹⁷¹ and in 1870 he was admitted to the Scottish bar, following in his father's footsteps¹⁷². His first years of residence in Edinburgh as a student coincided with Herbert's time there. John had strong establishment connections and from 1868 was a member of Edinburgh's exclusive *Speculative Society*, which numbered Sir Alexander Grant¹⁷³ among its honorary members and had admitted Prince Alfred Duke of Edinburgh in 1863 (at his request – he became an honorary member in 1872¹⁷⁴).

Herbert's sporting activities with John appear to have embraced athletics and cricket as well as rackets and his first reported performances were in the university sports of June 1869. "J. Reid" is recorded as Secretary to the University Athletic Club for 1869/70 - Chairman for 1870/71¹⁷⁵ - and this is almost certainly John Reid¹⁷⁶. The annual games for 1869 took place over a period of four days with J. Reid presiding as Clerk to the Course with support from some five Race Committee Referees who numbered in their ranks "H. Lawford" and A. Murray Dunlop, who was a graduate student of Civil Law at the university like John¹⁷⁷. Herbert was an

¹⁶⁴ Tennis and Rackets Association Limited website, records of Public School Championship, 15/5/2016. CC register Hunter 1911 – John p.205/206, Robert p.225, James p.281

¹⁶⁵ Cheltenham College Archives, Mrs CL 2010. CC register, Hunter 1911, p.225: later QC, MP for Dumfries, Attorney-General, Lord Chancellor 1894, Baron Loreburn of Dumfries 1906, Honorary Fellow of Balliol 1908, etc.

¹⁶⁶ ODNB 2013 for Robert Reid. Times obituary for father 17/4/1876 etc.

¹⁶⁷ Census Cheltenham 1861 [Tivoli Lawn], various newspaper cuttings

¹⁶⁸ ODNB 2013 for Robert Reid & CC register p.225

¹⁶⁹ Cheltenham Looker-on 10/4/1869

¹⁷⁰ Edinburgh Evening Courant 3/8/1868 p.1, prize winner in the fortnightly exams. CC register p.205

¹⁷¹ Edinburgh Evening Courant ("EEC") 4/8/1869 p.1

¹⁷² CC register p.205

¹⁷³ JJR: "List of Members" 1868-1869, p.156 - Secretary 1869/70, president 1870/71 & 1872/73; Grant: "The History of the Speculative Society", 1764 – 1904, printed by T&A Constable 1905, 195, 1868/69.

¹⁷⁴ "History of the Speculative Society", 1905, p.34 (admitted 1863) & p.153 (960, honorary 1872)

¹⁷⁵ Usher p.333

¹⁷⁶ John expanded his name to John James Reid after the death of his brother in April 1869. Col. Usher observed (p.332) that the office of chairman could only be held by a graduate, and JJR was certainly that. In reporting on the university games of 1870 The Field (25/6/1870 p.554) refers to "J.J. Reid" as "the popular secretary of the games"; per Usher p.333, J. Reid was then secretary of the Athletic Club.

¹⁷⁷ EEC 24/6/1869 p.8. Alexander Murray Dunlop, attended Edinburgh Academy for 3 years but left in 1861 (register).

enthusiastic participant in the games and was placed in four different events starting on the first day with the Velocipede race. This was a novelty event at the time and Herbert was showing early pioneering tendencies. The distance was nearly two miles and the course was along roads north-west of the city centre - Buckingham Terrace by Craigleith to Comely Bank Toll¹⁷⁸. The bicycles were provided by Messrs James Soutter of Princes Street, who advertised for sale "velocipedes at moderate prices direct from the three best makers in Paris"¹⁷⁹, and these would have been the boneshakers which preceded the penny-farthing. The young referee came second by fifty yards in what was described as "a good race", won in 9 minutes 1 second.

The second and third days of the games – Monday and Tuesday – featured out of town events: the steeple chase in the Braid Hills on Monday ("a very rugged course" with a quagmire as one of the water jumps – just seven runners) and the swimming race at Trinity in the Firth of Forth on Tuesday, and in both cases Herbert was absent from the roll of victors¹⁸⁰. The main competition was held on day four in a field off *Whitehouse Loan*, generously lent by Mr Swan, and society attended in strength. *The Field* gave wide, if critical, coverage:

"Favoured with unusually brilliant weather, the attendance in Greenhill Park on Wednesday was greatly in excess of any similar *r union* this season, both as regards numbers, beauty and fashion. These games have taken their place as one of the events of the Edinburgh season, and the gorgeous turnout of the fair daughters and stalwart sons of Edina was a truly picturesque spectacle. The green turf outside the ropes was a favourite promenade and the enlivening strains of the band of the "Black Watch" materially contributed to the enjoyment of the 5000 spectators who were estimated to be present....The field in which the games were held is by no means well adapted for high class performances, the ground being very rough and uneven, and the runners at every alternate stride 'down in the hollow, up on the ridge'"¹⁸¹.

The journal regretted that the Velocipede and walking races had been held earlier, and "were only attended by those immediately interested", and expressed the view that the lack of spectators – "the total absence of the fair sex, who are now so intimately associated with athletic gatherings" – must have diminished the "spirit thrown into the competitions".

Tents were in place in the park to accommodate the committee and competitors and to shelter the vendors of refreshments. Flags fluttered, the sun shone brightly, and the band and pipers of the 42nd Highlanders played - muscular endeavour took place to a carnival background¹⁸². There were all the usual field events and proceedings continued for some five hours, terminating at six o'clock when Sir Alexander Grant presented the prizes¹⁸³. Herbert added second in the Long Leap (two feet behind the winning jump of seventeen feet, three competitors) to his second in the velocipede race and demonstrated precocious upper body strength in Putting the Cannon Ball and Throwing the Hammer, but without being numbered amongst the winners. The audience was a large one and Herbert showed a willingness to perform that may have bordered on enjoyment. Reid was prominent in the flat races – second in the 100 yards and third in the quarter mile¹⁸⁴. With most of the student sports committee competing there was a need for others to act as Judge and Starter and these roles were filled

¹⁷⁸ EEC 21/6/1869 p.8 & London's *The Sporting Life* 26/6/1869 p.1

¹⁷⁹ EEC 5/6/1869 p.3

¹⁸⁰ London's *The Sporting Life* 26/6/1869 p.1

¹⁸¹ *Field* 26/6/1869 p.545

¹⁸² EEC 24/6/1869 p.8

¹⁸³ EEC 24/6/1869 p.8

¹⁸⁴ London's *The Sporting Life* 26/6/1869 p.1

by Captain Roland (teacher of fencing & gymnastics at the Edinburgh Academy¹⁸⁵) and Dr Chiene (demonstrator of anatomy at the university¹⁸⁶ and Academy old boy)¹⁸⁷. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* pronounced the arrangements made by the committee to be most satisfactory¹⁸⁸.

It seems remarkable that Herbert should arrive in Edinburgh aged seventeen and find himself almost immediately at the heart of the university sporting establishment, small as it was. He had no reputation from Repton to go before him and one can only speculate that his position was a product of good fortune in his relationship with the Reids and a return on his time at the Edinburgh Academy, linked perhaps to a youthful flair for personal relations. Of the five Race Committee referees assisting John Reid that June, four were old boys of the Academy (George Omond, Alexander Murray-Dunlop, James Wallace and Herbert) and the Judge and Starter were both Academy men of one sort another. The school was considered to be “one of the most active centres of rugby, cricket and athletics in Scotland”¹⁸⁹ and was supremely influential. At the time of the sports Omond was Secretary of the Athletic Club and Murray-Dunlop Treasurer¹⁹⁰.

Through his sporting connections Herbert came to perform on many a local cricket pitch. In the 1869 and 1870 seasons he played for three different Scottish cricket teams in addition to his other pastimes. He represented Edinburgh Academicals and the University in several matches in 1869 and then in 1870 he played for both these teams and a new “wandering” club called the Wideawakes¹⁹¹. His adversaries included Loretto School, Selkirk Club, Craigmount, Blair Lodge and Merchiston and judging by his reported results he was selected primarily as a bowler or all-rounder rather than a batsman (- in 1869 he batted at number seven or eight). The Wideawakes team appears to have been formed mainly from past and present members of the university and Herbert played under their banner with the likes of John James Reid, M. Dunlop, the Le Mesuriers and Charles F. Hutchinson, student of medicine¹⁹². In 1870 he also found time to play at least one match for his Tunbridge Wells Club (in April¹⁹³) and during his final summer as a student cricket seems to have been his principal sport.

Sport was clearly Herbert’s prime interest while in Edinburgh, whatever his father’s intentions may have been, but he was the eldest son, destined to carry on the family business, and after the university summer session ended¹⁹⁴ he travelled back south to join the brotherhood of the City and enter the working world. He was just nineteen when he left university, much the same age as future tennis adversary Ernest Browne when he left

¹⁸⁵ EEC 14/9/1868 p.1

¹⁸⁶ EEC 30/3/1868 p.3

¹⁸⁷ EEC 24/6/1869 p.8

¹⁸⁸ EEC 24/6/1869 p.8

¹⁸⁹ Dr Neil Campbell, Ch.III, “Athletics”, Usher, 1966, p.35. In the 1880’s Raeburn Place, the Academicals’ ground, was to host the Scottish tennis championships a number of times and there on 9/6/1887 William Renshaw suffered the arm injury that ended his Wimbledon reign of 6 years (Aberdeen Evening Express 10/6/1887 p.3).

¹⁹⁰ Usher p.333, “Roll of officials”

¹⁹¹ Per various newspaper reports eg: Academicals v. Loretto - EEC 5/7/1869 p.3; University v. Craigmount - EEC 19/7/1869 p.8; Wideawakes v. Blair Lodge – Falkirk Herald 23/6/1870 p.5 (& 29/6/1871 p.3 re. “Wandering”)

¹⁹² Charles Frederick Hutchinson: born 1850, Uppingham School 1863 – 1867, MD Edinburgh University (Uppingham School Roll & obituary Morning Post 16/11/1907 p.8)

¹⁹³ Maidstone & Kentish Journal 30/4/1870, p.2. On 23 April Herbert and his brother Ernest played for the club Under 30’s against the Over 30’s for the first match of the season. Batting at No.10 Herbert made a respectable 13.

¹⁹⁴ In 1869 the summer session ran from 3 May to 30 July 1869 (Calendar 1869/70 p.11). Scotsman 30/7/1870 p.2: summer session of Natural History ended 29 July.

Cheltenham College in 1874¹⁹⁵, and in terms of education his departure was more like leaving school than university.

Herbert's Scottish connections through his mother are well known but by a quirk of fate his only identified family connection in Edinburgh during those years was through the Lawford male line, and was to be one of special significance. A first cousin by the name of Alfred Chalmers Lawford, some fourteen years older than Herbert¹⁹⁶, was a civil engineer in the employment of the Madras government and in 1863 he had returned to Britain on sick leave¹⁹⁷. After recovering from his illness, he had been married in Edinburgh to a daughter of Scotland named Elizabeth Scott¹⁹⁸, whose father had been Minister of Dirleton near North Berwick for many years until his death shortly before the marriage¹⁹⁹. The couple sailed back to India in 1865²⁰⁰ and a first daughter was born to them in 1867 in Trichinopoly, Madras²⁰¹. The child, Louisa, survived and two years later was joined by a sister. Elizabeth was able to arrange for the birth of her second child to take place in her homeland and on 11th May 1869 Edith Lawford was born in Edinburgh at 3 St Bernard's Crescent²⁰², not far from New Town. Edinburgh University was a week into its summer session and Herbert was some six weeks away from his Velocipede race and athletic feats in the annual games. He is likely to have had about as much interest in small children as in Virgil's *Fourth Georgic* but blood relations were blood relations and he must have visited the family. The last thought that would have crossed his mind when he first saw the new baby mewling in its mother's arms was that one day she might become his partner in life, yet seventeen years later - the year before he became Wimbledon champion - he would marry her and install her as mistress of his home on Wimbledon Common. She was more Scottish than he and marriage further strengthened his bonds with North Britain.

¹⁹⁵ CC Register, Hunter 1911, p.305

¹⁹⁶ Aged 32 in 1869 (censuses 1881 & 1891). Son of HFL's uncle General Edward Lawford (Lawford Record 2008 p.35, by Jeremy Lawford).

¹⁹⁷ ACL's application to join the Institution of Civil Engineers 10/5/1870. See also Ticehurst House Hospital record for 1863 admission.

¹⁹⁸ Caledonian Mercury 21/10/1864 p.4. Rev James Scott died in January 1864 (Inverness Courier 11/2/1864 p.3) and they were married that October.

¹⁹⁹ Edinburgh Evening Courant 24/12/1864 p.2

²⁰⁰ ACL's application to Institution of Civil Engineers 10/5/1870 & Homeward Mail 23/2/1865 p.155

²⁰¹ ACU 2019: born 3/2/1867; also Louisa Scott Duke census 1881

²⁰² EEC 12/5/1869 p.4 "Births". Address same for her wedding ceremony in 1864. ACL's address on his 1870 ICE application was 1 Nelson St, Edinburgh.

Chapter 4: Home and City life, 1870 - 1902

A career in the family firm - the Stock Exchange claims its own

Edinburgh University's summer session finished at the end of July 1870¹ and Herbert maintained his sporting activities to the end, playing his last reported cricket match for the university on 25th July. The apparent finale to his Edinburgh sports career was one of his less distinguished performances. *The Sportsman* relates that batting at Number 8 he scored no runs in either innings and he took no opposition wickets as a bowler²; perhaps his eye was on the future rather than the ball. Soon he was once more a resident of England and by the census at the beginning of April 1871 he was gainfully employed as a Broker's Clerk – on the first rung of the ladder of his stockbroking career – and comfortably established at the family home in Calverley Park Gardens, Tunbridge Wells³. Soon after census day, the Common in Tunbridge Wells provided the venue for the town's annual Athletic Sports and according to the reporter of the *Maidstone & Kentish Journal* the bicycle race of one mile was the best race of the day⁴. There were just three entries – Hoare, Lawford and Roberts. Roberts took the lead at the start but was overtaken on the third lap by Hoare, who enjoyed the considerable advantage of India rubber tyres. This so discomfited Roberts that he drove into a post on the fourth lap and fell off, allowing Lawford to slip past. Roberts remounted gallantly but was held off by the leaders and Lawford came through to claim second place⁵.

Both sides of Herbert's family were strongly represented in professional services in London – most notably in banking, stockbroking and the law - and Herbert grew up steeped in the culture of the City. In the year of his birth, seventeen of his Lawford relatives were members of the Drapers' Livery Company and ten of these worked in the City⁶. Both his grandfathers were in banking, two of his great uncles were City solicitors and his father was a stockbroker by profession. His uncle John Lawford had followed his father into banking with Curries & Co. and a Bruce uncle, James junior, had progressed from East India Merchant to Bank Managing Director by 1871⁷. Then there were his father's Lawford cousins. Two cousins were City solicitors (one with a Holland brother-in-law on the board of the Bank of England⁸), two were stockbrokers⁹ and one was a barrister in practice¹⁰. Another cousin – William Lawford, a son of John of Downhills – studied mechanical drawing and deserted London for the north to train as a civil engineer but then married into a prominent City stockbroking family¹¹. After articles to Robert Stephenson, and spells in the Stephenson family locomotive

¹ 1869 session ended 30 July (Edinburgh Univ. Calendar for 1869/70 p.11). 1870 session ended 29 July for Natural History (Scotsman 30/7/1870 p.2); reports of conferment of degrees etc early August 1870.

² *The Sportsman* 27/7/1870, p.3 – Edinburgh university v. Merchiston.

³ Census 1871, Herbert Lawford.

⁴ *Maidstone & Kentish Journal* 17/4/1871, p.7. Also *Sportsman* 13/4/1871 p.3

⁵ In 1872, there were just two entrants for the race – lengthened to two miles - and HF Lawford took second prize, being lapped by the winner (*Maidstone & Kentish Journal* 13/4/1872 p.2)

⁶ Analysis from Boyd's Roll of Drapers' Company, 18/4/2014. Also based on Lawford Record 2008 by Jeremy Lawford, census records & newspaper reports etc.

⁷ Censuses 1861 & 1871, James Bruce II (1871: aged 36, born Chelsea, resident Bletchingley, Surrey)

⁸ Henry Lancelot Holland, Director 1844 – 1893, Deputy Governor of the Bank 1863-1865, Governor 1865-1867; Henry Smith Lawford married HLH's younger sister Emily in September 1852.

⁹ Analysis from Boyd's Roll etc.

¹⁰ Lindsay Bowring Lawford, census 1851; per Boyd's Roll his address was Lincoln's Inn 1853 – 56.

¹¹ Boyd's Roll – resident in Tottenham from 1848 – 1851, Liverpool 1852 - 1856; census 1851, William Lawford (at Downhills, Tottenham); Pedigree of the Lawford Family by Reginald Ames, c.1892; William's obituary in "Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers" Volume 154 Issue 1903 p.376-378.

works in Newcastle¹² and as an engineer on railway systems linked to Cambridge, William married Jane Cazenove and took up residence in Liverpool in 1852. Jane was the niece of Philip Cazenove, founder of the great stockbroking firm *P. Cazenove & Co*, and in 1854 her brother Edward became one of the firm's three partners¹³. In later years William moved back to London¹⁴ and their son Alfred Lawford joined the stock exchange himself and was inducted into the Drapers' Company in 1882 under the patronage of his stockbroker uncle George Lawford, William's twin brother¹⁵.

The family City professionals all worked within comfortable walking distance of each other and Drapers' Hall. The Drapers ranked near the top of the hierarchy of livery companies and provided lavish social events for both friends and family, while energetically supporting a wide range of charities and educational establishments. Herbert's father Thomas was less actively involved in Draper affairs than his immediate forbears, all three of whom had worked their way through the warden roles before serving their time as Masters, and he never served on the managing Court¹⁶. Nevertheless, he joined the livery in 1839 and remained there until his death, and Herbert was to follow his example¹⁷. No doubt both father and son were enthusiastic participants in the Company's social functions which were good for business – networking of the most productive kind.

By March 1872 Herbert was registered with the stock exchange as one of the three clerks serving Steer, Lawford, Cuerton & Co, his father's firm¹⁸, and he made steady progress in his chosen profession. He was admitted as a member of the stock exchange in March 1874¹⁹ and a year later had been raised to the status of partner in the family firm²⁰. 1874 also saw him accepted into the Drapers' Company on the testimony of his father and his banker uncle John Lawford²¹ and he took his place as a fully fledged member of the City fraternity. This was the year that Walter Clopton Wingfield took out a patent for his invention of "A New and Improved Portable Court for playing the ancient game of Tennis", and hour-glass shaped Lawn Tennis courts sprang up across the country like a new summer crop with a predilection for moist lawn and parkland belonging to the leisured classes²². Herbert sensibly left it to others to patronise Wingfield's eccentric design and he stood back from the game until the Wimbledon rules were developed in 1877²³.

¹² George Stephenson's *Rocket* was built at the works in 1829.

¹³ Per family tree provided by Bernard Cazenove, 6 June 2001; also "Cazenove & Co: A History", D. Kynaston, 1991, p.45. Edward died in 1857 and Jane in 1860.

¹⁴ Censuses 1871 & 1881 (both Clapham) & marriage cert 1871. William enjoyed a long and successful career in the construction and management of railway systems, working both in England and overseas (per obituary in Proceedings of ICE Vol 154, 1903 p.376).

¹⁵ Boyd's Roll, George no.1162, Alfred no.1196

¹⁶ Boyd's Roll no.s 1145, 1146 & 1150

¹⁷ Boyd's Roll, Thomas no.1158, Herbert no.1185

¹⁸ Marcus Cuerton's application for re-election to the LSE for the year beginning 25/3/1872

¹⁹ HFL's application for admission to the LSE for the year beginning 25/3/1874, dated as "passed" 23/3/1874. The process of admission was more like that for joining a club rather than qualifying for a profession. Throughout the period 1850 to 1914 admission was assured as long as 3 existing members would sponsor a candidate and each stand surety for £750; no formal qualifications were required and there was no compulsory period of apprenticeship ("The London Stock Exchange", R. Michie, OUP, 1999, p.98 & 99).

²⁰ HFL's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1875

²¹ Boyd's Roll No.1185. "1874 Feb. 27 admitted by patrimony on the testimony of his father and uncle, John, as a stockbroker of Elm Wood, Kenley".

²²"Wingfield – Edwardian Gentleman", GE Alexander, Randall 1986, p.199. The patent application was dated 23/2/1874

²³ The first All England Championships were first advertised in the *Field* of 9/6/1877, to begin on 9th July ("Fifty Years of Wimbledon", Wallis Myers, The Field 1926, p.8). Herbert states that he took up the game

When he did take up lawn tennis in 1877/78 he was a busy junior partner in *Steer Lawford*, living near Coulsdon in Surrey²⁴, and his lifestyle as a tournament competitor was to be in marked contrast to that of gentleman-of-leisure players such as the Renshaw twins. Writing on lawn tennis in 1898 for the stock exchange's charity publication *The House on Sport*²⁵, Herbert described the virtues of a game of tennis after work for "young men in business" – the benefits "of that splendid sweat to be had from an hour or two's hard tennis" – and his account gives a feel for the demands of his workplace:

"Some of the years that I was playing Tennis most were also the years I was working hardest, rushing about the City all Day. I went down to Wimbledon about five o'clock almost daily in the summer, and often felt so tired at the station that I took a cab to the ground only half-a-mile off. The first quarter-of-an-hour's play generally did wonders, and the end of two hours would find me as fresh as I had been in the morning; every atom of business weariness had passed away....I know nothing that will give a man such fine exercise in so short a time in open air and generally at his own door, should he be lucky enough to live out of town. Moreover, in interest it is at least equal to any other game, and compels a player to forget his business worries and cares, at all events for the time."

When Herbert was received into partnership the firm was over eighty years old²⁶ and Thomas had been a partner for almost thirty of those years²⁷. It was long established and was described by one historian as "distinguished in the City since in 1847 George John Steer had gone into partnership with Henry Cuerton and Thomas Acland Lawford" (David Wainwright in his book "Government Broker: the story of an office and of Mullens and Co"²⁸). A profile of its senior partner in 1895 – within a volume entitled "Leading Men of London" - suggests that Steer Lawford was the oldest surviving "house" on the stock exchange as well as one of the most reputable²⁹. Just one new family member had joined the team between 1847 and 1874. George Steer and Thomas from the original triumvirate were still in place but Henry Cuerton had died in 1866³⁰ and his cousin Marcus Cuerton had been uplifted to partner in the year to March 1868³¹. Marcus, the son of a former partner, was close in age to Thomas and had been

at the age of 26 (Badminton Library p.277); as his 26th birthday was on 15/5/1877 this places his adoption of the sport at or after the development of the Wimbledon rules and before May 1878. *The Illustrated Sporting News* of 23/6/1883 (p.381) states that he commenced lawn tennis in 1878 and *Pastime* of 9/6/1886 (p.391, Col.2) concurs, asserting that he was not "initiated in the mysteries of lawn tennis" until 1878 and he played in the Wimbledon Championships that year as "a novice".

²⁴ HFL form for LSE re-election for year beginning 25/3/1876 & also extracts from LSE 1876 records per Guildhall Library email 26/5/2011 & LSE letter of 15/2/2001. Addresses per Boyd's Roll no.1185 (HFL) & 1158 (TAL).

²⁵"The House on Sport", Editor WA Morgan, Gale & Polden 1898, p.425

²⁶ Note on John Capel, MP (1767-1846) "historyofparliamentonline.org", ed Fisher, CUP 2009, internet 2017. Capel was a founding partner of *Bruckshaw and Capel* in 1795 and the firm evolved into *Capel Cuerton and Lawford* over the years to 1845. Capel died in 1846 and Steer joined in 1847. See Chapter 2 page 12 above.

²⁷ TAL's form for LSE re-election for the year ending 25/3/1846

²⁸ Matham, 1990 p.64. Mullens merged with Steer Lawford in 1920 (page 15 below)

²⁹ "Leading Men of London: A Collection of Biographical Sketches 1895", The British Biographical Company, London p.135 ACU.

³⁰ Probate 17/9/1866, died 19/7/1866 ACU

³¹ TAL's form for LSE re-election for year ending 25/3/1869

with the firm since before 1842³². His professional development, however, had been slow if not retarded and after ten years he had remained a clerk without authority to trade³³ and he was put forward for membership of the stock exchange only in 1852³⁴. He was no star and in Herbert's time would have been a partner of limited influence. In the year before Herbert was admitted to the stock exchange, the firm was represented by three partners and three "unauthorised" clerks, of which he was one. There was though another Steer waiting in the wings and when Herbert's application to the exchange went forward it travelled in tandem with the paperwork for the admission of Charles Boyes Steer, George's great nephew³⁵. The two supplicants were admitted on the same day in March 1874³⁶ and within the next twelve months Charles became a partner like Herbert, ignorance of the stock market apparently being no impediment to a place at the high table³⁷. Herbert might reasonably have experienced at least a twinge of resentment at Charles's rapid ascent, but at thirty-eight³⁸ the newcomer was some fifteen years older than him and had served queen & country for nearly twenty years as an officer of the 1st Regiment of Foot (the Royal Scots)³⁹. He had served overseas with the army in China and India and held the rank of Captain for eight years, so would have had broad experience of the ways of the world and been well versed in the art of handling senior officers in a "smart" regiment, a skill which could be put to good use in the handling of a segment of *Steer Lawford's* clients. The likelihood is that Herbert accorded him a manly respect and accepted his appointment with a good grace.

The stature of the firm grew in the years up to the 1870's and in 1861 in a report on the tender process for an India Loan of £3m, *The Evening Standard* was prepared to place Steer Cuerton Lawford at the top of its list of "principal members of the Stock Exchange" taking part in the exercise - ahead of P. Cazenove & Co, Mr Sebag, Capel Norbury & Co and other heavyweights⁴⁰. Its clients in the 1860's included The New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company⁴¹, The Ceylon Company (which was chaired by Lawford Acland)⁴², and the Oriental Bank Corporation⁴³, whose chairman Harry George Gordon had been an associate of James Turing Bruce and was on the Ceylon Company's board. Harry Gordon and Thomas Lawford were named as sole executors in James Bruce's will of 1858 so Harry must have been almost one of the family⁴⁴. The Oriental Bank connection was particularly beneficial as it

³²Richard Cuerton's form for LSE re-election for year ending 25/3/1843, dated 20/4/1842 – MC named as clerk without authority. Thomas was born in 1816, Marcus in 1820 (baptism register) son of Charles who died in 1842 (whose last LSE form on file was for the year to 25/3/1842).

³³TAL's form for LSE re-election for year ending 25/3/1853

³⁴MC's form for admission to the LSE for year ending 25/3/1853, dated as "admitted" 23/4/1852.

³⁵Probate 29/4/1879 for George, naming Charles as an executor.

³⁶HFL & GBS's applications for admission to the LSE for year beginning 25/3/1874; "passed 23/3/74"

³⁷HFL's form for LSE re-election for year beginning 25/3/1875

³⁸Census for CBS 1881

³⁹Hart's Army list 1868, p.218 (1st Battalion). CBS's military experience is made harder to follow because he switched between the 1st & 2nd battalions of the Royal Scots (Hart 1865 p.218, 2nd Battalion). He seems to have served in India at the time of the Mutiny and then moved to China where in 1860 he took part in the battle of the Taku Forts & capture of Peking (2nd Batt'n, ancestry.co.uk record of soldiers involved in the China Wars). He returned to England on leave from India on medical certificate in 1870 (Army & Navy Gazette 30/7/1870 p.4) and retired from the army in February 1874 (Morning Post 14/2/1874 p.6).

⁴⁰Evening Standard 9/2/1861 p.6 BNA

⁴¹The Evening Standard 15/4/1865 front page

⁴²The Daily News 10/4/1862 & 20/4/1863 front pages. Lawford Acland was a first cousin of Thomas Acland Lawford so these corporate relationships were fairly incestuous.

⁴³"The LSE and the colonial market: a case study of internationalisation 1855 – 1930", Bernard Attard Univ. of Leicester, p.15, per internet 7/9/2016

⁴⁴Will of James Bruce dated 4/8/1858, per copy from HMCS dated 25/3/2011. James died on 21/11/1861.

brought involvement inter alia in stock issues for the Bank of New Zealand in 1862⁴⁵, the New South Wales Government in 1866⁴⁶, the Imperial Government of Japan in 1873⁴⁷, and the Chilian [*sic*] Government in 1873⁴⁸. Thomas's family links bore some juicy commercial fruit. Established for a time in Old Broad Street⁴⁹, the firm had moved to 51 Threadneedle Street by the beginning of 1866⁵⁰ and become a neighbour to P. Cazenove & Co, occupant of Number 52 for some years⁵¹. Here the firm remained until 1880 when it relocated to 3 Drapers Gardens (part of a development on Drapers' Company land adjoining Drapers Hall) and this was to remain its home until 1907⁵². Two of Herbert's brothers – Archibald and Ernest – became members of the stock exchange in 1883 but neither became registered clerks or partners in Steer Lawford, although Archibald seems to have been in training with the firm in 1880 at the age of twenty two⁵³. John Edward Gordon registered Archibald as a clerk in 1885⁵⁴ and he took him into partnership in 1886⁵⁵. The Gordon partners described themselves as Dealers rather than Brokers and the firm's principal activity seems to have been jobbing (market making). Two years later Ernest joined his younger brother in the Gordon partnership⁵⁶ and so both brothers chose a business specialisation distinct from that of their father's company.

By the end of 1874 Steer Lawford had received an infusion of youth through the elevation of Herbert and Charles Steer but a further staff change occurred in the year that was to prove particularly important for the firm's development. A young man by the name of Granville Farquhar crossed the threshold of 51 Threadneedle Street bent on initiation into the mysteries of the stock market and a year later he too had been made up to partner⁵⁷. In time he overtook Herbert to become senior partner⁵⁸ and he was to lead Steer Lawford into the twentieth century. By the end of 1875 there were therefore six partners and it was to be nine years before any new names were added to the list, a period of stability during which Herbert and Granville could pick the brains of the veteran brokers and hone their skills.

Granville Frederick Richard Farquhar brought new and blue blood to the partnership and a considerable talent which was to be nurtured in house. Nearly two years older than Herbert, he arrived in the City four years after him following studies at Oxford University and several years in Ireland trying his hand at Land Agency on the estates of the Marquises of

⁴⁵ Daily News 13/2/1862 front page BNA

⁴⁶ The Standard 24/2/1866 front page. Harry's son Panmure Gordon had joined brokers J & A. Scrimgeour from the army in 1865 (ODNB 2016 for Panmure) and this firm was listed as joint broker – as it was for the Japanese and Chilian issues of 1873.

⁴⁷ The Standard 14/1/1873 front page

⁴⁸ The Morning Post 26/3/1873 p.8 BNA

⁴⁹ Daily News 13/2/1862 front page, 12 Old Broad Street, which was also the London Office address for the Ceylon Company (Daily News 20/4/1863 front page).

⁵⁰ The London Standard 24/2/1866 front page

⁵¹ Cazenoves were resident at 52 Threadneedle Street from at least 1859. "Cazenove & Co: A History", D. Kynaston, 1991, p.46 & p.81

⁵² Daily News 27/8/1907 p.2. Relocation date: newspaper refs (eg. Pall Mall Gaz'te 20/12/1880 p.14) & LSE re-election docs for TAL (yr from March 1880 old address) & HFL (yr from March 1881 new address)

⁵³ Boyd's Roll (No.1190) records Archibald's admission to the Drapers' Company in July 1880 as "a gentleman of 51 Threadneedle Street".

⁵⁴ JEG's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1886

⁵⁵ ADL's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1887. In the 1891 census ADL described himself as a Stock Jobber, in the 1901 census he entered Stock Dealer.

⁵⁶ EBAL's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1889 in which he described himself as a jobber. In his 1890 form he called himself a dealer, in 1891 a jobber. He and ADL appear to have treated the terms as interchangeable.

⁵⁷ HFL's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1876

⁵⁸ "Leading Men of London: A Collection of Biographical Sketches 1895", p.135 ACU

Bath and Lansdowne⁵⁹. Having come to the conclusion that stockbroking offered a greater promise of wealth than land agency or the Farquhar family business, he opted to join Steer Lawford and was admitted to membership of the stock exchange a year later⁶⁰. He too was from a City family. His father was Sir Walter Rockliffe Farquhar, Bart, managing partner of bankers Herries, Farquhar and Co and the second generation of Farquhars to be partners in the bank⁶¹. The working world almost certainly provided the connection between the families and we know, for instance, that in 1880 Steer Lawford and Herries Farquhar both worked on the issue of shares for *The South African Loan Mortgage and Mercantile Agency*, the former fulfilling the official role of Brokers and the latter Bankers as well as Trustee through Sir Walter's brother Harvie⁶²; Granville's second cousin Horace Farquhar was also helpfully placed as a director of the issuing company (while working for *Forbes, Forbes and Co*)⁶³. In March 1885 the families combined again as Brokers and Bankers on an issue of stock for the brewers *Watney and Company*⁶⁴.

Granville would have had much in common with Herbert. As well as the City background, they shared an interest in field sports and both had strong Scottish links. Granville was "well known in the world of sport" - an accomplished horseman, a fine shot and a keen angler⁶⁵ - and was descended in the male line from the old Ayrshire family of the Farquhars of Gilmilnscoft, Sorn (according to *The Scotsman* in an article on Horace Farquhar's ancestry in 1923). His Farquhar ancestors had flourished in the time of Charles I - had supported the Royalists in the Civil War - and later intermarried with the ancient Aberdeenshire families of Forbes of Newe and Turing of Foveran⁶⁶. Both he and Herbert were descended from Turing ladies of the eighteenth century and Herbert's ancestor represented both families with her maiden name of *Forbes Ann Turing*⁶⁷. Granville's Scottish affiliations were nicely illustrated in 1887 when in May he spent some two weeks fishing the Dee for salmon from the Fife Arms Hotel, Braemar, and then in September he attended the jubilee Braemar Games at Balmoral as one of the Earl of Fife's party⁶⁸. Fife - Alexander William George Duff - had been a contemporary of Granville's at Eton⁶⁹ and was a close friend of Horace Farquhar. Fife's guest list at his *Mar Lodge* property included Prince Albert Victor of

⁵⁹ "Leading Men of London", p.135

⁶⁰ GFRF's application for admission to the LSE for the year beginning 25/3/1875, "Admitted 19/4/75".

⁶¹ Lloyds' Bank's history of its 16 St James's Street branch, www.gla.ac.uk/media etc p.5 to 7. Lloyds took over what was the Herries, Farquhar London office in 1893.

⁶² Pall Mall Gazette 20/12/1880 p.14. Sir Walter was born to Thomas & Sybella Farquhar in July 1810, Harvie in November 1816 (Utah records ACU & see Sybella's probate 1869). Horace worked for the East India trading company *Forbes, Forbes & Co*, founded by Sir Charles Forbes of Newe (Times obituary Lord Farquhar 31/8/1923 p.10 & ODNB 2016 Horace Brand Townsend Farquhar). Sir Walter Farquhar 1738 - 1819 (1st Bart), physician to the Prince of Wales 1796 (ODNB 2016), was great-grandfather to Horace and Granville.

⁶³ Interestingly Horace seems to have tried his hand as a stockbroker early in his career and he was a member of the LSE for at least a year. GJ Steer was one of the three sureties for his admission in 1865.

⁶⁴ St James's Gazette, 24/3/1885 p.15 BNA

⁶⁵ Obituary for GFRF, The Times 18/12/1934 p.19 TDA

⁶⁶ The Scotsman 1/9/1923 p.8 "The Late Earl Farquhar's Scottish Descent"; Obituary of Lord Farquhar, Times 31/8/1923 p.10

⁶⁷ "Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae - The succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation", 1920, Vol.3 p.278

⁶⁸ Aberdeen Journal 25/5/1887 p.7, Glasgow Herald 2/9/1887 p.7 BNA. The games were held just to the east of the Queen's Bridge, and Herbert's brother Ernest seems to have numbered amongst the thousands of spectators.

⁶⁹ Eton register for 1862 - 1868, Election 65: Granville (ref 41(a)) 1861 to 1866, born June 1849; Fife: (ref 55(a)) 1863 to 1866, born Nov. 1849 (Times obit 1912); different tutors/houses - Durnford v. Dupuis etc.

Wales⁷⁰ and the earl's intimate links to the royal family were broadcast to the world at large in 1889 when he married the Queen's granddaughter Princess Louise of Wales in the chapel at Buckingham Palace (with the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating and in the presence of the Queen, the Prime Minister and a dazzling array of nobles and dignitaries⁷¹). The Farquhars' strong links to Fife were made public simultaneously as Horace Farquhar acted as his "supporter and best man" at the ceremony – he too was to become an intimate of the Prince of Wales and in later years he was to be adviser and close friend to both Edward VII and George V (becoming Master of the Royal Household in 1901 and Lord Steward of the Household in 1915)⁷². By 1887 Horace was both friend and business partner to Fife as in 1883 he had persuaded the Scottish landowner to realise part of his extensive estates and acquire a majority interest in Sir Samuel Scott's Bank in London, while Horace acquired a stake in the bank in parallel and transferred from the house of Forbes to become its salaried manager⁷³. At a stroke Fife acquired position and influence in the City of London, as well as what proved to be a source of considerable wealth, and Scott's Bank was added to the portfolio of Steer Lawford's useful connections⁷⁴.

At the jubilee games the *Glasgow Herald* paid particular attention to Fife and his party, no doubt aware of his special standing with the royal family but perhaps also because the Duffs were one of the two great Deeside clans that met at the games (the other being the Farquharsons)⁷⁵:

“At intervals many unrehearsed pictorial effects were introduced. At one point, half an hour after Her Majesty, the Earl of Fife and party from Mar Lodge drove on to the field; his carriages drew up at the entrance end of the ground, and the gay dresses of the ladies and the red jackets of the postilions looked very picturesque as they alighted and walked up the field to the Grand Stand.....Lord Fife was warmly received by the Queen. Descending the dais from the presence, he stood for some time near the stand, keeping up a lively conversation with Prince Albert Victor and Prince Henry of Battenberg”⁷⁶.

Granville's blue blood came through his mother, Lady Mary Octavia Farquhar, who was the daughter of Henry Charles Somerset, sixth Duke of Beaufort. She was aunt to the eighth duke⁷⁷ who acceded to the title in 1853 and was the editor of the Badminton Library on sport⁷⁸, a great sportsman well known to Herbert. Lady Mary was said to be connected by marriage to almost half the peerage⁷⁹ so that Granville's family endowed him with a wealth of contacts

⁷⁰ Morning Post 1/9/1887 p.5. Albert Victor was the eldest son of the Prince of Wales. George Forbes was also a guest.

⁷¹ Times 29/7/1889 p.10 TDA; Aberdeen Journal 27/7/1889 p.5 & 29/7/1889 p.5 BNA

⁷² Obituary in the Times 31/8/1923 p.10: “Lord Farquhar – Friend of Two Sovereigns”; ODNB Earl Farquhar 2016

⁷³ Times obituary 31/8/1923 p.10; Times 10/10/1883 p.11 & 11/10/1883 p.9; ODNB Earl Farquhar 2016; Aberdeen Weekly Journal 13/10/1883 p.10 & 3/11/1883 p.3 (Vanity Fair)

⁷⁴ In July 1889 Scott's managed a public subscription for debentures and preference stock in The Fairfield Shipbuilding Company of Govan, near Glasgow, and Steer Lawford were named as brokers to the company (Aberdeen Daily Free Press 13/7/1889 p.1). See also Worthington & Co (brewers) preference shares issue (Times 14/1/1889 p.11).

⁷⁵ Glasgow Herald 2/9/1887 p.7 column 3

⁷⁶ Glasgow Herald 2/9/1887 p.7 column 4

⁷⁷ Times marriage report 29/11/1837 p.7; Surrey Mirror obituary 14/9/1906 p.5; St James's Gazette 16/7/1904 p.5. See also ODNB 2016 on Granville Charles Henry Somerset (1792 – 1848), brother to Mary.

⁷⁸ Obituary, The Times 1/5/1899 p.12 TDA

⁷⁹ St James's Gazette 16/7/1904, p.5 BNA

amongst the nobility as well as the business and sporting worlds. (The Farquhar family home was Polesden Lacey, Great Bookham, Surrey – later to be enlarged, renovated and made famous by the Greville family⁸⁰.) He was quite a catch for Steer Lawford, but for his ability as well as for his contacts. Over the years he rose to be senior partner of the firm and developed a high standing for himself in the financial community. He was associated with the financing of many brewery companies, including Watney in 1885⁸¹ and Guinness in 1886⁸², and in 1888 was a founder and trustee of the General Commercial and Investment Trust⁸³ (whose main objective was “to invest the capital of the company in carefully selected securities of well-approved character” and “enable its members to participate in the large returns yielded by many securities and limited liability undertakings”). According to his *Times* obituary in 1934 he came to be “associated with all the leading financiers of his day, like Sir Ernest Cassel and the Speyers, and helped to finance the building of.... the Central London Railway.....He was for many years prominent in the highest financial circles of the City and closely associated with flotations of many descriptions”⁸⁴. Political diarist Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, consulted with Granville on a number of occasions and both he and Horace featured in diary entries between 1893 and 1904. In September 1893 Hamilton was guest for a night at Fife’s Mar Lodge and Horace was present “of course” and assailed the diarist with a lament on his failure to secure a peerage for services to the Liberal Unionist party⁸⁵. Hamilton recorded a visit from Granville in 1901 in which he lobbied against an issue of Exchequer bonds by the government⁸⁶, and a discussion in 1903 when Hamilton “sounded” Granville on the government’s proposed Transvaal loan⁸⁷. It is possible that the relationship between the senior civil servant and the Farquhars owed something to the fact that Granville and Hamilton had shared tutors and accommodation at Eton for several years, and indeed had then both chosen to continue their studies at Christ Church, Oxford⁸⁸, but both the Farquhars were prominent in the City and Hamilton was first and foremost doing his job (even in Braemar).

Time took its toll on the older generation of Steer Lawford partners and in March 1879 George Steer died in his eightieth year⁸⁹, probably some years after withdrawing from the day to day business. Then late in 1884 Herbert’s father died suddenly and unexpectedly – he dropped dead in the street - and the last of the 1847 triumvirate was gone⁹⁰. Four of the 1875 partners remained but Thomas’s death triggered seismic change in the firm. Marcus Cuerton and Charles Steer left the partnership and Steer Lawford absorbed the partners and authorised clerk of rival firm Alexander & Co, while taking on a new unauthorised clerk in the

⁸⁰ *Times* 19/7/1900 p.6, Sir WRF funeral; *Surrey Mirror* 14/9/1906 p.5, obituary Lady Mary; See *Register of Parks & Gardens of Special Historic Interest* on Polesden Lacey 2017.

⁸¹ *St James’s Gazette* 24/3/1885 p.15.

⁸² Obituary, *The Times* 18/12/1934 p.19. Various newspaper cuttings on Guinness float in October 1886.

⁸³ *Morning Post* 26/1/1888 p.4. Granville was one of 7 trustees of the company. Steer, Lawford were brokers, the bankers were Glyn, Mills, Currie and Co. – the late John Lawford’s firm.

⁸⁴ Obituary, *The Times* 18/12/1934 p.19

⁸⁵ Lord Salisbury apparently dropped him from the list at the last moment; “The City of London, Volume 2”, D. Kynaston, Chatto & Windus 1995, p.91

⁸⁶ Volume 2, Kynaston p.222

⁸⁷ Volume 2, Kynaston p.367

⁸⁸ Eton register for 1862 – 1868, Election 65. Granville (ref 41(a)) 1861 to 1866, WE, FED & JJJ; Hamilton (ref 38(a)) 1860 to 1865, WE, FED & WJ.

⁸⁹ Probate for GJS dated 29/4/1879; birth & baptism record 1799.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 2, page 12 above. *Standard* 5/11/1884 p.6 etc. According to *The Globe* he was seized with a fit as he left the stock exchange at about half past four and expired moments afterwards (5/11/1884 p.3).

shape of Assheton Edward Harbord, all within a timeframe of about five months⁹¹. The family ethos of the firm departed with the last Cuerton and Steer and it was as though Granville and Herbert had elected for the single-minded pursuit of success, which was certainly consistent with Herbert's approach to playing lawn tennis. *Cuerton* was amputated from the name of the firm and the new name of *Steer Lawford* was to last from 1885 until the merger with Mullens, Marshall & Co. in 1920⁹².

Some of the changes may have been in the pipeline at the time of Thomas's death. Marcus Cuerton was sixty-four and probably ripe for retirement, at least in the eyes of the young Turks, and Charles Steer may already have decided that ten years as a stockbroker was enough and it was time to move on. Marcus subsequently remained a member of the stock exchange but he omitted from his membership returns any reference to partners, clerks and office premises and evidently he ceased to practice⁹³ – he should certainly have had the financial wherewithal to do so⁹⁴. Charles's situation was rather different. He was in his late forties with a wife and child to support⁹⁵ and after resigning from the stock exchange in May 1885⁹⁶ he planned to reinvent himself as an investor/manager to judge from a number of appointments reported in the press. A first move into glass bottle manufacture in Canning Town⁹⁷ was followed in 1887 by a directorship in *The South Mexican Gold and Silver Mines* company (formed to raise funds for investment in gold and silver mines in Mexico)⁹⁸ and then that same year diversification within the bottle industry through appointment as a director of *The Paper Bottle Company Limited* (prospective manufacturer of “unbreakable bottles of various shapes and sizes” by a cheap and rapid process)⁹⁹. The paper bottle company prospectus credited him with continuing business links to the *Canning Town Glass Works* and these were evidently seen as beneficial rather than grounds for concern as a conflict of interest. All told it was a far cry from the pomp and ceremony, and blood and guts, of service with the Royal Scots in defence of Empire.

In the year prior to its merger with Steer Lawford, Alexander & Co was staffed by two partners, an authorised clerk who was also a member of the stock exchange, and two unauthorised clerks¹⁰⁰. The Alexander who gave his name to the firm – James Brace Alexander – had died in 1878¹⁰¹ and the two partners were his protégés, Meredith Meredith Brown and Charles Cotes. Both had joined Alexander as novices in the late sixties. The two unauthorised clerks became casualties of the merger and were left by the wayside. The authorised clerk – Donald Malcolm Scott – had been admitted to the stock exchange in 1874 aged twenty-one¹⁰² and was first registered with the partners of Alexander & Co in 1879/80¹⁰³.

⁹¹ HFL's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1885 together with those for MMB and Charles Cotes. TAL died on 4/11/1884 (Times 7/11/1884 etc).

⁹² St James's Gazette 24/3/1885 p.15, Morning Post 16/5/1885 p.4 & other newspapers). See page 16 below for details of merger.

⁹³ MC's forms for LSE re-election for March 1891 & 1895 ACU newspapers). See page 16 below for details of merger.

⁹⁴ MC never married and on his death in 1902 he left “effects” of £47,561 (Probate 19/6/1903 ACU)

⁹⁵ Census for CBS 1881 ACU

⁹⁶ London Standard 13/5/1885 p.1

⁹⁷ Morning Post 18/9/1886 p.8

⁹⁸ Morning Post 27/5/1887 p.4, which referred to Charles B. Steer as “late of the firm of Steer, Lawford and Cuerton”

⁹⁹ Morning Post 16/7/1887 p.4. The prospectus was published in several newspapers but sadly only about 5% of the necessary capital was raised and the company never got off the ground (London Evening Standard 4/12/1889 p.3 & other papers). It is unclear whether the Mexican mines company did any better.

¹⁰⁰ MMB's form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1884

¹⁰¹ JBA probate 23/1/1879

¹⁰² Censuses 1871 & 1881; baptism register 13/6/1852, family tree for Scott of Castle House, Lisburn

His early years seem to have been spent with another partnership but the sureties for his admission in 1874 were all familiar names – George John Steer, James Brace Alexander and William Edward Marshall (a partner of Mullens & co¹⁰⁴). Brown and Cotes had served their apprenticeship together and worked in partnership for some fifteen years, and their professional relationship was tried and tested. They enjoyed a close personal relationship beyond the office, based on their wider families, and this predated their entry into the working world.

Meredith Meredith-Brown was some seven years older than Herbert¹⁰⁵, and the oldest of the 1885 team, but he and Charles Cotes had both taken time out to study at Trinity College, Oxford and in practical terms all four partners of the merged firm had a fairly similar level of stock exchange experience having joined its professional ranks between 1868¹⁰⁶ and 1874. They came together in their prime. Meredith passed the sportsman test with flying colours for he was a huntsman and as a young man had been a leading oarsman. After revealing a precocious talent for rowing at Radley College, he swiftly established himself in the Oxford eight and rowed in the Boat Race from 1864 to 1866 contributing to a run of six consecutive victories over Cambridge. He was “stroke” for the second and third years and president of the university boat club in 1866 – very much the brains of the eight¹⁰⁷. In 1867 he declared an intention to stroke Oxford to victory for one more time but his family apparently intervened¹⁰⁸ – perhaps concerned at neglect of his studies – and he was denied the opportunity to perform for a fourth time in what the *Morning Post* described as the greatest and most important event in the rowing world (deemed “by all classes of society.... one of the most important of our national amusements”¹⁰⁹). He nevertheless rowed on at Henley, winning the Silver Goblets for coxless pairs at the Royal Regatta in July 1867¹¹⁰, and picked up a trophy for the champion pairs at the British Regatta in Paris later the same month (swapping the Thames for the Seine)¹¹¹. He retired from competitive rowing at the end of the 1867 season and as a man of the City thereafter devoted his sporting energies to hunting. In later years he established a country residence just north of Chippenham, Wiltshire¹¹², close to Badminton, and took up with the Beaufort Hounds, so becoming well known in hunting circles throughout the West of England and mixing with the Somersets, the nobler side of Granville’s family. He hunted with the Beaufort for many years and on his death in 1920 the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort both attended his funeral as did the secretary of the hunt¹¹³.

¹⁰³ DMS’s application for admission to the LSE for 1874, “passed” 7/4/1874; MMB’s form for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1879 & CC’s re-election form for 25/3/1880 ACU

¹⁰⁴ “Government Broker: the story of an office and Mullens & Co.”, D Wainwright, p.128. Senior partner 1894 to 1908.

¹⁰⁵ Census 1861, Times 23/12/1920 p.1, baptised 1/11/1844

¹⁰⁶ Guildhall Library records (email 13/5/2011) indicate that Meredith became a member of the stock exchange in 1867 but in mid November he was still an undergraduate in residence at Oxford (Oxford Times 16/11/1867 p.6). His BA was dated 1868 and it seems likely he arrived in the office in 1868. He was a partner in Alexander & Lindow by March 1869 (per MMB’s form for LSE re-election).

¹⁰⁷ Radley College Obituary, The Radleian March 1921.

¹⁰⁸ Yorkshire Post 11/3/1867 p.4

¹⁰⁹ Morning Post 26/3/1866 p.2

¹¹⁰ Bell’s Life in London 6/7/1867 p.6 & Radley obituary 1921

¹¹¹ Jackson’s Oxford Journal 20/7/1867 p.5 & Radley obituary 1921

¹¹² The residence seems to have been Seagry House, Upper Seagry, from c. 1883 to 1890 (Morning Post 13/3/1883 p.1, 23/11/1885 p.1 etc), then The Vicarage, Hullavington (MMB census 1891; Radley obituary 1921; report of funeral of Mrs MMB *Bath Chronicle* 12/3/1896 p.3). Arthur Cotes was resident at Seagry House for census 1891 with his new wife.

¹¹³ Western Daily Press 28/12/1920 p.7. A meet of the hounds was cancelled for the funeral.

On leaving Oxford he commenced his stockbroking career, joining the partnership of Alexander & Lindow¹¹⁴, and was married soon afterwards in June 1868 in a ceremony at St George's, Hanover Square – local to the bridegroom rather than the bride¹¹⁵. His chosen one was Maria Cotes, sister of Charles Cotes and daughter of the late Charles Grey Cotes of Stanton St. Quintin (who died in December 1866¹¹⁶). His father and father-in-law were both men of the cloth who were long-standing residents of villages near Chippenham – Cotes lived some five miles to the north, Brown a similar distance to the south – so that the families would have been well known to each other long before the two sons came together at Trinity College as undergraduates, Charles arriving in Oxford (from Eton) two years after Meredith. Henry Lindow dropped out of the stockbroking partnership quite early – in 1870¹¹⁷ seemingly creating space for Charles Cotes who joined the same year¹¹⁸ - and the partnership of the seventies traded under the name of Alexander & Co¹¹⁹. By 1880 Meredith had collected two public company directorships linked to the railways – one with the Imperial Brazilian, Natal, and Nova Cruz Railway Company¹²⁰ and the other with the long-standing and reputable Railway Passengers' Assurance Company – and he would have had standing in the City. He was well known to bankers *Herries Farquhar* as Harvie Farquhar was Deputy Chairman of the assurance company and had chaired the annual meeting at which Meredith was elected to the board¹²¹. Harvie, Granville's uncle¹²², had been a director since the inception of the company in 1849¹²³ and Meredith's partner James Alexander was a fellow director from the fifties until his death at the end of 1878¹²⁴, so Alexander & Co had a link to the Farquhars that went back many years. At the general meeting of Meredith's appointment in March 1880 Harvie was obliged to deliver to shareholders news of a dull financial year following railway passenger claims for 53 fatal and 5,775 non-fatal accidents. The railways were still a dangerous place to be and the company's accident insurance policies remained in common use; the Tay Bridge disaster of December 1879 would have provided a stimulus to business in the New Year.

Charles Cotes left Oxford as a member of the Inner Temple with a career at the bar in view¹²⁵ but soon migrated to the stock exchange and teamed up with his brother-in-law in Alexander & Co. He was admitted as a member of the stock exchange in October 1870 and installed as a partner by March 1871¹²⁶. Like Meredith he was a huntsman - a "keen and bold horseman" with a love of sport unrivalled in the field¹²⁷ - and he became a regular follower of both the Whaddon Chase Foxhounds and Lord Rothschild's Staghounds. His links to the Rothschilds went beyond hunting. He was a great philanthropist and devoted much of his time outside the office to a wide range of charitable and social projects – medical, educational,

¹¹⁴ Radley School Obituary 1921

¹¹⁵ Devises and Wiltshire Gazette 18/6/1868 p.3 & Morning Post 18/6/1868 p.8

¹¹⁶ Probate for CGC 16/3/1867

¹¹⁷ Daily Telegraph 3/8/1870 p.3; & see MMB LSE re-elections for 1870 (JWLindow present) and 1871 (JWL absent)

¹¹⁸ CC application for admission LSE 1870 ("elected 17/10/1870"), & re-election for 1871

¹¹⁹ Scotsman 28/7/1876 p.6

¹²⁰ Morning Post 20/7/1880, front page

¹²¹ Morning Post 4/3/1880 p.3. Meredith was still a director in 1904 (Times 4/7/1904 p.5) & see also Advertisement in Post Office Annual Glasgow Directory 1891/92.

¹²² See footnote 62, page 6 above

¹²³ Aviva Group Archive 23/10/2016 - "heritage.aviva.com"; Liverpool Mercury 7/10/1859 p.5 etc

¹²⁴ Daily News 31/7/1855 p.1 & 1/1/1858 p.1 (JBA's address shown as 21 Tokenhouse Yard in 1858). See Morning Post 6/3/1879 p.8 for report of replacement of JBA as director after his death.

¹²⁵ Oxford Alumni & obituaries in the Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3 & Bedfordshire Advertiser 27/11/1903

¹²⁶ CC's application for admission to LSE 1870 ("elected 17/10/1870") & re-election form for 1871.

¹²⁷ Hunting Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph per The Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3 - obituary for Charles Cotes and reminiscences. As a mark of respect in November 1903 the staghounds hunt scheduled for the day after his death was cancelled.

sporting and religious. His service to the London Hospital over many years was of particular importance and the business affairs of the hospital were largely in his hands through his management of the Finance Committee¹²⁸. Another hospital to benefit from his labours was the Evelina Children's Hospital of Southwark, founded in 1869 by Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild in tribute to his late wife Evelina. Charles was one of several trustees of the hospital in company with Leopold de Rothschild and the Earl of Rosebery (who married Hannah de Rothschild in 1878)¹²⁹. Charles first visited the Vale of Aylesbury in 1876 and in 1881/82 he acquired a country residence there¹³⁰ – in the heart of Rothschild territory. His house in Burcott in the parish of Wing was about a mile from Ascott House (Leopold de Rothschild¹³¹), some three miles from Mentmore Towers (Lord Roseberry and Hannah¹³²), and about ten miles from Tring Park (Nathaniel, Lord Rothschild¹³³) and Waddesdon Manor (Ferdinand de Rothschild¹³⁴). Whether he took up residence in Wing because of his relationship with the Rothschilds, or whether his relationship resulted from his residence and attachment to the local hunts, is unknown but he was a popular and philanthropic presence in Wing for more than twenty years.

Charles's best known act of charity, and one that achieved national acclaim, involved the purchase of old masters for the nation from his wife's noble family. Where Meredith married into a family local to his father's home near Chippenham, Charles married the third daughter of his late father's landlord in a manner of speaking. The rectory of Stanton St. Quintin was in the gift of the Earl of Radnor¹³⁵, who owned the local manor house¹³⁶, and Charles's father held the position of rector for forty years until his death in 1866¹³⁷. In 1876 Charles married the 4th Earl's daughter Lady Edith Pleydell-Bouverie, far from the public eye in the private chapel at the family seat of Longford Castle, near Salisbury¹³⁸. His father-in-law died in March 1889¹³⁹, asset rich but illiquid, and the 5th Earl then moved swiftly to top up the family coffers with the aim of boosting the income of his eldest son (Viscount Folkestone, aged twenty-two) and enhancing his marriage prospects¹⁴⁰. In 1890 the new earl elected to sell three pictures from the family art collection and Charles intervened to secure them for the National Gallery. The asking price was £55,000 and Charles provided £10,000 personally, raised similar sums from Lord Rothschild and Lord Iveagh (Sir Edward Guinness), and persuaded the Treasury to stump up the rest¹⁴¹. The pictures were "The Ambassadors" by Holbein, "Admiral Pulido Pareja" by Velasquez (now considered to be possibly the work of

¹²⁸ City Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph per The Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3; Leighton Buzzard Observer 1/12/1903 p.3

¹²⁹ Per City Correspondent etc, Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3; www.hharp.org/library/evelina/general/history 13/7/2016 (Historic Hospital Admission Registers Project). Roseberry was sometime Foreign Secretary and then Prime Minister in 1894/95 (ODNB 1/11/2016).

¹³⁰ Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3

¹³¹ "www.rothschildarchive.org/family/family_estates" March 2018, Ascott estate

¹³² "rothschildarchive.org" March 2018, Mentmore Towers

¹³³ "rothschildarchive.org" March 2018, Tring Park Estate

¹³⁴ "rothschildarchive.org" March 2018, Waddesdon Manor

¹³⁵ Dorset County Chronicle 10/1/1867 p.15; the living was worth £350 a year

¹³⁶ British History online 31/10/2016, A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 14, Malmesbury Hundred, pp 212-221

¹³⁷ Oxford Alumni Charles G. Cotes, Pall Mall Gazette 31/12/1866 p.9, Swindon Advertiser 11/2/1867 p3.

¹³⁸ Western Gazette 22/9/1876 p. 6, Hampshire Advertiser 27/9/1876 p.2

¹³⁹ Times Obituary 12/3/1889 p.9

¹⁴⁰ Times 30/7/1890 p.3 – proceedings in the High Court

¹⁴¹ Obituary of Charles Cotes, the Times 23/11/1903 p.6; Pall Mall Gazette 12/3/1891 p.2 ("A Year at the National Gallery" 1890); also www.nationalgallery.org.uk 2016 "Collecting and Displaying Art: Longford Castle and the National Gallery".

Mazo), and “Portrait of a Nobleman” by Moroni – rated important enough to win Charles the recognition of a *Times* obituary when he died in 1903¹⁴².

After the merger in 1885 Steer Lawford then had just four partners – one fewer than before Thomas Lawford’s death in 1884 - but the number of its stock exchange members was steady on six as the arrival of Donald Scott made up the deficit. Thomas, Marcus and Charles Steer had departed, Meredith, Charles Cotes and Scott had arrived. Previously *Steer Lawford* had had an Unauthorised Clerk/Member in the form of one Walter Strange who had joined the firm as a young man in the 1860’s and seems to have been destined to become the senior clerk of the practice, never ascending to partnership¹⁴³. Overall, the recruitment of Assheton Harbord as an unauthorised clerk represented the only real increase in professional staff as the number of partners fell by one while the number of clerks rose by two. The power structure within the partnership would have changed, though, and the pecking order of the partners appears to have become Granville, Meredith, Herbert, Charles – the reflection of a merger rather than an acquisition¹⁴⁴.

Steer Lawford’s connections and business contacts were of the highest order and the firm prospered through the eighties and expanded in the nineties, to the extent that by 1900 the number of partners had doubled to eight with the addition of Assheton Harbord in 1892¹⁴⁵, Donald Scott in 1896¹⁴⁶, Edward Gosling in 1897¹⁴⁷, and Claud Biddulph in 1899¹⁴⁸, while the number of clerks remained steady on five¹⁴⁹. 3 Drapers’ Gardens continued as the office address but extra space must have been taken¹⁵⁰. The appointment of Harbord as fifth partner would have further strengthened the firm’s contacts in banking and the aristocracy as his business pedigree had similarities to Granville’s. His mother Cecilia was a Baring by birth, and a close relative of senior partners of Barings Bank¹⁵¹, and both his parents enjoyed close links to the royal family. The Harbords had extensive estates in Norfolk and when the Prince of Wales acquired Sandringham in 1861 the families became neighbours (of a rather distant kind,

¹⁴² Times 23/11/1903 p.6. Leopold and Lionel de Rothschild both attended his funeral in Wing as did Lord Dalmeny, eldest son of the Earl of Roseberry; the Earl of Radnor and many Bouveries also formed part of a “great assembly” from all levels of society (Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3).

¹⁴³ At the beginning of 1884, Steer Lawford had five partners and Walter Strange as an LSE member but unauthorised clerk (TAL’s LSE re-election form 1884). Strange had become a member in 1879 (LSE application for admission March 1878) and was “authorised” during the year to March 1885 (HFL’s re-election form 1885). He was a long-standing employee - working on the LSE by 1861 (census) and an unauthorised clerk for Steer Lawford by the year to March 1865 (TAL’s re-election form). The census of 1901 describes him as “manager to firm of stockbrokers” and he retired from Steer Lawford at the end of 1905 after a City career of 45 years or more (MMB’s re-election form 1905, Gosling’s 1906).

¹⁴⁴ See order of partners on the 1885 LSE re-election forms for GFRF, MMB & CC

¹⁴⁵ London Evening Standard 2/1/1892 p.6

¹⁴⁶ London Evening Standard 5/5/1896 p.7. DMS was the son of a “well known West-end physician” who was born in Scotland and received his medical training in Edinburgh. As the brother of Sir John Murray Scott (instigator of the Wallace Collection in London) he achieved a kind of fame in 1913 by accusing the Sackville-Wests of undue influence over his brother and challenging substantial bequests made in Sir John’s will in favour of Lady Sackville (from an estate valued at over £1m). After a lengthy court hearing it took the jury just 20 minutes to find in favour of the Sackville-Wests (Scotsman 8/7/1913 p.10, Spectator 23/6/1950 [archive], Wallace Collection website 2016, Westmorland Gazette 2/8/1890 p.3, etc).

¹⁴⁷ Morning Post 6/4/1897 p.4

¹⁴⁸ London Evening Standard 26/4/1899 p.8

¹⁴⁹ HFL’s LSE re-election form for 1900

¹⁵⁰ The firm moved from Drapers Gardens to 11 Throgmorton Avenue in August 1907 (Daily News 27/8/1907 p.2)

¹⁵¹ Illustrated London News 25/2/1911 p.262 & ODNB 2016 for Edward Charles Baring, 1st Baron Revelstoke

in the eyes of a commoner) and a friendship developed¹⁵². His father – the 5th Lord Suffield – was a Lord in Waiting to Queen Victoria from 1868 to 1872, Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and then Lord in Waiting to the King from 1901¹⁵³. Lady Suffield was a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales and then Lady in Waiting to Queen Alexandra from 1901¹⁵⁴. (Lord Suffield and his son were both keen sportsmen. Assheton followed the Whaddon Chase Hounds, like Charles Cotes¹⁵⁵, and his wife May was a leading balloonist of the Edwardian era, making trips cross-channel in her own balloons and completing one hundred ascents by 1910 to earn the title “Britain’s most celebrated woman aeronaut” from one newspaper¹⁵⁶.)

Claud Biddulph was yet more of the same but with stronger political contacts and less in the way of connections to the royal family. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge University¹⁵⁷ and was the son of Lord Biddulph of Ledbury, a partner of the old established banking house of Cocks, Biddulph and Co and a Member of Parliament for thirty-five years; Claud’s older brother John was also a partner in the family bank¹⁵⁸. Their mother was a niece of Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel and their Peel grandfather, Lieutenant-General Jonathan Peel, had been Secretary of State for War. She died aged just thirty-six in 1872 and in 1877, when Claud was six, their father was remarried to “a notable figure in the social world” – Lady Elizabeth Adeane, widow of Mr A. J. Adeane and a daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke, naval officer and cabinet minister¹⁵⁹. Their stepmother was Bedchamber Woman to Queen Victoria and on the occasion of her second marriage the monarch honoured her with the present of an Indian shawl and “a handsome pearl locket with her Majesty’s hair”¹⁶⁰. She had a wide circle of friends “who admired her intellect and loved her for her loyal, generous, high-spirited and humorous nature”¹⁶¹ and she would have brought to her new family yet more beneficial contacts amongst the great and good.

Of the new generation of partners Edward Lambert Gosling was destined to become pre-eminent and later, after Granville’s retirement, he was to head the partnership for nearly ten years¹⁶². Like the majority of his colleagues, Gosling had a City banking connection through his parents – his father was a partner of the bank *Goslings and Sharpe* and then a director of *Barclays and Co* after the firms merged in 1896¹⁶³ - and he was a direct descendant of four generations of banking Goslings that began with Sir Francis Gosling in 1742 (all with the Christian name Francis)¹⁶⁴. The bank could trace its origins to a goldsmith by the name of Pinckney, who traded in Fleet Street around 1650 and was mentioned in the diary of Samuel Pepys, and could thus number itself among the most ancient in the City¹⁶⁵. Edward, the 3rd son of Francis Gosling IV, joined *Steer Lawford* even younger than Herbert as he arrived at

¹⁵² Illustrated London News 18/4/1914 p.630 BNA

¹⁵³ Illustrated London News 18/4/1914 p.630 etc

¹⁵⁴ Illustrated London News 25/2/1911 p.262

¹⁵⁵ Buckingham Advertiser 5/1/1901 p.5, Bucks Herald 3/1/1903 p.8

¹⁵⁶ Sunderland Daily Echo 9/7/1910 p.2 & see Graphic 6/6/1908 p.34 for her ascent from Hurlingham Club in the *Valkyrie* as one of 30 competitors in an international point-to-point balloon race

¹⁵⁷ CWB Cambridge Alumni 2016 & see CWB census 1891

¹⁵⁸ Obituary in the Times 7/4/1923 p.12. Michael, the 1st Lord Biddulph, was raised to the peerage in 1903

¹⁵⁹ Times obituary Lord Biddulph 7/4/1923 p.12 TDA

¹⁶⁰ Worcester Journal 21/7/1877 p.4 & Illustrated London News 21/7/1877 p.51.

¹⁶¹ Times obituary Lord Biddulph 7/4/1923 p.12

¹⁶² 1928 – 1937, “Government Broker”, D. Wainwright, Matham 1990, p.129 & 130

¹⁶³ Obituary of Francis Gosling, Beds. Advertiser & Luton Times 11/3/1910 p.3; Glasgow Herald 11/6/1896 p.7, Barclays Bank website 5/11/2016

¹⁶⁴ Houben family tree, ACU 9/11/2016, & Barclays Bank website.

¹⁶⁵ www.archive.barclays.com, 5/11/2016

Drapers' Gardens in 1889 at the tender age of seventeen, fresh from Eton¹⁶⁶. He began his apprenticeship as a clerk, won his spurs as an Authorised Clerk in 1892 (authorised to trade on behalf of the firm), and in 1897 became a member of the stock exchange and was elevated to the status of partner¹⁶⁷. He came to be well regarded by both the Bank of England and the stock exchange and he served as a trustee and manager of his professional body for seventeen years. *The Times* opined that his "temperament gave to his judgments a rare calmness and his long experience a shrewdness that were highly valued by his colleagues" and he had "a wide circle of friends and admirers" – he was "one of the most dignified and likeable figures" in the House.

It seems inevitable that he hunted and his soundness of judgment is demonstrated by his patronage of the Whaddon Chase Hounds¹⁶⁸, although in this instance the pack introduced a *Steer Lawford* partner to more than foxes and Rothschilds. The Earl of Orkney was Master of Foxhounds from 1920 to 1923, and subsequently Chairman of Committee for the hunt¹⁶⁹, and his daughter and heiress, Lady Mary Fitz-Maurice, was riding with the hounds by 1920 in her late teens¹⁷⁰. Edward had suffered a broken engagement in 1913¹⁷¹ and remained unmarried, and despite an age difference of more than thirty years, he and Lady Mary became attached. When their engagement was announced late in 1927, the bride-to-be was featured in "People in the Public Eye" in *The Illustrated London News* wearing her hunting bowler hat and with a caption to the effect that she and Edward were both followers of the Whaddon Chase foxhounds; she was a veritable daughter of the regiment¹⁷². They were married "very quietly" in a London church at the end of October 1927. It was reported that no guests were invited to the ceremony (but "a large and fashionable congregation" attended) and there were no bridesmaids. In church Mary wore her travelling dress under a long cloth coat with a collar trimmed with fox fur, a small matching felt hat completing her ensemble; the rural fox population were not to be ignored¹⁷³.

Herbert's workload would have reduced as the number of partners increased – the new men needing to prove their worth and infusing the partnership with their youthful energy – and he appears to have taken the opportunity to devote more time to his new leisure pursuits of golf and bicycling, with golf taking the lion's share¹⁷⁴. The role of elder statesman would have suited him well, as his enthusiasm for sport was undiminished, and he wound down towards retirement in his fifties, early in the twentieth century. He slipped off the partners list at the end of 1902¹⁷⁵. By the time of his departure he and his father together had provided a central presence to the family firm for some sixty years. Their name lived on and such was the firm's reputation that even after a merger in 1920 with Mullens, Marshall & Co - the government

¹⁶⁶ *Times* 5/4/1937 p.24, profile on ELM's retirement; Eton register El'n 1886, p.68(b); Birth 1st qtr 1872

¹⁶⁷ *Times* profile 5/4/1937 p.24 TDA

¹⁶⁸ *Bucks Herald* 31/7/1920 p.4 etc, *Times* obituary 11/1/1960 p.21

¹⁶⁹ *Orkney obituary Bucks Advertiser* 25/8/1951 p.6, *Bucks Herald* 22/1/1927 p.9 BNA

¹⁷⁰ *The Sketch* 20/10/1920 p.8 & 22/11/1922 p.310

¹⁷¹ *Beds Advertiser* 22/8/1913 p.7 etc. Edward's fiancée appears to have married Mr V.M. Studd a year later (*Sussex Express* 13/8/1914 p.4).

¹⁷² *Illustrated London News* 1/10/1927 p.554. In a footnote, the *News* mentioned that Mary was the daughter of the "formerly famous" stage performer Connie Gilchrist. Her mother had taken to the stage as a child, performing in pantomime and music halls, and had progressed to become a star of the Gaiety Theatre. As she matured she graduated from song-and-dance to acting roles and delicate good looks assisted her rise to standing as one of the most popular actresses of the late 1880's. After marriage at the age of 20, she ceased to tread the boards and thereafter devoted herself to wifely duties and the pastimes of country life (*Times* obituary Lady Orkney 10/5/1946 p.7 TDA).

¹⁷³ *Buckingham Advertiser* 5/11/1927 p. 5 & *Bucks Herald* 5/11/1927 p.12

¹⁷⁴ "The House on Sport", Editor W.A. Morgan, Gale & Polden 1898, p.425 (para 1)

¹⁷⁵ HFL & ELG's LSE re-election forms for 1902, MMB's LSE re-election form for 1903, ELG's 1904

broker - the company names were simply bolted together to provide the name of the new trading entity¹⁷⁶. But then the union was a merger from strength for Steer Lawford. In February 1920 the Governor of the Bank of England expressed dissatisfaction with the calibre of John Mullens' fellow partners, after being left in the lurch when John was on holiday, and he advised the senior partner to put his house in order or accept the recruitment of an additional firm of brokers to work alongside them¹⁷⁷. The merger was John's swift response - reported in the press six months later¹⁷⁸ and effected by October¹⁷⁹ - and it was blessed by the Bank, with the result that when John retired in 1928 (after being uplifted to "Sir John" in 1922 as a reward for services to the nation¹⁸⁰) Edward Gosling took over as senior partner and Government Broker¹⁸¹. Mullens, Marshall, Steer, Lawford & Co remained the name of the company until trimmed down to *Mullens & Co* in 1934¹⁸².

The merger prompted the retirement of both Granville Farquhar - long in the tooth at seventy-one - and Meredith Brown, who was even older¹⁸³, and with Herbert out to grass in Aboyne, and Charles Cotes sadly under the grass in the parish of Wing since 1903¹⁸⁴, the last of the Steer Lawford foursome of 1885 were gone. They had lasted remarkably well. It may seem natural that Mullens should choose to merge with such a long-established and reputable firm but the two organisations actually had personal connections that went back generations and these probably played a part in bringing them together.

The first government broker was appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Pitt, in 1786 and his mission was to assist the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt¹⁸⁵. The broker chosen was Benjamin Cole III, born in 1739 and a prosperous member of the Drapers' Livery Company¹⁸⁶. Benjamin had been a precocious Master of the company in 1782/83, his first year on the Court of Assistants¹⁸⁷, and would have been a colleague on the Court to Herbert's ancestors Valentine (1709 - 1783) and Samuel Lawford (1749 - 1835); he attended his last Court meeting in June 1803 before departing to retirement in Bath¹⁸⁸. In 1776 he had married Harriet Steer of Edmonton, Middlesex¹⁸⁹, who was aunt to the George Steer who became a stockbroking partner to Herbert's father Thomas in 1847¹⁹⁰.

¹⁷⁶ The Government Broker represented the Bank of England in the stock market, raised funds by providing new government stocks, bought in old stocks, advised the government and formed a bridge to the stock exchange as an ex officio member of the Stock Exchange Council ("Government Broker", Wainwright 1990, p.ix)

¹⁷⁷ David Kynaston, "The City of London Volume 3: Illusions of Gold 1914 to 1945", Chatto & Windus 1999, p. 93. Sir Brien Cockayne was then Governor (www.bankofengland.co.uk)

¹⁷⁸ Yorkshire Post 27/8/1920 p.10 & Times 27/8/1920 p.15

¹⁷⁹ Yorkshire Post 12/10/1920 p.12, Aberdeen Daily Journal 11/10/1920 p.1, etc

¹⁸⁰ Times 3/6/1922 p.19. The Times reported that he had shown "conspicuous skill" in the discharge of his duties, but added that the remuneration for the role of Government Broker was too small to cover even the clerical work involved - giving the impression that prestige and honours were in lieu of adequate fees. See also Sir John Mullens' obituary in the Times 31/12/1937 p.14 TDA.

¹⁸¹ Kynaston, Volume 3, p.299; Wainwright 1990, p.65 & 129

¹⁸² Aberdeen Press 4/4/1934 p.10, Yorkshire Post 4/4/1934 p.12 etc; Wainwright 1990, p.131.

¹⁸³ Times 27/8/1920 p.15, Yorkshire Post 27/8/1920 p.10, Wainwright 1990, p.64 & 65, 128 & 129

¹⁸⁴ Bucks Herald 28/11/1903 p.3, Leighton Buzzard Observer 1/12/1903 p.3

¹⁸⁵ Wainwright 1990, p.1 & 2. There were 6 Commissioners and they included the Governor and Deputy Governors of the Bank of England and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

¹⁸⁶ Appointed by patrimony on 18/2/1767 (Wainwright 1990, p.1)

¹⁸⁷ Wainwright 1990, p.2

¹⁸⁸ Wainwright 1990, p.9. Valentine was Master in 1775 and on the Court of Assistants in 1782/3 with Cole; Samuel was "on Livery" from 1775 and a member of the Court from 1796 to 1835 (Boyd's Roll).

¹⁸⁹ Marriage register (All Saints, Edmonton) & Kentish Gazette 18/12/1776 p.3

¹⁹⁰ Wainwright 1990, p.64. Baptism & marriage registers for Harriet (born 1755, m.1776) & her brother Charles (b.1750, m.1782); baptism register and censuses 1851 & 1861 for George J Steer (b.1799) ACU.

There were therefore two links between Mullens and Steer Lawford – a Steer family link and the fraternity of the Drapers. The blood link was continued by Benjamin III's son Benjamin IV, his grandson William Benjamin Marshall, and then his great-grandson William Edward Marshall, who was senior partner of Mullens from 1893 to 1908¹⁹¹. George Steer was an executor for William Marshall senior on his death in 1858 (in company with William H. Mullens¹⁹² reigning senior partner of *Mullens Marshall*¹⁹³) and William Marshall junior was executor for George in 1879, in company with Charles Boyes Steer and Thomas Lawford¹⁹⁴; the Steer/Marshall relationship was close for many years although Charles had left *Steer Lawford* by 1885 (and died in 1901¹⁹⁵).

The Drapers' link in Mullens ran almost continuously from the first Government Broker through to the merger. It was based on two generations of Coles – Benjamins III & IV – until 1843¹⁹⁶ and then three generations of the Daniell family, who provided a line of partners in Mullens from 1846¹⁹⁷ and had two partners in situ (out of four) at the time of the merger¹⁹⁸: Henry Daniel, who had been senior partner and was seventy-one¹⁹⁹, and his son Roger aged forty-four²⁰⁰; Henry was much the same age as Herbert and would have known him for years. Steer Lawford's Eton associations may also have helped as the Mullens partners were all Eton alumni. The leading men of the new merged partnership – John Mullens and Edward Gosling – were two and a half years apart in age but had both been resident at the great school from 1883 to 1886, Edward leaving two years after John in 1888; and the two elder statesmen and former senior partners – Henry Daniell and Granville Farquhar – had overlapped at Eton between 1861 and 1865²⁰¹. The two firms were nicely matched socially²⁰².

By the eighteen-seventies, when Herbert began his professional career, London had grown into the undisputed financial centre of the world on the back of a surge in foreign lending (foreign government loans in the main) and the stock exchange had experienced a vast increase in business²⁰³. From its formal creation in 1801, membership had developed from 363 members in 1802²⁰⁴ to 864 by 1850²⁰⁵ and over 2,500 by 1883²⁰⁶. Growth if anything accelerated in the decades immediately afterwards – “halcyon years” for the City of London²⁰⁷ - so that Herbert's stockbroking career was timed to something near perfection. In his history of Cazenove & Co, David Kynaston describes a uniquely beneficial position:

¹⁹¹ Wainwright 1990, Benjamin IV p.10 & p.127; WBM p.28 & p.127; WEM p.52 & p.128 (JH Daniell died 1893, Times 24/5/1893 p.12).

¹⁹² Probate William Benjamin Marshall 7/2/1859 ACU

¹⁹³ Wainwright 1990, p.128

¹⁹⁴ Probate George John Steer 29/4/1879 ACU

¹⁹⁵ Probate Charles Boyes Steer 18/2/1905

¹⁹⁶ Benjamin IV died 24/2/1843 (London Evening Standard 27/2/1843 p.4 etc, Burial register 3/3/1843)

¹⁹⁷ The first Daniell was John Henry Daniell, who was admitted to the Company in 1845, became a Warden in 1878 and was Master in 1888/89. He was on the Court with stockbroker George Lawford (Master 1885/86) [Boyd's Roll and Johnson's history of Drapers, 1922, Vol. IV, p.441/2]

¹⁹⁸ Wainwright 1990, p.127 to 129; Boyd's Roll the Drapers' Company. Henry Averell Daniell was the 2nd Daniell partner – 1874 to 1920; Roger H.A. Daniell was the 3rd – 1905 -1931.

¹⁹⁹ Wainwright 1990, p.64. Age: DoB shown in his admission to Drapers 20/12/1876.

²⁰⁰ Wainwright 1990, p.64. Age: Boyd's roll & marriage register.

²⁰¹ Eton register on-line 2016

²⁰² Mullens & Co's 4th partner was the Hon. George Eden (son of 4th Lord Auckland), Eton 1874 – 1880

²⁰³“Cazenove & Co: A History”, D. Kynaston, 1991 (“Cazenove”), p.61/62

²⁰⁴ “The London Stock Exchange”, R. Michie, OUP, 1999 (“Michie”), p.35 & 36.

²⁰⁵ Cazenove, p.32

²⁰⁶ Cazenove, p.68

²⁰⁷ Cazenove, p.79

“Lying at the centre of the liberal and highly integrated international economy – an economy characterised by the freedom of its capital flows and to a large extent its trade flows – the City prospered as never before and perhaps never again. It was during this period the Eldorado of the western world, attracting a large number of talented immigrants (from Ernest Cassel downwards) eager to employ its resources in the pursuit of individual fortune.”²⁰⁸

From the mid eighties the stock exchange inevitably suffered several sluggish spells “but broadly speaking the trend until 1914 was ever onwards and upwards”²⁰⁹.

Despite the rapid expansion and dilution with new members, the Exchange developed and maintained what Kynaston describes as an intense clubbishness and a “uniquely boisterous atmosphere”²¹⁰, in Herbert’s time no doubt reminiscent of life in a public school. When the markets went quiet, high spirits could find an outlet in paper ball fights, “butter slides”, pranks such as setting fire to members’ newspapers as they were read²¹¹, and even ball games - as early as 1851 there was an impromptu game of football on the trading floor involving over a hundred members²¹². Nicknames were commonplace and slang used universally. Members could be squirts, sweaters and poachers and they could bang, puff and shoot. If the cry of “Fourteen hundred!” went up then there was a stranger in the House and a “rat-hunt” ensued to find and expel him²¹³. The code was muscular, patriotic and resolutely middle-brow, and the Exchange was no place for shrinking violets. A stockbroker contemporary of Herbert’s by the name of Henry Chinnery had his memoirs serialised in the *Sporting Life* in 1909, as he had been a sportsman of note, and he described the House as being “very much like a public school of a rough description”; if you failed to show “a little mettle” you were likely to be bullied²¹⁴. His preferred sport then was boxing and he recounted with relish an incident from his early days when a fellow worker he disliked provoked him, unaware of his proficiency with his fists. His assailant jumped from a bench onto his back, as seems to have been acceptable behaviour between young bloods, and Chinnery claims that he responded moderately with a short statement on the limits of their relationship and a warning against further liberties. The man took no notice and proceeded to knock his hat off. Having observed the necessary formalities, Chinnery drew back his arm and delivered a single punch between the eyes which laid him out. Business on the floor seems to have continued uninterrupted.

Herbert’s approach to tennis was to be as robust and competitive as the culture of his workplace and no one could accuse him of being shy. When in May 1881 the Daily Telegraph proposed a testimonial for Walter Clopton Wingfield in recognition of his services to Lawn Tennis²¹⁵, Herbert took to the floor of the exchange within the week and collected £50 in one

²⁰⁸ Cazenove, p.79

²⁰⁹ Cazenove, p.80

²¹⁰ Cazenove, p.80

²¹¹ Cazenove, p.80/81

²¹² David Kynaston, “The City of London, Volume 1” (“Kynaston Volume 1”), Pimlico, 1995, p.178

²¹³ Kynaston Volume 1, p.364/5

²¹⁴ The *Sporting Life* 18/2/1909 p.6. In his boxing prime, HJC was amateur heavy-weight champion of England. Later he was a follower of the Whaddon Chase and was hunt secretary for 16 years (*Sporting Life* 26/1/1909 p.2). In his *Recollections* of 18/2/1909 he recounts how he was an enthusiastic lawn tennis player “when the game first came in” and used to play with both William Renshaw and Herbert Lawford at his home in Teddington: “We had many games....They used to give me 15 and with those odds I could make a very good fight...”

²¹⁵ “Wingfield, Edwardian Gentleman”, by GE Alexander, Randall, 1986, p.129 to 133

afternoon from up to fifty members²¹⁶. His cheque was despatched from Drapers' Gardens the same day together with the suggestion that a presentation be made to Wingfield at Wimbledon on the day of the championship match, which the previous year had featured his unsuccessful tilt at the crown of John Hartley²¹⁷. However, neither the All England Club nor the nation quite shared his enthusiasm and both Wingfield and Herbert were denied the acclaim of the crowd on the day of the Challenge Match (13th July²¹⁸), the stockbroker's championship hopes having been dashed by William Renshaw over five sets in the fifth round of the All-Comers²¹⁹. The final sum raised by subscription was described as merely exceeding £300²²⁰ – disappointing in view of the wide coverage given to the collection by the general press - so that Herbert personally raised nearly a sixth of the total. Late in July Wingfield was presented with a purse containing 200 guineas and a gold pocket watch inscribed with the words "Presented to Major Walter Wingfield, the introducer of lawn tennis"²²¹. The watch was garnished with "crossed lawn tennis bats" in platinum and gold and suspended from a heavy chain of alternating platinum and gold links with "a pendant charm [of] a lawn tennis bat and six balls in the same metals"²²². The form of the testimonial was reported by one newspaper to have been Wingfield's choice²²³ but one suspects he would have preferred to have been described as the "inventor" of lawn tennis; the word "introducer" has a diplomatic ring – as if it was the choice of a testimonial committee anxious to avoid fanning the embers of an old controversy (Wingfield-creationists versus Wingfield-sceptics). There was general agreement that Wingfield had been stunningly successful in 1874 as promoter and vendor of a simplified version of real tennis – Tennis without walls – but many felt that the game of lawn tennis as codified by the All England Club in 1877 owed little to his invention.

During the early period of growth in the stock exchange the broking firms remained relatively small by modern standards and by 1887 only about ten firms had five or more partners²²⁴. Incorporated bodies were excluded from membership and all the partners of any firm had to be Exchange members and had to confine their business activities to the buying and selling of securities and closely related activities, such as handling new issues²²⁵. Each member was exposed to unlimited liability with all his business and personal property subject to forfeit in the event of failure²²⁶. Trust between the partners was paramount as all deals had to be honoured or the firm failed, they sank or swam together²²⁷. The teams were small and relationships were close - it is no surprise to find Granville Farquhar acting as a witness at Charles Steer's wedding in 1879²²⁸, and that Donald Scott and Edward Gosling were

²¹⁶ Alexander 1986, p.135, quoted HFL's letter to the Telegraph dated 17 May, which referred just to a list of subscribers without giving a number. The Derby Mercury of 25/5/1881 (p.6) reported that 50 LSE members subscribed a guinea each.

²¹⁷ "The Tennis Players", Todd, 1979, p.222. By the end of 1880, Herbert was probably ranked as second in the kingdom to John Hartley – ahead of William Renshaw on the basis of results at the three majors of the Irish Championships, Prince's and Wimbledon; by the end of 1881 arguably he would have been ranked second to William, with John Hartley out of the top five for lack of tournament play. It was fitting that he should lead the tournament players in a demonstration of support for Wingfield.

²¹⁸ Morning Post 14/7/1881 p.3, Sporting Life 14/7/1881 p.4

²¹⁹ Todd, 1979, p.223

²²⁰ Yorkshire Post 23/7/1881 p.5 (quoting Daily Telegraph); Dundee Evening Telegraph 22/7/1881 p.2 etc

²²¹ Yorkshire Post 23/7/1881 p.5 – which said "sovereigns", Alexander quoted guineas (p.137), as did Eddowes's Shrewsbury Jnl 27/7/1881 p.7

²²² Yorkshire Post 23/7/1881 p.5

²²³ Hull Packet 22/7/1881 p.6

²²⁴ Kynaston Volume 1, p.414

²²⁵ Michie, p.97. Holding directorships of public companies seems to have been acceptable.

²²⁶ Michie, p.97

²²⁷ Michie, p.100

²²⁸ Charles B Steer's marriage register entry 22/7/1879

executors to Charles Cotes in 1903²²⁹ and Meredith Brown in 1921²³⁰. Steer Lawford generally had four to five partners until the mid nineties and was fairly typical of the established firms. Its former next-door neighbour in Threadneedle Street, Cazenove & Co, had four partners as early as 1848 but remained much the same size for the rest of the century and through the years of the First World War²³¹. In 1915 a future member of Cazenove's clerical staff by the name of Kathleen Cross visited them at 52 Threadneedle Street for the first time and she retained a vivid memory of the staff and premises. Years later, after half a century in Cazenove's employment, she provided a remarkably detailed description²³² of the organisation at that time and this gives an indication of the Steer Lawford establishment from the time that Herbert began his training at 51 Threadneedle Street in 1870/71 until the firm expanded in the mid nineties; the twelve years that Herbert competed at Wimbledon²³³ fall neatly into the middle of this period.

The 52 Threadneedle Street building was owned by Parr's Bank who used most of the premises for their City branch while leasing a small portion at the side to Cazenove. Apart from the four or so Cazenove partners there was a total of nine staff including two away on war service who had not been replaced because activity had sunk to a low level during hostilities. There were two authorised clerks and of these one – “the governor” - managed all back-office services while the other produced contracts and managed stock documents. Five other staff dealt with transfers, maintained clients' and jobbers' ledgers and wrote up the books, and the team was completed by a typist/filing clerk and a messenger-boy come general dog's-body. The partners were situated in a large room on the ground floor, accompanied by a small interview room and guarded by a small general office which was fronted by a counter for the receipt of stock market documentation and mail (home to the dog's-body). The other personnel were housed on the floor above where they worked on stools at high desks with traditional sloping tops²³⁴. The firm had actually outgrown its premises by the time of Kathleen Cross's visit but the description gives a flavour of the modest surroundings in which many brokers conducted their business – no vaulted halls to receive clients and not a hospitality suite in sight or mind as the practice was for brokers to make regular visits to the premises of their principal clients²³⁵.

Herbert was a professional broker and a senior figure in the family firm during his most successful years on the tennis circuit. His responsibilities had increased on his father's death late in 1884 as he became head of the family with three adult unmarried sisters²³⁶ and a younger brother not yet twenty on the brink of being commissioned from Sandhurst into the Royal Fusiliers²³⁷. He took charge of the family home on Wimbledon Common and married in September 1886 - after the end of the tennis tournament season and an opportunity for some grouse shooting in Scotland²³⁸. Fatherhood he postponed until the beginning of 1889²³⁹. In his tennis prime therefore, his life off the court was that of a conventional working professional,

²²⁹ Probate for Charles Cotes 9/12/1903

²³⁰ Probate for Meredith Brown 5/3/1921

²³¹ Cazenove p.334/5

²³² Cazenove p.92/3. Kathleen Ross was employed by Cazenove's from 1919 to 1958 (Cazenove p.337)

²³³ “Wimbledon: Gentlemen's Singles Champions 1877 – 2005”, Barrett & Little, All England Club, 2006, p.10 (HFL's Wimbledon record)

²³⁴ Cazenove p.92/3

²³⁵ Michie, p.43. Cazenove & Co moved offices in 1919 (Cazenove & Co p.117)

²³⁶ Jessie, Evelyn & Ethel, per Lawford Record 2008, p.37 & 38

²³⁷ Naval & Military Gazette 11/2/1885 p.116, Royal Fusiliers for STB Lawford, out of Sandhurst.

²³⁸ Morning Post 10 Sept 1886 p.1; the ceremony took place in Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire, on 8/9/1886 (marriage register July-Sept quarter 1886, Grantham)

²³⁹ Birth certificate for Acland Lawford, born on 3/1/1889. Morning Post 4/1/1889 p.1 reported the birth of “a son” at Kinellan, Wimbledon Common, but the family name is illegible.

carrying wide family responsibilities, and he also gave time to the administration of lawn tennis as an active member of the All England Club management committee²⁴⁰. The question is: energetic as he undoubtedly was, with these commitments how did he find time to play tennis to such a high standard and maintain his place at the summit of the sport for so long?

Combining work and play – Lawford & Renshaw tournament programmes

In answer it should be said first of all that even at the height of his success Herbert played in relatively few tournaments and most of these were in London or its vicinity. Apart from the Oxford doubles tournament, which he entered only in its inaugural year of 1879, and the Irish Championships, which he entered faithfully every year from 1880 to 1889, there is no record of his involvement in tournaments beyond easy commuting distance of the City²⁴¹. Reports of the Northern, West of England and Cheltenham tournaments carried regular accounts of the exploits of the Renshaws, Ernest Browne and other leading players such as Dwight and Grove, but bore no scores for Herbert and he is known to have made just one excursion to play on the sand courts of Cannes during the winter season²⁴². At the tournaments he did attend he resisted the charms of mixed doubles and he only played in the men's doubles with any consistency at the Irish, where he competed five years running from 1880 to 1884 (champion in 1880, playing with Alfred Mulholland, and runner-up to the Renshaws in 1884 playing with Ernest Browne); in Dublin he was beyond the reach of the office and doubles made no inroads into his working hours. When a men's doubles event was introduced at Wimbledon in 1884 he lent his support but that was the only year he entered (he played with Herbert Wilberforce and lost in the first round to the Renshaws)²⁴³. His tournament programme was a complete contrast to that of champion William Renshaw, who by the mid eighties played the part of roving ambassador for the game and was constantly on the move during the tennis season, playing singles, men's and mixed doubles, exhibition matches and occasional handicap events. A comparison of their seasons in 1886, when Herbert was in his prime, highlights the difference in approach.

In 1886 Herbert just played in three major open singles events: in April, the London Covered Court Championship (Hyde Park Club); in May, the Irish Championships at the Fitzwilliam Club in Dublin; and in July the All England Championships, Wimbledon. In 1886 he was defending singles champion in the Hyde Park and Irish championships, and therefore scheduled to play just a Challenge Round after the All Comers, but for the Irish he nevertheless arrived at the beginning of the week's play and was to be seen in competition with the Fitzwilliam's professional on the first Monday²⁴⁴:

“Lawford in the match played in what Mr Gladstone would term a position of ‘more freedom and less responsibility’ than usual, and some splendid dashing and slashing play was the result....The champion seemed in excellent form. He won from the professional

²⁴⁰ HFL was on the committee of management from 1882 to 1900 (per Alan Little, Hon. Librarian, Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum, at the All England Club library 17/11/2009). See also the reminiscences of HWW Wilberforce in GW Hillyard's "Forty Years of First Class Lawn Tennis", 1924, p.35 to 38. In the 1890's HFL & William Renshaw were appointed members of the management committee of Queen's Club, West Kensington, which had opened in 1887 ("The Queen's Club Story", Roy McKelvie, Stanley Paul 1986, p.17).

²⁴¹ See Appendix 1 to this chapter below showing HFL's tournament record

²⁴² "The House on Sport", Morgan, 1898, p.428. The history of tennis at Cannes referred to in footnote 249 below makes no mention of participation by HFL & the author Alan Little stated on 8/10/2015 (at the AELTC library) that he and a researcher had seen no trace of him in tournament or other records.

²⁴³ See Appendix 1 below. AELTC record of matches 23/4/1998.

²⁴⁴ Freeman's Journal 25/5/1886 p.7 Column 6

as he pleased but will have a hard tussle to maintain his laurels at the ensuing tournament.”

Maintain his laurels he did, defeating the All Comers winner Willoughby J. Hamilton in four sets the following Saturday²⁴⁵. (Hamilton was nicknamed *Ghost* because of his frail appearance²⁴⁶ and the correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal* was struck by the contrast in physiques, referring to the contestants in Shakespearean terms as “Charles the Wrestler and young Orlando....the stripling [*who*] had our hearts' desires with him”²⁴⁷; Edith Lawford could be forgiven for taking issue with this description of her fiancé as a professional wrestler in combat with a romantic young nobleman²⁴⁸.)

William began the 1886 season by travelling out to Cannes in March with Charles Lacy Sweet and joining his brother and a troupe of tennis players which included Dwight, Grove, Mulholland, Richard Sears and Arthur Stanley. The intention was to prepare for the British season on the Beau Site Hotel courts²⁴⁹. The Renshaws and several others had patronised the resort for the past two winters and the players practised together, singles and doubles, and even arranged a handicap mixed doubles event with the local ladies. Play seems to have continued until about the middle of April as the Hyde Park Club tournament began on 10th April and it was reported that Harry Grove entered but failed to arrive back from Cannes in time to play his first match at the appointed hour; Arthur Stanley, however, managed his travel arrangements rather better and played and lost punctually on the first day²⁵⁰. (Grove was only a day or so late and subsequently won through two rounds before losing to Herbert Chipp.²⁵¹) After Cannes, William should have begun his British season with the Irish Championships in May but he and Ernest were seduced by an invitation from the Rothschilds to play in Vienna and on the afternoon of the first day's play in Dublin the organisers suffered the shock of a telegram of apology from Ernest in place of his presence on court²⁵². H.T. Maguire, Ernest's scheduled opponent for the first round, was pleasantly surprised to progress to the second round but the tournament organisers were aghast at losing one of their star attractions. Their anguish was compounded when the brothers failed to show up at any stage and yielded their men's doubles title without hitting a single ball²⁵³. In Vienna they played before audiences in the gardens of Nathaniel de Rothschild and the Prince of Lichtenstein. They were “greatly lionised” and “delighted the eyes of the elite of Austrian society by an exhibition of their marvellous skill....with the result that the tennis craze has assumed a more acute form than before among the Viennese aristocracy”²⁵⁴. The brothers could not resist the siren calls of the

²⁴⁵ *Freeman's Journal* 31/5/1886 p.7 Column 5. Hamilton was to mature into William Renshaw's nemesis, defeating him in 1888 (at Wimbledon), 1889 (at the Irish) and 1890 (to claim the Wimbledon title).

²⁴⁶ “The Fitzwilliam Story”, O'Connor, Browne & Nolan 1977, p.8

²⁴⁷ *Freeman's Journal* 31/5/1886 p.7 Column 4 BNA

²⁴⁸ *Freeman's Journal* was quoting from “As you like it”. In Act 1, Scene II, Charles the Wrestler is thrown by Orlando in a formal wrestling bout: “Duke Frederick [*the wrestler's patron*]: ‘How dost thou Charles?’; Le Beau: ‘He cannot speak, my lord’; Duke: ‘Bear him away.’”

²⁴⁹ “The Golden Days of Tennis on the French Riviera 1874 – 1939”, Alan Little, AELTC 2014, p26 & 27

²⁵⁰ *Edinburgh Evening News* 12/4/1886 p.4. Arthur Stanley was the brother of Charles Stanley, stockbroker and future husband to HFL's younger sister Evelyn (born 1857, married 1889).

²⁵¹ *Morning Post* 14/4/1886 p.5, 16/4/1886 p.3

²⁵² *Freeman's Journal* 25/5/1886 p.7 Col. 6; Treacy's history of the Fitzwilliam, 1927, p.17/18; *South Wales Echo* 2/6/1886 p.3 (- several other newspapers carried the same report on the Rothschilds).

²⁵³ *Manchester Courier* 2/6/1886 p.7, *Freeman's Journal* 31/5/1886 p.7 Col. 5. The brothers did not enter even the mixed.

²⁵⁴ *South Wales Echo* 2/6/1886 p.3, *Aberdeen Journal* 3/6/1886 p.6 etc BNA

“gayest capital in Europe”²⁵⁵ – or perhaps to them it was similar to royal command (and in 1884 William stood up the Exmouth tournament after being summoned to play before the Prince of Wales²⁵⁶).

After Cannes and Vienna, William embarked on his chosen programme of domestic competitions starting with the West of England in Bath²⁵⁷:

- Bath – 31 May to 5 June
William & Ernest Browne won the men’s doubles, William & Miss Bracewell won the mixed. He played no singles.
- Cheltenham – 7 to 12 June
William & Ernest Browne won the men’s doubles, William & Miss Bracewell won the mixed. He played an exhibition single with Harry Grove.
- Northern (Liverpool) – 21 to 26 June
William & brother Ernest won the men’s doubles (as defending champions), William & Miss M. Bracewell won the mixed. He played an exhibition single with James Dwight.
- Midland Counties (Edgbaston) – 28 June to 2 July
William & James Dwight lost in a second round men’s double giving a handicap. William & Miss Bracewell lost the final of the open mixed to J.R. Deykin & Maud Watson. William & Miss Bingley played an exhibition mixed against Dwight & Maud Watson.
- Wimbledon (AELTC) – 3 to 17 July
William & brother Ernest won the men’s doubles (as defending champions). William defeated Herbert Lawford in the men’s singles challenge round.
- Chiswick Park (London) – 19 to 24 July
William lost in the first round of the handicap singles. He won the open mixed playing with Miss Bingley.
- Exmouth – 2 to 7 August
William lost in the final of the handicap singles. He won the open mixed playing with Miss Bingley.
- Scarborough – 9 to 14 August
William played three exhibition singles – one against Ernest Browne (who had won the open singles) and two against Harry Grove (runner-up in the singles)²⁵⁸. He also umpired at least one match on finals day and received a public vote of thanks from the club chairman for making a major contribution to the success of the tournament²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁵ The “Nathaniel de Rothschild” in question was probably Nathaniel Mayer von Rothschild who lived in Vienna (Rothschilds’ website 2016 & 2018, “family.rothschildarchive.org”, genealogy & short biographies). His brother Ferdinand was based in England and married Evelina de Rothschild in 1865. Charles Cotes of *Steer Lawford* was an associate of the Rothschilds and became a trustee of the Evelina memorial children’s hospital (see p.12 above); it is possible that Nathaniel first made contact with the Renshaws through HFL.

²⁵⁶ Exeter & Plymouth Gazette 8/8/1884 p.2

²⁵⁷ For sources see Appendix 2 to this chapter. The tournaments shown are those reported in the main newspapers that gave detailed coverage. There may be minor omissions, particularly for handicap & exhibition matches. The principal events & results were summarised in the 1886 *Pastime* “biographies” of 2 June p.367 for WR and 9 June p.391 for HFL.

²⁵⁸ Sheffield Daily Telegraph 13/8/1886 p.4 BNA

²⁵⁹ Yorkshire Post 16/8/1886 p.3

The organisers of the Harrogate tournament – due to start on Monday 16th August – were reported to be hopeful that William might play some exhibition matches on the Wednesday before departing for Hamburg but they were to be disappointed²⁶⁰. The Continent was calling again and Harry Grove was to be his travelling companion²⁶¹.

William participated in eight tournaments in contrast to Herbert's three, although at Scarborough he only played exhibition matches. Ignoring handicap events, he played just one match in open singles (at Wimbledon) but contested four open men's doubles titles and – surprisingly – six open mixed. His faithfulness to Miss Bracewell for four consecutive championships over five weeks hints at romance – so close and frequent was the contact – but his doubles partner was rather more than just a pretty face as she had played the circuit for several years and established herself as one of the leading female players, particularly at doubles²⁶². William had partnered her in 1885²⁶³, when he also teamed up with the All England champion Maud Watson²⁶⁴, and he actually bestowed his favours on two partners in both years. In his volume "Forty Years of First Class Lawn Tennis", tennis player G.W. Hillyard reminisced that William & Bracewell were unbeaten in competition until their defeat at Edgbaston at the beginning of July 1886, and he would have known because William won his next two mixed events that year playing with the future Mrs Hillyard – Blanche Bingley²⁶⁵. The Hillyards were married just a year later. William of course proved to be a career bachelor, while Bracewell like Bingley was married soon enough²⁶⁶, but his approach to mixed doubles was at the opposite extreme to Herbert's. One newspaper summed up the Lawford attitude as "bad news for girls", reporting that Herbert felt that to play to a high standard men needed to play "in first-class company" and the tennis ladies of the day failed to measure up²⁶⁷. In practice his interviewer may have presented him as less gallant than he was because his preference was for the vigorous exercise of singles and in his eyes doubles in any form came a poor second.

But for the Viennese excursion, William's tally of tournaments would have been even higher as he was booked for the Irish championship as reigning champion in the men's

²⁶⁰ Sheffield Daily Telegraph 17/8/1886 p.7, 18/8/1886 p.3 & 19/8/1886 p.8

²⁶¹ Henry Grove was the son of wealthy parents and not unduly burdened with the need to earn a living. From early childhood the family home was Garrick's Villa on the Thames at Hampton (building facade & features by Robert Adam, gardens assisted by Garrick's friend Capability Brown) and the grounds were large enough to accommodate a tennis club or two (Twickenham Museum website March 2017, Biography of Brown by Jane Brown 2011 p.204/5). Educated at Harrow and Brasenose College, Oxford, Henry was 24 in the summer of 1886 (Pastime profile 4/8/1886 p.88).

²⁶² In 1885 Bracewell and Mrs Watts won the first All England Ladies Doubles at Buxton (Badminton Library p.438). Historian HS Scrivener described Bracewell as "one of the pluckiest players going, but hampered to some extent by an extremely nervous temperament. I once umpired a terrific match in which she completely broke down under the strain and excitement..." (*Lawn Tennis At Home & Abroad*, Wallis Myers, George Newnes, 1903, p.68)

²⁶³ Cheltenham Looker-on 13/6/1885 p.376 – WR & Bracewell won the mixed

²⁶⁴ Freeman's Journal 26/5/1885 p.7 & Manchester Courier 27/6/1885 p.3 – WR & Watson won the mixed in Dublin & the Northern.

²⁶⁵ "Forty Years of First Class Lawn Tennis", GW Hillyard, Williams & Norgate, 1924, p.241. Hillyard married Blanche in July 1887 (marriage register).

²⁶⁶ Margaret Bracewell was from Southport, Lancashire and she and her younger sister Gertrude played the major tournaments for just another two years. Her full name appears to have been Emily Margaret Bracewell and she married at the beginning of 1890 at the age of 28 (marriage register Jan-Mar qtr 1890).

²⁶⁷ Suffolk Evening Star 8/5/1888 p.2. The Star added the view that there was no prospect of raising the standard of women's tennis unless Lady Harberton's divided skirt was introduced – the dress of the day prevented women from achieving their potential. Keen cyclist Lady Harberton was a member of the Rational Dress Society and was said to have invented the divided skirt (– trousers as such were then a bridge too far).

doubles. The Renshaw listing depicts a programme far beyond Herbert's capability. The stockbroker played in just one of those eight tournaments – Wimbledon – while concentrating his energies on three open singles events. With his varied commitments he could not begin to think of emulating the champion's schedule but it would be wrong to assume that he lacked the opportunity for adequate match practice. He was living in Wimbledon by the end of 1884²⁶⁸ and as a resident of London he had a pool of strong players within easy reach; with disciplined use of his time, and in the absence of special projects at work, he was able to maintain physical fitness and tennis form for many years.

In those days working hours in the City were rather shorter than they are now and executive grade staff had time for leisure pursuits during the working week, and could expect to be spared courier deliveries at the weekend. At Barings Bank in 1888 "No one seemed in a hurry.....Business did not really begin until 11 o'clock and was usually over by 4 o'clock" although some clerks stayed on until 5pm²⁶⁹; in the early 1870's working hours for clerical staff at Atlas Assurance were 10am to 4pm²⁷⁰. The trading hours of the stock exchange ended at 4pm, although even in those days the need to trade in American securities caused some to work on outside the premises as the New York Stock Exchange opened at 3pm (10am New York time)²⁷¹. Herbert himself mentions going "down to Wimbledon about five o'clock almost daily in the summer"²⁷². The pace of life was slower and gentlemen needed time for their hunting, shooting and fishing – and if you were riding with the Rothschilds you were combining business with pleasure.

Survival at the top of the game for so long, as a part-timer in competition with younger men untroubled by the calls of the workplace, demanded a rare combination of qualities and Herbert's personality was critical: his zest for competition, self-discipline, tenacity and capacity for hard work all underpinned by a belief in the importance of training. His approach was professional. He was nearly always in hard training, running or cycling and swimming before breakfast in his Coulsdon days²⁷³, and in the opinion of fellow competitor Herbert Chipp (writing his *Lawn Tennis Recollections* in 1898) he was the only player of his time to train systematically²⁷⁴. His time was managed with care, with training and practice games fitted in before office work as necessary. Chipp knew him well. He played four matches against him in open tournaments between 1883 and 1885 (and lost them all) and from 1884 was something of a sparring partner. They played "a good many practice games", initially on a handicap basis but after Chipp took Herbert to five sets in the Hyde Park championship of 1885 they played level²⁷⁵. In his *Recollections* Chipp describes a five set practice session on the Maida Vale indoor court which began at 8.45am²⁷⁶.

Herbert set out his attitude to training in his article in *The House on Sport* in 1898²⁷⁷:

²⁶⁸ The Drapers' Livery company records show Herbert and his father's addresses separately as "Coulsdon, Surrey" until and including 1884. Thomas's death notice in the Times of 7/11/1884 p.1 gives his address as Kinellan, Wimbledon (Morning Post of 8/11/1884 p.1 likewise) and newspaper notices in later years refer to him as "Thomas Acland Lawford, of Kinellan, Wimbledon, Surrey" (wedding announcements of children etc). Surrey Mirror 25/4/1885, p.2, describes HFL as "formerly of Kenley".

²⁶⁹ "The City of London, Volume 1", D. Kynaston, Pimlico 1994, p.423

²⁷⁰ Per Samuel Pipkin, Kynaston Volume 1 p.291

²⁷¹ "The London Stock Exchange", R. Michie, OUP, 1999, p.78; Cazenove p.69.

²⁷² See page 3 above & footnote 25

²⁷³ HS Scrivener, obituary, "Lawn Tennis and Badminton" 2/5/1925 HC; Pastime profile 9/6/1886, p.391. The Lawfords lived at Kenley, near Coulsdon and Caterham, from around 1873 to early 1884.

²⁷⁴ "Lawn Tennis Recollections", by Herbert Chipp, published 1898, p.26

²⁷⁵ Recollections p.23 to 26. According to George Hillyard, HFL and Chipp "were the two great exponents of the base-line game..." ("Forty Years etc", 1924, p.4).

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 1 page 6 above, Recollections p.25 & 26

²⁷⁷ "The House on Sport", Editor W.A. Morgan, Gale & Polden 1898, p.429

“A few words as to training for Lawn Tennis – and let no one imagine he can go successfully through a whole week’s matches without being really fit: he *may* play well for one hard match in his ordinary condition, but should he meet another very strong player the next day he will be stale and unable to do himself justice. One should be as fit for a week of this sort as if one were going to run ten miles. The first few times I entered for the Irish Championship I stayed at an hotel in Dublin, lunched, dined and sometimes danced at different houses and clubs the whole week and did *not* win. The next three years I stayed at a fine hotel at Kingstown, on the sea, had my swim and my run every morning and *won*. It does not of course follow that the result was consequent on the process, but if one takes a lot of trouble to enter and practise for these competitions, one may as well have every chance.”

At the end of the eighties career, family responsibilities and no doubt age finally caught up with him and at Dublin in May 1889 – less than six months after the birth of his son²⁷⁸ - he went down heavily to Ernest W. Lewis in the first round of the singles taking just five games in three sets²⁷⁹. Lewis was no mean player – in 1890 he was to win the Irish singles title²⁸⁰ - but Herbert seems to have been ill-prepared. Lewis had been something of a youthful prodigy, playing for the West Middlesex Club team from the age of fifteen and earning himself the local sobriquet of “The Pocket Renshaw”²⁸¹, and now aged twenty-two he enjoyed a major physical advantage in the natural fitness of youth. The verdict of the *Express* correspondent was just that Herbert was off his game: “Lawford was quite out of form. Many of his strokes were wild and several failed to clear the net. At times he got his eye and hand in...”²⁸². *Freeman’s Journal* was more pessimistic, and perceptive, taking the view that time had taken its toll and age was the cause of his downfall. Herbert had been opposed to “the Boy of yesterday” and “the adage that youth will be served was exemplified”. Bodily decline was the problem and the words of a poet were apposite: “was never wight so starkly made but time and pain will lay him low”²⁸³. The scribe added the surprising and unsubstantiated insight that “like many another good man who would be a boy to the grave, [Lawford was] a martyr to rheumatism”.

The following year it was reported on the first day of play that Herbert had been unexpectedly and unavoidably detained in England and had missed the boat for Ireland²⁸⁴. His opponent in the first round of the singles chivalrously agreed to reschedule their contest to the second day but he remained absent and eventually scratched²⁸⁵. Wimbledon in 1890 was a similar story of entry followed by failure to play (he received a walk-over in the first round but scratched in the second²⁸⁶) and 1889 proved to be the last season in which he played the major tournaments. Introducing its report on the first day’s play at Wimbledon in 1891 London’s *Daily News* mourned the absence of two great players – “the once all-conquering William Renshaw, who has forsaken lawn tennis for golf, and the veteran Lawford, who has

²⁷⁸ See page 46 below, footnote 476

²⁷⁹ Daily Express 21/5/1889, p.7, Freeman’s Journal 21/5/1889 p.6

²⁸⁰ Badminton Library p.439

²⁸¹ Pastime profile, 11/8/1886 p.108

²⁸² Daily Express 21/5/1889, p.7

²⁸³ Freeman’s Journal 21/5/1889 p.6. The poetical quote seems to be an adaptation of lines by Sir Walter Scott: “For time will rust the brightest blade,/ And years will break the strongest bow;/ Was never wight so starkly made,/ But time and years would overthrow.” (*Major Bellenden’s Song*).

²⁸⁴ Freeman’s Journal 27/5/1890 p.6

²⁸⁵ Freeman’s Journal 28/5/1890 p.3, Irish Times 27/5/1890 p.7. Sheffield Daily Telegraph (29/5/1890 p.8) reported that he was “detained by illness in his family” but none of the Irish journals suggested this.

²⁸⁶ Morning Post 1/7/1890 p.3 & 2/7/1890 p.5

given up playing in tournaments²⁸⁷. Aged forty, Herbert was heading for the golf course, like William but with rather more justification²⁸⁸. Conveniently for him, his garden was almost part of the Royal Wimbledon course²⁸⁹ and he was soon returned to active service in the club's competitions, winning the Silver Shield in 1894 (the summer match play singles tournament played off handicap)²⁹⁰.



4.1 Herbert Lawford c.1889, from Methven-Brownlee's "LT: Its Rise & Progress"²⁹¹ (Reproduced by kind permission of Wimbledon Lawn Tennis Museum)

Fresh fields in Surrey and a family tragedy in three acts

When Thomas Lawford moved from London to Tunbridge Wells in the winter of 1857/58²⁹² he had four young children – Jessie, Herbert, Ernest and Evelyn²⁹³ - and the villa in Calverley Park Gardens provided roomy and elegant accommodation. Fifteen years later his

²⁸⁷ The Daily News 30/6/1891 p.6. Also Sheffield Independent 30/6/1891 p.7

²⁸⁸ Freeman's Journal 12/8/1893 p.6 – per article in *Westminster Gazette*.

²⁸⁹ Website of the Royal Wimbledon Golf Club, 23/1/2017.

²⁹⁰ Per email from Facilities Manager, Royal Wimbledon Golf Club, 24/1/2017: HFL was elected a member of the Royal Wimbledon in January 1894 and won various club competitions between 1894 and 1908, playing to a high standard. *London Standard* 2/4/1894 p.6: HFL plays in RWGC monthly medal competition (handicap seems to be 5); *Daily News* 18/4/1894 p.11: HFL plays for RWGC v. London Scottish – A.J. Stanley is also in the RWGC team.

²⁹¹ "Lawn Tennis: Its Rise and Progress", W Methven-Brownlee, Arrowsmith, 1889

²⁹² Daughter Evelyn was born in London on 4/9/1857 (*Morning Post* 8/9/1857 p.8) and baptised in Tunbridge Wells on 18/2/1858. *Drapers' Boyds Roll* gives TAL's address as Tunbridge Wells from 1858. TAL's LSE forms covering 1858 & 1859 not traced – form for year ending March 1858 shows London.

²⁹³ Lawford Record 2008 p.37/38

workplace situation was little changed but his children had grown in number and matured and none had flown the nest. There were three additional Lawfords to fit in: Archibald (fourteen and boarding at Malvern College²⁹⁴), Ethel (thirteen), and Sydney, baby of the house, born in 1865 and several years away from exile to Windlesham House School²⁹⁵. Jessie and Herbert were fully-fledged adults, with Herbert with his nose to the grindstone in the City. Ernest was about to leave Malvern College aged eighteen²⁹⁶ and daughter Evelyn was approaching the age of the debutante. The grownups needed more space and there may have been a desire to increase the number of servants living in²⁹⁷. Genteel, fashionable and pleasant as Tunbridge Wells was it is likely that the new adults – male and female – aspired to greater proximity to London and if so any lobbying would have coincided with a perceived need for more space. Either way, the Lawfords left Calverley Park Gardens in April 1872²⁹⁸.

Their initial move appears to have been within the town into a rented property called Somerset House (in Mount Ephraim)²⁹⁹ so perhaps they were taking an opportunity to sell or sublet. They were there probably six months or more but by March 1873³⁰⁰ they had taken up permanent residence in the hamlet of Kenley, some twenty miles to the north-west “delightfully situated on a part of the Surrey Downs” with “hills of considerable altitude and finely wooded” (according to Kelly’s Directory³⁰¹). Transformed into country folk they nevertheless had close by the new All Saints Church (a chapel-of-ease for Coulsdon parish), “excellent water”, a good supply of gas and their own railway station on the Caterham branch of the South Eastern Railway (- with a telegraph office at the station and station master John Claringbold doubling up as post master)³⁰². There was a thirty-five minute rail service to London Bridge, if contemporary selling agents are to be believed³⁰³, and proximity to the large villages of Coulsdon and Caterham. Reports of Herbert’s local sporting activities soon appeared in the press. In May 1873 he played cricket for Coulsdon against an eleven put together by Dr Adams of Caterham³⁰⁴, and in November 1873 “H. and E. Lawford” turned out for Caterham in a football match against Reigate Priory, an established Association Football club which had played in the first FA Challenge Cup competition of 1871³⁰⁵. Herbert’s cricket was perhaps suffering from neglect as he scored only nine runs in two innings and was credited with no wickets as a bowler. His football may have been of a higher order as Caterham came away with a hard-fought draw. According to the *Croydon Advertiser* the result was a tie after a capital game, although the journal rather glossed over the issue of a goal scored by Caterham which was challenged by Reigate on the grounds that it followed a throw-in wrongly taken by Caterham and was in any case offside (“the umpire was unable to give a decided judgment

²⁹⁴ Malvern register, p.59

²⁹⁵ Lawford Record 2008 p.37/38. Sydney’s schooling: email of 3/11/2009 from Dr Tom Houston, MA DPhil FCIM, historian to Windlesham House School

²⁹⁶ Malvern register p.49 & register of births 1855

²⁹⁷ The staff complement in 1871 appears to have been 6 - Governess, Butler, Cook and three housemaids - but whereas the cook appeared on the census in 1861, she was missing in 1871. A nurse was in place in 1861 but she was gone by 1871 and two housemaids had appeared in her place. ACU

²⁹⁸ Maidstone Journal 6/4/1872 p.2, “Removals...Mr and Mrs Lawford from Kenley to Somerset House”.

²⁹⁹ Maidstone & Kentish Journal 8/5/1871 p.4, Sale of Somerset House

³⁰⁰ TAL’s application for LSE re-election for the year beginning 25/3/1873 gave Coulsdon as his residence. Drapers’ Boyd’s Roll gives TAL’s address as “Coulsden, Surrey” from 1874.

³⁰¹ 1878, p.2164

³⁰² Kelly’s Directory 1878, p.2164

³⁰³ Daily News 17/8/1872 p.8 & auction particulars for Elmwood in 1897 – see footnote 311 below.

³⁰⁴ Bell’s Life in London 31/5/1873 p.4 – the match took place on Saturday 17/5/1873

³⁰⁵ Croydon Advertiser 15/11/1873 p.6. Bell’s Life 28/10/1871 p.4 lists Reigate Priory as one of 13 clubs in the draw for the first FA Cup competition. The club was apparently founded in 1870 (per club website April 2017).

and the matter therefore remained in dispute”). In fact Herbert may already have been playing at one of London’s most eminent Football Association clubs – Barnes FC, founded by the great pioneer Ebenezer Morley in 1862³⁰⁶ – as we know that he was playing for the club by January 1874³⁰⁷ and participated in the club sports as a member that March³⁰⁸.

The move to Kenley would have reduced the distance of the City commute by more than half as the crow flies, and for the young stockbroker access to London’s sports facilities such as Barnes FC, Prince’s Club in Hans Place SW³⁰⁹, and the London Rowing Club at Putney³¹⁰ would have been transformed. The family was to remain in Kenley for ten years and the hamlet – around eight miles distant from the All England Club - was to be Herbert’s base for his first six years on the tennis tournament circuit and his early victories in London (Wimbledon All Comers 1880, Prince’s 1880 & 1883, and London Athletic 1882 & 1883).

The Lawford’s classical villa in Calverley Park Gardens was replaced with a small mansion of individual, if not eccentric, design (porthole windows on the second floor) built for a wealthy farmer on a plot of ten acres with cottages for staff close by. The urban roads of Tunbridge Wells gave way to rural lanes but Kenley Station was an easy fifteen minutes’ walk away³¹¹. The amenities of the property included a small Farmery and Thomas apparently elected to sample life as a country squire before moving on to settle for a mixture of town and country in Wimbledon. The house was called Elmwood and it was built in the eighteen-sixties by Stephen Rowland, farmer and landowner, to accommodate a large and expanding family³¹². The census of 1871 records the presence of his wife and ten children with ages ranging from one to seventeen, and although nine bedrooms were available on the main upper floors, with two servants’ bedrooms off a back staircase, just two nurse maids and one general maid were accommodated in the principal dwelling. The Lawfords were to change that and by 1881 butler, footman, cook, kitchen-maid and housemaid were all living under the same roof as their employer³¹³.

After moving out of Elmwood to Croydon, Rowland retained the freehold of the property and it was still sub-let at the time of his death in 1893. His trustees decided to auction the freehold in 1897, when the lease was just three years from expiry, and the advertisement for sale provided a comprehensive description of the property³¹⁴. By then the Lawfords had been gone for some thirteen years but it is reasonable to assume that the main features were still the same.

The auction pamphlet praised the “commodious residence” with its extensive grounds, cottages, stabling and coach houses, and small Farmery – “a most complete domicile” situated “in the prettiest part of this favourite district”. The house was arranged on three levels. On the

³⁰⁶ See below “Soccer” page 47.

³⁰⁷ Field 31/1/1874 p.110 v. 1st Surrey Rifles (“Palmer and Lawford [forward] were in good form”).

³⁰⁸ Field 4/4/1874 p.338 & Bell’s Life 4/4/1874 p.9 – “H.F. Lawford (Barnes FC)” runs a 100 yards heat in a Barnes FC open sports event BNA.

³⁰⁹ Prince’s may have been the base for Herbert’s racket sports at the time. Hans Place: Badminton Library p.140 etc. HFL was a member of the All England Club by May 1880 (Field 29/5/1880 p.684 & 22/1/1881 p.97; Freeman’s Jnl 25/5/1880 p.6)

³¹⁰ See below p.46 “The other sports etc” para 1, Field 9/5/1874 p.462 etc.

³¹¹ Elmwood, Kenley, “Particulars, Plan & Conditions of Sale” by auction on 13 Oct. 1897, Fuller Moon & Fuller; courtesy of Croydon Local Studies Library and Archives Service 18/12/2009 (HC).

³¹² “Village Histories – 6. Kenley”, Ed. Grahame Brooks, The Bourne Society 2002, p.128. Census 1871 for Stephen N. Rowland & family. The Lawfords were linked to David Rowland (City solicitor, Probate 1873) through the marriage of TAL’s cousin Emily Acland but no blood link has been established between the two Rowland families (David with roots in Wales, SNR Wiltshire, Neath v. Ramsbury).

³¹³ Census 1881 for Herbert Lawford ACU

³¹⁴ Elmwood “Particulars etc” for auction Oct. 1897. The property was let to Mrs Louisa Jackson on a seven year lease ending in 1900.

ground floor there were four reception rooms with a drawing room 24 feet by 17, a dining room not much smaller, a library 15 feet by 13 and a morning room. The first floor offered three “best” bedrooms and a spacious dressing room together with a bathroom and the usual services. The top floor provided five “capital bedrooms”, a dressing room, and three smaller bedrooms which included the two servants’ rooms. The kitchen and other domestic offices - including a dairy and wine cellar - were attached to the ground floor and outside there was a Bakehouse with oven. The brick stable block offered stalls, loose boxes and harness-room with shelter for two carriages, and there was an additional timber and slate coach house with room for three more. The Farmery – a novelty for the town-dwelling Lawfords and a facility whose management would have been contracted out well in advance – comprised three stalls for cows, a calf-pen, a pigsty and a thatched fowl-house, all set well away from the main dwelling. The grounds were “beautifully wooded” – with oak, beech, sycamore, lime, chestnut and other ornamental trees – and mature trees lined the boundaries. Careful design was evident and the grounds had been laid out to please the eye and occupy those with leisure time to be filled. A Pleasure Garden was intersected by gravelled walks and featured a tennis lawn, while a Shady Plantation and Rustic Summer House provided relief from the sun in summer. The kitchen garden was planted for an abundance of fruit - apples, pears, plums and more – and there was a heated vinery and assorted greenhouses. Three Capital Paddocks served the grazing needs of horses and livestock.



4.2 Elmwood, Kenley, 1897 (Image courtesy of Museum of Croydon)

There was ample space here for Thomas and family and they could enjoy the self-contained good life of a country estate without too much estate to occupy their time. Social amenities would have been much enhanced and visitors could now work up an appetite with a stroll in the grounds before dinner, sniff blossoms in the pleasure garden, dabble at croquet, frolic at tennis (in due course), and shelter in the rustic summer house when squalls disturbed their charmed seclusion, secure in the knowledge that their carriages were safely stowed and their servants well accommodated. Thomas was fifty-eight and perhaps setting course for a more relaxed way of life with a new interest, an expansion of his social activities and a reduction in his City workload, his eldest son positioned to shoulder more of the burden of the family business. Such plans made good sense for his time of life, and the omens were good,

but his peace of mind was about to be shattered. The family of his older brother John was heading for disaster.

John and Tom were the two brothers who made their life in the City. Of their five brothers three had taken employment in the Indian Army, one – Alfred – had died before completing his training as a solicitor, and the eldest – Samuel – had dropped out of a career in banking to embark on dubious ventures in wharf management and then farming before expiring unmarried in 1859³¹⁵. John was five years older than Tom and as he married late in life – four years after Tom - he would have retained closer links to his siblings and it is no surprise that he holidayed on the Continent with Tom at the end of the summer of 1841³¹⁶. In his career he followed the same steady path as his father Samuel and in some ways he stepped into the role of the eldest son. By the time he was admitted to the Drapers' Company at the age of twenty-one³¹⁷ he was working for the bankers Curries & Co and he stayed the course with them, surviving their merger with Glyn Mills in 1864³¹⁸, until his dying day. He lived on the banking premises of 29 Cornhill for probably more than twenty years³¹⁹ and his first four children could claim to be genuine cockneys as they were born there³²⁰. Like his father he embraced the responsibilities of the Drapers' Court of Assistants and he became Junior Warden in 1871 with the role of Master in sight³²¹.

By the late 1840's the Currie family was providing six staff to the bank including all three partners³²² and John must have felt like a member of the family himself. The partners (the older generation) comprised the brothers Isaac and Raikes and their cousin Henry Currie, and the younger generation were some of their offspring – George and Bertram (sons of Raikes) and Henry William (son of Henry)³²³. Bertram Currie's memoirs suggest that John was in effect general manager of the bank by 1850 – therefore responsible for staff, systems and the management of transactions³²⁴. When John was taken ill with rheumatic fever late in 1849 and was absent from the office for five weeks, the burden of management was transferred to young George, aged twenty-three³²⁵. In letters to his son Bertram, Raikes observed that John's enforced absence was good for George because it forced him to take over the day-to-day running of the bank – he had the “whole responsibility for Cornhill thrown upon his shoulders.....[He] came out very efficiently, and took the keys for the whole time”³²⁶. John's intimacy with the Currie family was extended to overseas travel in 1850 when he accompanied Henry Currie and his two daughters Emily and Mary (aged twenty and eighteen³²⁷) for part of

³¹⁵ See page 11 of Chapter 2 above

³¹⁶ See pages 12 to 14 of Chapter 2 above

³¹⁷ Boyd's Roll gives his date of admission as 21/6/1832 and his address as 29 Cornhill – Curries' offices.

³¹⁸ Merger per London Daily News 22/6/1864 p.6 & other papers

³¹⁹ Boyd's Roll gives Cornhill as his address from 1832 to 1863. The censuses for 1841 and 1851 show him resident at 29 Cornhill. His 5th child – Wilfred – was born in Blackheath in December 1859 (Kentish Mercury 17/12/1859 p. 8 – at Morden Road, Blackheath).

³²⁰ Census 1871 for John Lawford, Lawford Record 2008 p.35 & 36, baptism records etc. Reginald Lawford, 4th child, was born on 10/3/1858 at 29 Cornhill (per London City Press 13/3/1858 p.4 & Drapers' admission record of 21/6/1882 [place of birth]).

³²¹ Boyd's Roll

³²² “Bertram Wodehouse Currie - Recollections, Letters and Journals, Vol 1”, Manresa Press, 1901, p.18.

³²³ BWC “Recollections” p.18 (Bertram), & p.20 (George & Henry)

³²⁴ When Bertram joined the firm in 1846 he was placed under John's care – see page 5 of Chapter 2 above, BWC “Recollections”, 1901, p.18. John described himself as Bank Manager in the census of 1871 and newspaper reports of 1875 described him as “one of the managers” of Glyn Mills.

³²⁵ Census 1851 for GWC, baptism register 1826 etc.

³²⁶ BWC “Recollections”, 1901, p.308 & 310.

³²⁷ Census 1851, Henry Currie at West Horsley Place, Surrey. See also Recollections p.454, Nov 1850 re. “Emmie & Mary”.

their journey to Switzerland. John travelled with them as far as Ghent in Belgium³²⁸. Rising forty, John was still single and when late in 1850 two office colleagues formed romantic attachments, Bertram showed a sensitivity to John's situation by observing to his father that "There only remains for John Lawford to transplant some nymph from Blackheath to No. 29"³²⁹. When Curries merged with Glyn Mills in 1864, Raikes and Bertram were the only Curries to stay with the business and they took John with them, closing the doors on banking at 29 Cornhill and adding their name to the Glyn Mills brass plate at 67 Lombard Street³³⁰. John was evidently highly regarded and he maintained his role as a manager with the new company³³¹. Bertram was a rising star in the banking world and was dominant partner of the merged firm two years later, well on his way to grandee status and acclaim from Gladstone as "first among the men of the City"³³². His respect was hard earned and it said much for John's capability as a banker.

In November 1852 John did finally transplant a nymph into 29 Cornhill but she was a resident of Pimlico at the time rather than Blackheath³³³. Ellen Crofts was under twenty when she married John and the age gap was some twenty three years³³⁴. She and John lost no time in starting a family and their first child was born a year later in 1853. Others followed in regular succession and by 1873 when their last child was delivered at Blackheath they had a family of twelve surviving children³³⁵. Two years later with little warning the family lost its breadwinner.

John became seriously ill in the spring of 1875 and a few months later he died at his home by his own hand³³⁶. Because of the nature of his death a coroner's inquest was held immediately - the day after his death, under the same roof and with the body still present. It is striking that events could proceed so quickly, involving as they did a jury headed by a Kent county magistrate, but his death was from unnatural causes and necessitated formal investigation. Although the household would have been in shock, memories were fresh and perhaps a prompt and rapid procedure caused least pain. Quite a number of newspapers reported on the inquest, including The Times, but the Kentish Mercury gave most detail³³⁷.

The sad story is that in mid April John placed himself in the care of Dr Finch of Lee, Kent for a "distressing" condition arising from disease of the heart, liver and kidneys. His symptoms included a cough and congestion of the lungs and he had difficulty with his breathing. Medical treatment failed to halt the illness and a week after first consulting the doctor, John found himself unable to lie in a bed and forced to sit in a chair or walk about the room day and night; such was his pain and discomfort he could sleep for little more than a few minutes at a time. He grew tired and weak and his mental condition deteriorated - sometimes he was "excited" but more often depressed. In the end his state was one of distress and exhaustion. He could neither shave himself nor "go up or down stairs" and on the day of his death his son Francis was talking of coming home early the next day "to wheel [him] in his

³²⁸ BWC "Recollections", 1901, p.373, letter from Raikes Currie

³²⁹ BWC "Recollections", 1901, p.373, letter from BWC

³³⁰ BWC "Recollections", 1901, p.53 - Henry & George retired; "...on 1st July 1864 the firm of Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co came into existence". New address: London Daily News 22/6/1864 p.6 etc

³³¹ Census 1871 for John & Morning Post 19/6/1875 p.6

³³² See Chapter 2, page 5, footnote 20 above. Edward Hamilton of the Treasury endorsed this view in 1891, calling BWC "the ablest of all City authorities" (ODNB for BWC 2015); see page 8 above on EWH.

³³³ J & E's marriage licence 5/11/1852

³³⁴ Census 1871 John & Ellen.

³³⁵ Lawford Record 2008 p.35 to 37

³³⁶ Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5

³³⁷ Kentish Mercury 19/6/1875 p.4 & 26/6/1875 p.5, Times 19/6/1875 p.7, Morning Post 19/6/1875 p.6 etc

chair round the garden³³⁸. After nearly seven weeks of suffering he confided to Dr Finch that he could bear the illness no longer and two or three days later he took his own life. On the fateful day he had a seizure of some sort in the middle of the morning and the doctor found him “cold, pulseless and collapsed” but he seemed to recover; such though was his condition that when the doctor was contacted by the family late the same day his first thought was that death had followed naturally³³⁹. In the evening a housemaid was sent to John’s room to see if he needed anything and she found the door locked³⁴⁰. She heard a heavy fall³⁴¹ inside and there was silence in response to her inquiries. She reported back to the family and on Ellen’s instructions steps were placed under one of his windows and sons Francis and Reginald climbed up to see what was happening. They saw their father lying on the floor covered in blood. Reginald forced entry into the room through another window and unlocked the door and Ellen attended to the stricken man while Francis rushed off to fetch Dr Finch. John was alive, just, but his throat was cut from ear to ear and his windpipe severed – there was no hope for him. A bloody razor lay nearby and Finch later concluded that he had made several cuts. He lingered silently for some eight minutes³⁴² – Ellen cradling his head³⁴³ - then expired soon after Finch’s arrival. The coroner’s jury returned a verdict of suicide while in a state of temporary derangement³⁴⁴.

The story passed down through the family by word of mouth is that John shot himself after a member of his banking staff embezzled funds and he felt himself responsible³⁴⁵ (a rather Japanese course of action). Whilst the weapon was clearly a razor rather than a gun, the Times did quote a son as relating that his father “had been excited after hearing of the recent heavy failures in City commercial businesses³⁴⁶ and this could be seen as an indication that events in the business world played a part. It is hard to believe, though, that in his physical and mental condition he would have been much concerned about events in the workplace.

Ellen Lawford was in her early forties when she found herself a widow with at least nine children to support, as only her eldest sons Arthur³⁴⁷, Francis and Reginald were earning or on the brink of employment³⁴⁸ and the only one of her daughters over the age of sixteen was unmarried³⁴⁹. John must have given some thought to the contingency of his own death, given his age, but Ellen swiftly came to the conclusion that she had a struggle on her hands and turned to the Drapers Company for help. Within a month she wrote to the Court seeking financial assistance and citing “the reduced circumstances in which she was left by the death of her husband³⁵⁰. John had attended his last Court meeting on 11th June (and missed a further meeting on 16th June, the day before his death) and on 7th July the Court minuted the

³³⁸ Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5. The full name of “Francis” was Alfred Francis Jenkins Lawford (Lawford Record 2008 p.36 etc). Apart from Francis, witnesses giving evidence included Agnes Vines (housemaid), Samuel Turner Prior (brother-in-law) and Dr Robert Finch.

³³⁹ Times 19/6/1875 p.7 TDA

³⁴⁰ Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5

³⁴¹ Times 19/6/1875 p.7

³⁴² Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5 – Francis’s evidence

³⁴³ Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5 – Finch’s evidence

³⁴⁴ Times 19/6/1875 p.7

³⁴⁵ Lawford Record 2008 p.21

³⁴⁶ Times 19/6/1875 p.7

³⁴⁷ Arthur entered employment as a clerk with Martins Bank in the City only in January 1878 so may not have begun to earn until this time (per bank career record, & see bond document dated 8/3/1878).

³⁴⁸ Francis was employed as a stockbroker’s clerk by March 1873 (Richard Winch LSE re-election form 25/3/1873), Reginald by March 1876 (George F. Barber LSE re-election form 25/3/1876). ACU

³⁴⁹ In the 1881 census, Ellen M Lawford (known as Sophie) – aged 27 – is shown as living with her mother Ellen and brother Arthur; her profession/occupation is blank.

³⁵⁰ Email from Company archivist dated 1/7/2011 (3rd para) quoting from the minutes of the Court meeting for 7 July, 1875.

passing of “a worthy member” and instructed the Clerk to write to Ellen “to express the sympathy and condolence of the Court with her and the members of her family”³⁵¹. Perhaps more importantly John’s colleagues elected to refer the issue of tangible help to the Finance Committee and on 4th August Ellen was granted a pension of £100 per annum “during the pleasure of the Court”. (This was about the equivalent of the salary paid to a junior clerk in a City bank³⁵².) The assistance of the Drapers did not stop there as Ellen had also written to them in connection with the education of her son Philip, who had just turned twelve³⁵³. Ellen asked that he should be admitted to Drapers’ College and the Court fell in with her request at the July meeting, resolving that the College be authorised to consider an application for Philip despite the fact that he was past the entry age. All told at least three of Ellen’s sons attended the College – Philip, Cyril and Vincent³⁵⁴ – and so were “educated, boarded and dressed at the expense of the Company”³⁵⁵. Another son – Leonard - was placed at Christ’s Hospital under the Drapers’ John Stock bequest. The Company also made small grants to assist the children, such as £25 for Vincent for an outfit when he passed his exam for Assistant Clerks for the Royal Navy in 1887.

The Company’s help was generous, and within its tradition of supporting members who fell on hard times, but Ellen’s standard of living would have suffered. In 1871 John could accommodate his whole cricket team of children in the family home, together with a cook, two nurses and a housemaid³⁵⁶; by March 1878 Ellen had moved house to St Johns Park, Blackheath³⁵⁷ and at census time in 1881 (April) she was accompanied just by her eldest children Sophie and Arthur, and one housemaid³⁵⁸. These were indeed reduced circumstances. However, the absence of all her children bar the two eldest was probably linked in part to her mental state, which was dealt a possibly fatal blow by the death of her second son Francis in the week before the census.

Three of the sons in London employment – Francis, Reginald and probably Philip – had left the family home some time before to share lodgings nearby in Greenwich³⁵⁹. Wilfred, aged twenty-one, may have been the third lodger but there is no firm evidence that he was still in England and he had probably already embarked on a military career that was to encompass service in South Africa³⁶⁰. Of the six youngest children, three were at boarding school, two appear to have been farmed out for the census weekend (Leonard and Cuthbert³⁶¹), and one had been “adopted”³⁶² some time before by a Crofts cousin based in Desford, Leicestershire (Ethel, aged nineteen by 1881, taken in by George Checkland and his wife³⁶³). Francis, who

³⁵¹ Company archivist email of 1/7/2011 2nd para

³⁵² In 1882 Martins Bank was paying Arthur Lawford £105 pa as a clerk in his 5th year of service (per bank career record, Archives of Barclays Bank, 2001).

³⁵³ Company archivist email 1/7/2011, 4th para

³⁵⁴ Company archivist email 1/7/2011, 5th para etc – covers also Leonard & small grants

³⁵⁵ Note by Company archivist with email of 1/7/2011. The school was founded to educate the sons of Company liverymen between the ages of 8 and 15. It was closed in 1884, when Vincent was 13.

³⁵⁶ Census 1871 for John & Ellen Lawford

³⁵⁷ Bond for Arthur Lawford as a clerk to Martins Bank; Arthur & Ellen were both recorded with the address of Mayfield House, St Johns Park, Blackheath.

³⁵⁸ Census 1881 for Ellen Lawford at Mayfield House, Upper St Johns Park, Greenwich.

³⁵⁹ 4 Creed Place, Greenwich, per Supplement to Leicestershire Chronicle 2/4/1881 p.4. Arthur described himself as resident at Mayfield House; “My other two brothers lodged with the deceased”.

³⁶⁰ Lawford Record 2008 p.36 (49e). The family memory (VGL) is that he fought in the Zulu wars and photographs passed down suggest that he belonged to a unit like the *Cape Mounted Riflemen* at the time of the Boer War (c.1900).

³⁶¹ Lawford Record 2008 p.21 & 22. Census was for night of 3/4 (Sun/Mon) April 1881.

³⁶² Supplement to Leicestershire Chronicle 2/4/1881 p.4 – described as “cousin” in census 1881

³⁶³ George Edward Checkland was the son of Ellen’s sister (Lawford Record 2008 p.35 (49a)) and was married to Agnes (born Claye) [Census 1881 Ethel Lawford & GE Checkland (Desford, Leics)]

had been employed on the stock exchange for over eight years³⁶⁴ and was perceived to have good prospects, committed suicide for no known reason. At his inquest the coroner offered the view that in the absence of a clear motive, and taking account of John's suicide, the conclusion should be that the sad event was "due to transmitted suicidal mania"³⁶⁵ – an interesting observation. Unlike his father – and in a situation that was quite different - Francis seems to have organised his demise calmly and taken care to keep the trauma and disturbance to his family to a minimum. After finishing his day's work, he took a train from London to Leicester, wrote a letter to his brother Arthur giving instructions for the disposal of his property to his younger brother Philip (but saying nothing more) and then, alone in a first class compartment, he shot himself through the mouth. The bullet lodged in his brain and when a platform porter found him at Leicester station with his legs up and his head leant against the window, he thought he had just dropped off to sleep – until he noticed the revolver³⁶⁶.

The effect on Ellen must have been devastating and she never recovered. Nine months later she was admitted to Kent lunatic asylum³⁶⁷ and in February 1882 Arthur was obliged to report his mother's situation to the Drapers' Court and request that in future her pension be paid to him "on behalf of her and her family"³⁶⁸. She transferred from Kent to Camberwell asylum in 1885 but remained incarcerated for the rest of her life and died in Camberwell in April 1903³⁶⁹. From the end of 1881 her children were effectively orphans, although by this time just five of them were under the age of eighteen and there were adult siblings of both sexes resident in London to look after them. Arthur was a clerk of three years standing with Martins Bank in Lombard Street and Reginald had just been admitted as a member of the stock exchange³⁷⁰, after four or more years as clerk to stockbroker George F. Barber³⁷¹.

By 1875 John's parents had been dead for some years and his only surviving siblings were Henry, a retired lieutenant colonel of the Madras Artillery, Margaret, wife of Samuel Prior, and Thomas³⁷². The Priors lived close to the John Lawfords and Samuel had visited regularly during the final period of John's illness (had identified the body at the inquest)³⁷³, but he himself died some eight months after John early in 1876³⁷⁴. Thomas and John's careers had run in parallel in the City and from the time of their continental holiday together in 1841 their paths would have crossed time and again – both at Drapers' Hall and in their respective trades, not least as *Curries & Co* were bankers to *Steer Lawford* from inception in 1844 (in combination with two other banks, which included *Martins* from 1850). The likelihood therefore is that Thomas became the guiding presence for John's family and he was certainly well placed to help. His hand can probably be seen in the selection of Martins Bank for Arthur in 1878 (although the sureties for Arthur's £2,000 bank bond were mother Ellen and cousin

³⁶⁴ Richard Winch's LSE re-election form for year commencing 25/3/1873 showed Francis as clerk, also for yr/c 25/3/1881

³⁶⁵ Supp. Leicestershire Chronicle 2/4/1881 p.4

³⁶⁶ Supp. Leicestershire Chronicle 2/4/1881 p.4 – statements at inquest by porter Tarratt etc.

³⁶⁷ Register of Asylum Admissions, 21/1/1882, ACU– includes transfer 12/1/1885.

³⁶⁸ Company archivist email 1/7/2011, 3rd para

³⁶⁹ Register of Asylum Admissions, 12/1/1885, ACU

³⁷⁰ RVL's application for admission to LSE for the year beginning 25/3/1880 – "passed 22/2/1881"

³⁷¹ George F. Barber's LSE re-election forms for yr/c 25/3/1876 onwards. RVL had become George's partner by March 1882 (RVL's LSE form for yr/c 25/3/1882).

³⁷² Lawford Record 2014 p.21 to 24

³⁷³ Kentish Mercury 26/6/1875 p.5 – Samuel's evidence. The Priors lived in Shooters Hill Rd, the Lawfords in Morden Road.

³⁷⁴ The Globe 29/2/1876 p.6

Frederick Prior³⁷⁵), the introduction of Francis and Reginald to the stock exchange (Thomas was a surety for Reginald on his admission in 1882), and the admission of both Arthur and Reginald to the Drapers Livery Company in 1882 (Thomas and his cousin George Lawford provided the “testimony” for both their applications). On a domestic level, Thomas and Janet took into their home the second youngest child Vincent, who was four in 1875. Herbert would barely have noticed the addition to the family but his younger brother Sydney, just nine at the time of John’s death, recalled his presence clearly some seventy years later and wrote that “Vincent was brought up at my home – the only one of his family that I knew”³⁷⁶. As one who later served with distinction in the Royal Navy, Vincent would have enjoyed the outdoor life in Kenley but his memories were tinged with embarrassment. Many years later his son Valentine wrote that Vincent’s Uncle Thomas and Aunt Janet “treated him kindly, but dressed him up in black velvet suits with lace collars, and tortured his hair into ringlets.....which he never forgot”³⁷⁷.



4.3 Ellen Lawford with son Arthur, c.1864
(courtesy of Jeremy Lawford)



4.4 Vincent Adrian Lawford, c.1885
(courtesy of Jeremy Lawford)

At the time of Ellen’s departure into care her family were beginning to disperse naturally as they entered adulthood but none were married and a majority stayed together in the London area. Ethel married a Leicestershire man late in 1882 and sank her roots in the Midlands³⁷⁸ but by June 1882 a new family home had been established at 5 Eastbrook Road,

³⁷⁵ Bond document dated 8/3/1878. Frederick William Prior was the son of John’s sister Margaret, wife of Samuel (Lawford Record p.22 & p.39). He was a stockbroker and Thomas had been one of his sureties on admission in 1871. Arthur was “bound” to four Martins, of whom two were Biddulph Martins, blood relatives of the bankers of Cox, Biddulph & Co. Claud W. Biddulph was a clerk to Steer Lawford by March 1896 and later a partner – see p.13 above .

³⁷⁶ Letter to Evelyn Lawford from Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, c.1949

³⁷⁷ Lawford Record 2008 p.22 (34g), per VGL letter of June 1975

³⁷⁸ Lawford Record 2008 p.36 (49f) & ACU. Ethel died following the birth of her first child, a daughter, 3rd quarter 1887.

Blackheath³⁷⁹ and records suggest that some seven of the siblings were quartered there in the late 1880's. Six remained at census time in 1891, single and in employment³⁸⁰, with the eldest daughter in charge and landlady of the property. Ellen junior, known as Sophie, aged 37 and a School Governess, was recorded as Head of the household; then in order of age came Philip, aged 27 (Insurance Clerk), Gertrude (another school governess), Leonard (stock exchange clerk), Cyril (another insurance clerk) and lastly Cuthbert, the youngest at 19 and an Apprentice to Mercantile Marine (briefly as he emigrated to sunny California soon after and trained as a dentist³⁸¹). One general domestic servant lived in. According to the 1891 electoral roll for Lodgers, Sophie was charging her brothers £15 per annum for their furnished accommodation³⁸² - a snip of a bank clerk's salary. Reginald had married in 1887 and moved out to Eltham, close by³⁸³, and Arthur, still single, had declared independence with lodgings in Fulham³⁸⁴. There were to be Lawfords resident at 5 Eastbrook until 1904, although the electoral roll shows a diminution in numbers from 1897³⁸⁵ and the census for 1901 shows the family's permanent representation reduced to just Cyril³⁸⁶. The family unit was held together in Blackheath for the youngest children and the presence of Sophie and Gertrude would have made for a balanced household. Neither sister ever married but Sophie would have known the trials and tribulations of parenthood - and the rewards - watching over her young siblings.

A generation passes, another begins – death, marriage and birth in Wimbledon Village

Thomas and Janet Lawford weathered the Blackheath storms in their new home in Kenley and their younger children grew to maturity there. For whatever reason, though, *Elmwood* was not their final choice of a family home and when their youngest child Sydney reached the age of eighteen in 1883, and was poised to embark on officer training at Sandhurst³⁸⁷, they were on the move again and making further inroads into the London commute. In May 1883, Ernest and Archibald had both been admitted as members of the stock exchange³⁸⁸ and as the four oldest Lawford males were all employed within the Square Mile, Wimbledon made good sense. Herbert had been sinking sporting roots at the All England Club since 1878 – had fought the Challenge Round in 1880 and become a member of the Management Committee – but it would be surprising if this was a key factor in the choice of location even if he was the eldest son. Wimbledon was an attractive and practical location

³⁷⁹ Boyd's Roll for admission of Reginald V Lawford in June 1882. See also RVL's LSE re-election forms for yr/c 25/3/1883 & 25/3/1887 ACU.

³⁸⁰ Census 1891 for Ellen MS Lawford. The 1891 Electoral Roll for Kidbrook Polling District Lodgers lists Philip, Leonard and Cyril, with "Sophia" as landlord living in. ACU

³⁸¹ Cuthbert was naturalised an American in 1897 and as this required a 5 year period of residence, it would date his emigration as 1892. He was registered as a Californian dentist in December 1900.

³⁸² 1891 Electoral Roll for Lodgers - Philip, Leonard & Cyril (Cuthbert being under voting age). ACU

³⁸³ Marriage: ACU. Address: RVL's LSE re-election forms for 1887, 1888 & 1892. Census 1891 not traced; census 1901 Eltham.

³⁸⁴ Census 1891 for AJL

³⁸⁵ Philip, Leonard & Cyril – with Sophia landlord – were shown on the 1897 roll, but Philip married & moved out and Leonard died in 1898.

³⁸⁶ Electoral Roll for Kidbrook Polling District – Division one, 1901 & 1904. Census 1901 Cyril Lawford.

³⁸⁷ Lawford Record 2008, p.38 – born 16/11/1865. Sydney sat his Sandhurst entrance exam on 27/11/1883 and passed in the bottom quartile (St James Gazette 9/1/1884 p.12).

³⁸⁸ LSE admission forms for the year commencing 25/3/1883 for ADL & EBAL, both admitted May 1883. Ernest was 3 years older than Archibald but his arrival at the stock exchange came after a tour of duty in Mauritius as an accountant - he appears to have arrived back in England around the beginning of 1882 (Freemasons Register, Port Louis Mauritius, June 1880 to Dec. 1881; played cricket in Mauritius in June 1879, Field 13/12/1879 p.815). The Ceylon Company had estates in Mauritius and Lawford Acland was a freemason.

for City staff, offering a convenient rail link, and later, in the 1890's after a spell in Leatherhead, Archibald was to choose it as permanent abode for his wife and family³⁸⁹.

The Lawfords were on their way by March 1884 and had moved by the end of October³⁹⁰. They bade farewell to ten acres of country estate with cottages and farmery in rural Surrey and returned to something closer to their Kentish town life – but not too close. New Wimbledon was emerging as a railway suburb of London³⁹¹ but Wimbledon Village was about a third of mile north-west of the town centre and station and the Lawford residence was almost a mile further north-west, beside the hill-fort known as Caesar's Camp and the great expanse of Wimbledon Common. They were surrounded by fields and parkland. Their house had been built soon after 1870 as part of a development of three houses on fields just south of the common owned by John Samuel Sawbridge-Erle-Drax³⁹². Access was along a tree-lined country lane – an unmade track called Camp Road - and the isolation was to continue far into the twentieth century because in 1875 Commons Conservators stepped in to prevent further development, much to the frustration of absentee-landlord Drax who had razed Caesar's Camp in preparation for further building³⁹³. Early in the twentieth century Drax's heirs leased the surrounding land to Royal Wimbledon Golf Club and in later years the Lawfords came to have a sand bunker near the end of their garden. In 1881, the three houses were named *The Rounds, Caesar's Camp* and *Holmwood*³⁹⁴ and the Lawfords took over the one in the middle. As their house-name must have been a point of confusion – all three houses were beside *Caesar's Camp* - it is hardly surprising that it was soon changed and during the twenty five years of Lawford residence the house was known as *Kinellan*³⁹⁵. The name seems to derive from Loch Kinellan beside Strathpeffer, a small town some five miles west of Dingwall at the western extreme of Cromarty Firth, a popular spa resort in the second half of the nineteenth century³⁹⁶. It is not known how the name came to be chosen but the finger of suspicion points at Janet Lawford for her Scottish connections – perhaps she and Thomas had taken the waters at Strathpeffer, been cured of their ailments and had named their house in fond memory. Alternatively, Herbert may have had particularly fond memories of despatching wildlife in the area - bird and fish³⁹⁷. *Kinellan in Ross-shire* was mentioned in The Field's "Shootings taken for next season" of March 1898, with qualified enthusiasm: "There is a fair

³⁸⁹ Census 1901, Lawford Record 2008, p.38 & 63, LSE re-election forms 1887 to 1893 for ADL.

³⁹⁰ See footnote 268 on page 25 above. The LSE re-election forms for the year commencing 25/3/1884 for TAL, HFL & ADL show 3 Drapers Gardens as "residence" while EBAL shows St James's Street; for y/c 25/3/1885 residence for HFL & EBAL is Kinellan, Wimbledon (ADL's form not traced).

³⁹¹ "Wimbledon Past", Richard Milward, 1998, p.63

³⁹² Richard Milward, Wimbledon historian, letter of 21 Sept. 1997 & footnote 395 below

³⁹³ "Wimbledon Past", Richard Milward, 1998, p.10 to 13; Surrey Comet 24/4/1875 p.4 column 6.

³⁹⁴ Census 1881: George Louthean ("Homewood"), Arthur Slee (Caesar's Camp), Thomas Meates (The Rounds), ACU. See also Surrey Comet 24/4/1875 p.4.

³⁹⁵ In a report of TAL's death the Surrey Comet of 8/11/1884 p.7 refers to him as "of Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon"; the formal newspaper notices correctly referred to his house as "Kinellan". Later Kinellan became 33 Camp Road – Milward letter 21/9/1997 & see Surrey Advertiser 1/11/1915 p.4, advertisement for 4 domestic staff at "Kinellan, 33 Camp Road, Wimbledon Common".

³⁹⁶ Aberdeen Journal 11/6/1880 p.5, www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk Oct. 2017 etc. In 1889, the London Daily Telegraph reported a rumour that Queen Victoria might visit Strathpeffer to take the waters if she did not soon recover from her rheumatic attacks – on the basis that the waters ranked "with the most important cold sulphur springs in England and on the Continent" (Gravesend & Dartford Reporter 24/8/1889 p.2)

³⁹⁷ Some Lawfords were recorded as visitors to Strathpeffer in 1903 and 1906 (North Star 27/8/1903 p.6 [from Leamington] & Ross-Shire Journal 10/8/1906 p.8 [from Kent]). Possibly they may have been Philip Lawford & his wife in 1903 & their two daughters in 1906. Philip was a second cousin of Herbert's.

extent of shooting, but very heavy bags are not to be expected. The salmon fishing is sometimes excellent”³⁹⁸.

There was in fact a Lawford family connection to the town of Cromarty, some twenty-one miles north-east of Strathpeffer. The resident minister, the Reverend Walter Scott, was the brother-in-law of Herbert’s cousin Alfred Chalmers Lawford and would have been well known to Herbert and probably familiar to his parents; he and the Scott family may have provided the Lawfords with their introduction to higher education in Edinburgh. Walter was some years older than Herbert. He had been born near Edinburgh in Dirleton, where his father was minister³⁹⁹, and educated at Edinburgh’s Royal High School and then Edinburgh University, achieving his MA in April 1868 shortly before Herbert’s arrival at Edinburgh Academy⁴⁰⁰. He took up his post in Cromarty in 1876 and remained a resident there until his death forty-eight years later. Alfred Lawford had married Walter’s sister Elizabeth in 1864⁴⁰¹ and his second child Edith had been born in May 1869 at 3 St Bernard’s Crescent in Edinburgh⁴⁰². This was Walter’s address at the time⁴⁰³ – both brother and sister were presumably living there with their mother⁴⁰⁴ – and Herbert was then also resident in Edinburgh as a first year student at the University. All four would have been well acquainted. At the time Herbert’s relationship with Walter would have seemed more important than his blood relationship with the infant Edith – shortly to depart for the colonies with her parents – but seventeen years later Edith took her place centre stage in his life and Walter was just an uncle of the bride⁴⁰⁵.

The All England Club in Worpel Road was just over a mile south-east of Kinellan – down by the railway tracks and about half a mile from Wimbledon station – a distance that Herbert could walk comfortably should he choose. A resident of West Place, just off Camp Road, wrote a memoir of her childhood in Wimbledon and included a description of the walk from her house to Copse Hill just over a mile away, taking in the area south of Herbert’s house (Copse Hill being about 750 yards due south). The time was the 1920’s and her words give a feel for the rural setting:

“We often walked along Westside to visit an aunt of mine who lived in Copse Hill. We reached her house through fields which lay in the hollow in Woodhayes Road. A kissing gate led into the fields, surrounded by paling, which stretched down Woodhayes Road, along Copse Hill as far as Thurstan Road.I remember very tall grass, which we walked through (scarcely a path) to reach Catherine Villas, where lived my aunt. At the back of her house we could climb a fence into dense woodland, where in May the ground was covered in masses of bluebells.”⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁸ Field 12/3/1898 p.387 – the entry begins: “Kinellan, in Ross-shire, belonging to Sir Arthur G.R. Mackenzie, Bart., of Coul, will be occupied by Major Stirling”. See also Inverness Courier 26/8/1892 p.6

³⁹⁹ Inverness Courier 11/2/1864 p.3 (JS death report); census 1861 for James Scott in Dirleton.

⁴⁰⁰ FASTI ECCLESIAE SCOTICANAE, Ed Hew Scott, Oliver & Boyd 1928, Cromarty p.6. See also Chapter 3, p.16 footnote 126 above.

⁴⁰¹ Caledonian Mercury 21/10/1864 p.4

⁴⁰² Edinburgh Evening Courant 12/5/1869 p.4

⁴⁰³ “Edinburgh University Calendar 1869/70” p.328

⁴⁰⁴ 3 St Bernard’s Crescent was the location of Alfred’s wedding as well as Edith’s birth and was presumably the home of his widowed mother-in-law Walter [*sic*] Baird Scott.

⁴⁰⁵ See page 44 below & footnote 457

⁴⁰⁶ “Memories of my side of the Common”, Constance Curry, Senol Printing Ltd, 1988, p.14 “Westside”. A 1917 map of the Common shows “Wimbledon Wood” along the north-west side of Copse Hill and behind Thurstan Road (map by John Bartholomew & Co, 1917 “Wimbledon and Summerstown”).

Kinellan was a substantial house on a plot of over two acres⁴⁰⁷ with space enough for a brace of tennis courts as well as pleasure garden and ample vegetable plot. The accommodation was arranged on two floors, probably with a basement, and there was an adjoining stable block. The building was about 68 feet wide - left to right, facing from the drive - and 45 feet deep, ignoring large bay windows to the rear, and its reception rooms must have been on a grand scale. Wimbledon historian Richard Milward saw round the property some time after the Second World War and expressed the view that it must have been the home of "a very wealthy family" when first constructed⁴⁰⁸. Before the Lawfords arrived, the house was occupied by an affluent City timber merchant⁴⁰⁹ by the name of Arthur Slee who was kept company by a wife and eight children and an equal number of servants, according to the census of 1881⁴¹⁰. Taking into account the coachman and his wife residing in the stables, Slee's establishment amounted to twenty souls of which fifteen were adults, so the house needed to be something of a mansion. Attendants comprised the usual cook and maids, two nursing staff and – indicative of a certain style of living – a "footman" and a "page". With six sons, Slee was not short of heirs and his purse extended to educating five as boarders at Winchester College, while the sixth elected for an economic secondary education in the care of the Royal Navy⁴¹¹. There was more than enough space for the Lawford family, which was diminishing in size all too soon.



4.5 Kinellan in the 1960's as 33 Camp Road, from the rear (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London [Collage: the London Picture Archive, ref SC_PHL_02_0178_64_282 (No. 176925)])

⁴⁰⁷Measurements taken from The Architects' Journal Information Library 23 July 1969 pages 166 & 167 (charts of "Whitechester Old People's Home") – for both plot and house.

⁴⁰⁸ Richard Milward, Wimbledon historian, letter of 21 Sept. 1997

⁴⁰⁹ Census 1881 for AS; notices on City timber merchants Tagart, Boyson and Slee in London Gazette 7/1/1880, Daily News 14/1/1880 p.7 & Times 5/11/1886 p.11 etc.

⁴¹⁰ Three of Slee's children had been born in Wimbledon, the first in 1871 (census 1881 & baptism record for Grace born 28/7/1871) and it seems likely that he was the first owner of the house. The birth of his son John was announced as at "Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon Common" (London Standard 27/5/1878 p.1).

⁴¹¹ Winchester College register ("1836 – 1906", by JB Wainwright, 1907): Arthur (p.277), Frederick (p.290), Percy (p.314), Reginald (p.354), Herbert (p.486). John joined HMS Britannia aged 14 in 1892, per Obituary Notice 1944 (www.ieeexplore.org).

Thomas's death in November 1884 came as a shock but the next family event was predictable almost to the point of being overdue as Herbert was getting on, although less so than his elder sister Jessie. At the age of thirty-five, Herbert became the first of Thomas's children to marry and his choice of spouse was in some ways surprising.

He was affluent, eligible, well known in sporting circles and with links to many great and noble families. His colleagues in the family firm rubbed shoulders with Rothschilds and royalty and he himself moved comfortably amongst the gentry, shooting and fishing with the best of them. His natural place seemed to be in the upper reaches of society amongst the alumni of Eton and Harrow and the graduates of the great universities. He was strong, confident and articulate with an enviable position in one of the City's leading firms of stockbrokers. His brother Ernest was to marry Lady Gertrude Montgomerie, third daughter of the 14th Earl of Eglinton⁴¹² and niece to regular Wimbledon competitor George Montgomerie (the 15th Earl⁴¹³ who gave her away at the wedding); his sister Ethel married Rolfe Lubbock, stockbroker and third son of Sir John Lubbock, 4th Baronet and later 1st Baron Avebury⁴¹⁴; Jessie married Sir Hartley Williams, a senior judge in Australia (knighted in 1894)⁴¹⁵; Evelyn married the senior partner in waiting of stockbrokers Charles Stanley and Sons⁴¹⁶ (her spouse, Charles Herbert Stanley, was also an early tennis competitor⁴¹⁷ but less proficient with the racket than brother Arthur); and Archibald married the daughter of an affluent retired stockbroker who lived in Wimbledon⁴¹⁸. Herbert, with enough of the world at his feet, chose to woo and marry the young daughter of his cousin Alfred Chalmers Lawford, who had just arrived at the debutante age of seventeen⁴¹⁹ but had no prospect of "coming out" as her parents were neither rich nor noble nor well connected and indeed lacked any sort of claim to a place in fashionable society. The union was improbable but Herbert was his own man, used to pursuing his own individualistic judgments, and he and Edith were not to be denied. It was a romantic tale – with some echoes of Du Maurier's *Rebecca* in Edith's domestic situation but with the gothic tone, if any, supplied by the heroine's father rather than a deranged housekeeper.

Alfred was the third son of Edward Lawford, an officer of the Royal Engineers who pursued a career in India and rose to senior rank in the Madras Presidency⁴²⁰. Alfred was born in India and entered employment with the East India Company as a civilian engineer working for the Madras Department of Public Works⁴²¹. He entered his chosen profession at the age of eighteen in 1855 – two years before the Mutiny - and obtained sound experience building and carrying out maintenance work on canals, irrigation systems, roads and bridges in a variety of

⁴¹² Times 8/2/1893 p.5, Glasgow Herald 8/2/1893 p.7 & Lawford Record 2008 p.38

⁴¹³ George competed at Wimbledon from 1878 to 1887 (with a few missed years) & reached the semi-final of the All-Comers in 1880 losing to Woodhouse in five sets (All England Club archive www.wimbledon.com, 10/11/2017); he also played in the Irish Championships 3 times & the Scottish 6 (www.tennisarchives.com 12/11/2017). Based in Ayrshire per tennis reports & censuses 1881 & 1891.

⁴¹⁴ St James's Gazette 14/3/1894 p.15, Times obituary 12/5/1909 p.11, Standard 12/5/1909 p.2, ODNB Sir John Lubbock 13/11/2017

⁴¹⁵ Morning Post 14/2/1887 p.1 & "Johns's Notable Australians" 1906, p.185

⁴¹⁶ Marriage register for Christ Church, Paddington, 22/8/1889, email from chairman of Charles Stanley & Co 6/1/2013, website of Charles Stanley & Co 2013.

⁴¹⁷ Eg. London Athletic Tournament 1882 & 1884 (Morning Post 13/6/1882 p.3, 17/6/1884 p.3)

⁴¹⁸ Lucie Doke, St James's Gazette 12/10/1889 p.13. Lucie's father William W Doke, of Currie Hill (later Oaklawn) Wimbledon Park, left £52,000 when he died on 16/2/1911 (Probate 1911). See also census 1991 for WWD; WWD was on electoral roll of Wimbledon from at least 1887 ACU.

⁴¹⁹ Edinburgh Evening Courant 12/5/1869 p.4. Edith was born on 11th May 1869 at 3 St Bernard's Crescent, Edinburgh.

⁴²⁰ Lawford Record 2014, p.22 & p.37. Hart's Army list 1869 shows Edward as a Major General but this seems to be an honorary rank given on retirement.

⁴²¹ ACL's application to join the Institution of Civil Engineers, May 1870; censuses 1881 & 1891 for ACL etc; Lawford Record 2014 p.37

postings in southern and south-eastern India⁴²². Then he was struck down by illness and in 1863 he returned to Britain on sick leave⁴²³. His illness appears to have been mental and it was to recur later in life. He was admitted to Ticehurst House Asylum, East Sussex in September 1863, cared for and then discharged “recovered” in February 1864⁴²⁴. Eight months later he was married in Edinburgh to Elizabeth Scott, daughter of the Reverend James Scott of Dirleton⁴²⁵. The location reported for the ceremony was a private residence rather than a church – 3 St Bernard’s Crescent - and perhaps there was special dispensation for Alfred’s illness. The officiating priest was Dr James Fowler, parish minister of Ratho, near Edinburgh⁴²⁶. Alfred’s sick leave came to an end in 1865 and he sailed back to India with his newly wedded wife, returning to post in Trichinopoly District⁴²⁷, near the southern tip of India. There in 1867 a first child was born to them – Louisa Scott Lawford⁴²⁸ - and she survived to spend most of her childhood in India.

In 1868 Elizabeth fell pregnant again and 1869 saw the family back in Britain on long leave in time for Edith’s birth in May – at 3 St Bernard’s Crescent, Edinburgh⁴²⁹. Alfred was promoted to 2nd Grade Executive Engineer in October and whilst in Edinburgh he took the opportunity to join the Institution of Civil Engineers, becoming an Associate in May 1870⁴³⁰. His application was supported by his father’s first cousin William Lawford who was by then a well established figure in the engineering world⁴³¹. It may be that Alfred had his eye on a future out of India. The family returned to India at the end of 1870⁴³² and by 1874 Alfred was District Engineer for South Canara⁴³³, a part of the Madras Presidency to the west of Mysore. This seems to have been as far as he progressed with the Madras Public Works Department as a few years later he was struck down with mental problems once again and at the age of forty his career in India came to an end. He arrived back in England in June 1877⁴³⁴ and in February 1878 was admitted to the Morningside Asylum in Edinburgh. He stayed for a few months⁴³⁵ and in August his employer granted him a six month extension of sick leave⁴³⁶. His condition became more extreme and in December he attempted suicide while overseas in Dresden, stabbing himself with a knife⁴³⁷. January 1879 saw him back in the Ticehurst asylum and he remained there until August when he was discharged “Recovered”⁴³⁸. His case notes describe him as moody and depressed on admission, convinced that his wife was possessed by an evil spirit and was dragging him to perdition; his religious beliefs were mixed with the delusions of his illness to leave him in torment - he talked of a need to escape from Elizabeth to escape from the devil, as she had elected for him, a need to flee from the City of Destruction. When he took a knife to himself in Dresden he had been suffering from “aural

⁴²² Work record included with ACL’s ICE application of May 1870

⁴²³ ICE application May 1870

⁴²⁴ Welcome Library on-line, 3/6/2017 “<https://wellcome-ticehurst.herokuapp.com/patients>” “The Case Book”. There are mentions in the 1879 case notes (p31 & 32) of the visit in 1863 but no details are given.

⁴²⁵ Caledonian Mercury 21/10/1864 p.4

⁴²⁶ Edinburgh Courant 20/9/1862 p.1

⁴²⁷ ACL’s ICE application May 1870

⁴²⁸ Baptism record ancestry.co.uk – born 3/2/1867

⁴²⁹ Edinburgh Evening Courant 12/5/1869 p.4

⁴³⁰ ACL’s ICE application May 1870 (ICE address is 25 Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.)

⁴³¹ See page 2 footnote 14 above

⁴³² Homeward Mail 7/11/1870 p.572

⁴³³ Homeward Mail 13/7/1874 p.711

⁴³⁴ Homeward Mail 2/7/1877 p.701

⁴³⁵ Ticehurst Case Notes, p.32.

⁴³⁶ Homeward Mail 31/8/1878 p.938; 6 month extension also reported 9/11/1878 p.1227, as of 15 Oct.

⁴³⁷ Ticehurst Case Notes p.31. Later in the Case Notes his actions were described as self-mutilation (p.33).

⁴³⁸ Ticehurst Case Notes p.34

hallucinations”- hearing voices⁴³⁹. Elizabeth considered him to be at risk of suicide, and at the least capable of further self-injury, and she feared for her own safety.

In July 1879 he was granted another six month extension of sick leave⁴⁴⁰ and he retired from the Department of Public Works a year or so later⁴⁴¹. Edith was just eight years old when the family returned to Britain and she probably grew up in the suburbs of London close to the Surrey Lawfords. Alfred moved house with some frequency but his addresses through to the mid eighties were all south of the Thames and in south-east London. At the beginning of 1879 Ticehurst asylum listed Elizabeth’s address as 20 Lullington Road, Upper Norwood and the family probably made their home there for at least two years⁴⁴². By early 1881 they seem to have moved a few miles away to West Dulwich as the census records them living at 3 Milton Villas, Rosendale Road and Alfred appears on electoral rolls for West Dulwich/Rosendale Road for four years from 1882 until 1885⁴⁴³. These addresses were within ten miles of both Kenley and Wimbledon and Herbert was within easy range to give support and court a daughter of the house. Alfred’s parents had both died a good few years before, as had both his elder brothers, and his other three siblings appear to have been living abroad⁴⁴⁴ or prone to mental illness themselves (in the case of his younger sister Emily, who was herself treated at Ticehurst between 1864 and 1876)⁴⁴⁵. Elizabeth’s mother was still alive but living in Edinburgh⁴⁴⁶ and as most of the Scott relations were based in Scotland, it probably fell to the Surrey Lawfords once again to assist their relations in time of need.

The early years in England must have been difficult and unsettling for Edith. Alfred’s bout of illness ran for some two years until August 1879⁴⁴⁷ and the aftermath would have presented its own strains and stresses. Working from Alfred’s known history and the case notes available for his time in Ticehurst House Asylum, a modern psychiatrist⁴⁴⁸ has concluded that he suffered from schizophrenia and his illness between 1877 and 1879 involved an acute schizophrenic episode. The asylum did not cure his condition as such but provided care during the episode and discharged him when it had run its course⁴⁴⁹. In the case of acute schizophrenia, episodes of severe symptoms can be followed by periods during which the sufferer experiences few or no symptoms⁴⁵⁰, but that is the best that can be said and Alfred would almost certainly have experienced further episodes during the rest of his life. Stress can be a trigger for attacks⁴⁵¹ and best practice would have been to avoid work-related stress. The

⁴³⁹ Ticehurst Case Notes p.33

⁴⁴⁰ Homeward Mail 28/7/1879 p.806

⁴⁴¹ Census for ACL 1881 gives his occupation as “Retired list Madras Dep. PW”. Surrey electoral roll for 1881 gives ACL the “Place of abode” of 20 Lullington Road, Penge – “Occupation of tenement”. ACU

⁴⁴² Ticehurst Case Notes p.31 (1879) & 1881 Surrey electoral roll for ACL

⁴⁴³ Census for ACL 1881. Electoral Rolls for polling districts of Streatham 1882 & 1883, and Camberwell 1884 & 1885. ACU

⁴⁴⁴ Lawford Record 2014 p.22 & p.36 to p.38. The other 3 siblings were: Emily (apparently resident in an asylum), Robert (reported as missing in Australia in 1872 after taking up residence in Victoria in 1860), and Margaret (married to an officer serving in the Indian Army).

⁴⁴⁵ Ticehurst House Asylum register of admissions & discharges (admitted 1864, “transferred” 1876) & Case Notes; “<https://wellcome-ticehurst.herokuapp.com/patients>” 3/6/2017

⁴⁴⁶ Walter Baird Scott census 1881 (1 Royal Terrace, head of household) & 1891 (2 Royal Terrace).

⁴⁴⁷ Ticehurst Case Notes p.34

⁴⁴⁸ Email of 21/1/2018 from a retired consultant psychiatrist (MRCPsych): a “relapsing psychosis with a familial predisposition”.

⁴⁴⁹ Email of 26/1/2018 from psychiatrist: “As the term asylum implies, the best these institutions had to offer was to care for the patient whilst each episode ran its slow course, whereupon they were deemed to have recovered – though in practice, every breakdown left the patient a further step down the scale of disintegration – an incremental loss of capacity to work or to function socially”.

⁴⁵⁰ NHS guidance on Schizophrenia January 2018 (www.nhs.uk/conditions/schizophrenia)

⁴⁵¹ NHS guidance January 2018

censuses of 1881 and 1891 refer to Alfred as retired and a pensioner, and he is described similarly in his daughter's marriage register entry of 1886⁴⁵² - it seems unlikely that he ever worked and earned regularly again.

Alfred's means would have been limited and the family's lifestyle restrained. There were five fully inhabited Milton Villas in Rosendale Road in 1881 and they appear to have been roomy semi-detached houses (Number 1 was advertised with six bedrooms and three reception rooms in 1888)⁴⁵³. The households were served generally by one or two servants and Alfred's was no exception with just one. Elizabeth was no doubt spared the cooking but this was not a household in which calling cards were presented by butler on a silver salver and there were no adjoining stables to house coachman, horse and carriage. Marriage was to propel Edith from the ranks of poor relations returned in distress from the East Indies into the high command of the City Lawfords – at a stroke, from adolescent younger sister of no great consequence to consort to a man of substance. She needed a strong nerve but then she was marrying a man with nerve enough for two.

One Scott relation who did live in England was Edith's Aunt Catherine, her mother's younger sister. Catherine had married a priest of the Church of England by the name of Edward Gillett, a graduate of Exeter College, Oxford, and when her husband found favour with the Duke of Rutland they had set up home near Grantham in Lincolnshire⁴⁵⁴. The duke was Lord of the Manor of Woolsthorpe-by-Belvoir, a village close to his seat of Belvoir Castle and some six miles south-west of Grantham, and he built its parish church of St James. He appointed Edward rector of Woolsthorpe in 1879⁴⁵⁵. The souls in Edward's keeping numbered less than six hundred, as a small Wesleyan chapel claimed the loyalty of a section of the local population, but the church was said to be an elegant structure in the "Decorated Gothic" style⁴⁵⁶ and blessed with several "beautiful painted windows in memory of parishioners and their friends". This was Edith's choice as the location for her marriage to Herbert and her Uncle Edward officiated at their ceremony there on 8th September 1886⁴⁵⁷.

Woolsthorpe was some ninety-five miles north of London and however attractive the rural setting, it was far from the obvious place for the Lawford nuptials. Alfred Lawford was a relative newcomer to south-east London, with roots by birth, upbringing and career in India, and his establishment was modest. Wimbledon, though, was near enough to hand with a choice of churches⁴⁵⁸ and could have come close to fulfilling the convention of bride's home town while being convenient for the London Lawfords. It is possible that in 1886 Edith was actually living in Woolsthorpe with her mother and sister – with or without Alfred – and the marriage register does give the village as her place of residence at the time. There is no knowing the state of Alfred's mental health. The vicar's wife had given birth to a son in June⁴⁵⁹ and Elizabeth may have travelled north to assist her younger sister and give support in the months directly after. The office of rector came with thirty-eight acres of glebe land and what

⁴⁵² Copy of Entry of Marriage for HFL and Edith Lawford on 8/9/1886 (HC)

⁴⁵³ Census 1881 and Standard 17/7/1888 p.8, sale of 1 Milton Villas

⁴⁵⁴ Entry for James Scott in *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Oliver & Boyd 1915; EAG in *Oxford Alumni 1715* – 1886 p.525; EAG census 1881; *White's Directory on Woolsthorpe 1881* p.821.

⁴⁵⁵ *Kelly's Directory of 1885 for Woolsthorpe* p.716; *Oxford Alumni*.

⁴⁵⁶ *Grantham Journal 19/8/1893* p.4 & *White's Directory 1882* p.821 and *Kelly's 1885* p.716.

⁴⁵⁷ *Morning Post 10/9/1886* p.1 and marriage register entry

⁴⁵⁸ The obvious choice was perhaps the fine renovated St Mary's Church, but St John the Baptist Church of Kingston Vale was slightly closer to Kinellan – a direct walk to the west across the Common - and this seems to have been HFL's chosen place of worship (*Surrey Comet 3/11/1894* p.3). Royal residents of *White Lodge* in Richmond Park also patronised St John's, and were active in charity work in the parish, so it would also have been the more fashionable (www.inthevale.org.uk Nov. 2017 etc).

⁴⁵⁹ *Grantham Journal 19/6/1886* p.4 – born on 15/6/1886

was described in 1882 as “a good residence”⁴⁶⁰ – a rectory that offered the generous accommodation of sixteen rooms⁴⁶¹. The Gilletts would have had ample space for their normal household - five children over the age of three, a baby and five domestic servants⁴⁶² - with guests on top, room enough to host some Lawford ladies without discomfort; certainly there was no shortage of servants to meet the needs of visitors. The rector was a sociable man with a great range of interests - embracing music, education, medicine, gardening and sports⁴⁶³ – and he knew how to enjoy good food in good company with a pipe to follow⁴⁶⁴. Golf was numbered amongst his pastimes, and probably also shooting, and he had interests in common with Herbert⁴⁶⁵. Woolsthorpe therefore offered the engaged couple attractive surroundings, a polished master of ceremonies and a genial host, and that was perhaps all they wanted.

Edith moved into the family home in Wimbledon and soon there were empty rooms in Kinellan as Herbert’s siblings flew the nest and the house was made over to the newlyweds. Jessie was already transplanted to the Antipodes as she married Sir Hartley Williams in Malvern, near Melbourne in early January 1887⁴⁶⁶ and was to remain based in Australia until his retirement in 1903⁴⁶⁷. Herbert’s mother Janet and brother Ernest moved to Grosvenor Hill in Wimbledon - Ernest evidently during 1887⁴⁶⁸ - and Janet died there in September 1888⁴⁶⁹. Archibald took to commuting from Leatherhead⁴⁷⁰ and Lieutenant Sydney lived wherever the Royal Fusiliers sent him, although the census for 1891 places him in residence at Kinellan⁴⁷¹. Sisters Evelyn and Ethel probably moved with their mother initially. Evelyn’s engagement to stockbroker Charles Stanley was announced in May 1889, eight months after Janet’s death, and she was married that August as a resident of Farnborough in north Hampshire⁴⁷². Such

⁴⁶⁰ White’s Directory 1882 p.821

⁴⁶¹ Census of 1911 for Rev Robert H Bagnall, Gillett’s successor. The census definition of rooms included kitchen but excluded office, scullery, bathroom, lobby etc.

⁴⁶² Census 1881 for EAG; Baptism record for Harold Gillett Feb. 1883; auction of furniture 1903 (Grantham Journal 7/3/1903 p.4). The census for 1901 shows EAG looked after by 4 servants even though his children had apparently moved on.

⁴⁶³ Grantham Journal 3/1/1903 p.8 – retirement presentation

⁴⁶⁴ Grantham Journal 14/1/1882 p. 8 (concert), 3/2/1894 p.2 (choir supper), 27/4/1895 p.3 (Primrose League “tea”) & 10/1/1903 p.2 (retirement choir supper).

⁴⁶⁵ In his younger days Gillett lent his presence to the Woolsthorpe village cricket team (Grantham Jnl 14/6/1879 p.3); later he played golf competitively at Belton Park Golf Club (club competition 1892 [Grantham Jnl 15/10/1892 p.4], & was captain of the club in 1902 [Grantham Jnl 8/11/1902 p.4]). Two guns were among his possessions up for auction in 1903 (Grantham Jnl 7/3/1903 p.4).

⁴⁶⁶ Morning Post 14/2/1887 p.1. Various Australian sources describe Jessie as a “cousin” of Sir HW – most significantly the formal marriage announcement in *The Argus*, Melbourne 5/1/1887 – and there appears to be a Turing/Scottish family link. Jessie’s grandfather James Turing Bruce was first cousin to HW’s grandmother Ann Gibbon, maiden name Duff; JTB’s mother was Forbes Ann Turing, sister of Janet Turing, Ann’s mother. HW may have spent time with the Bruce & Lawford families while he was at Repton, Trinity Oxford and in legal training (1855 to 1867) - parents resident in Australia. HW’s uncle Charles W Gibbon was an employee of the Bruce discount business at 34 Abchurch Lane (*The United Discount Corporation* [per admission to Joiners Company 7/11/1872 & see Times 25/8/1866 p.3 etc])

⁴⁶⁷ Times obituary 15/7/1929 p.19. Became a judge in 1881, knighted 1894, retired to England 1903. See also John’s Notable Australians 1906 p.185

⁴⁶⁸ LSE membership renewal forms for EBAL: for the year commencing 25/3/1887, address is Kinellan, Wimbledon; for the following year 25/3/1888 his address is given as 8 Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon.

⁴⁶⁹ Probate for Janet Lawford October 1888: JTL “late of Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon”, died 8/9/1888

⁴⁷⁰ LSE membership renewal forms for ADL: for the year commencing 25/3/1887 address is Kinellan, Wimbledon, like EBAL; the following year 25/3/1888 address given as Leatherhead, also 1890 & 1892.

⁴⁷¹ Census 1891 for STBL

⁴⁷² Morning Star 30/5/1889 p.5 (engagement); the marriage register entry 22/8/1889 shows her residence as Farnborough, Hants – the address given by EBAL on his LSE renewal for March 1889.

records as are readily available suggest that Ethel may subsequently have lived with the Stanleys in Datchet until her own marriage in 1894⁴⁷³.

By mid 1888 Herbert and Edith had Kinellan to themselves and Edith, in her nineteenth year, was mistress of a grand house staffed by eight or so servants including butler, cook and coachman⁴⁷⁴. As she was born a Lawford the transition from her parents' humbler circumstances would have been easier to accept but even so she must have felt nervousness in her new situation; she was a complete novice in the role of hostess at Kinellan. Before the Lawfords, the house had sheltered ten Sleses and their eight servants⁴⁷⁵ – the great Victorian family – and the complement had now fallen to half that number. How quiet the halls and passages must have been in contrast – echoing spaces. Herbert may have had ambitions to match the size of the Slesee family – at least to have enough sons for a men's double at tennis – and he and Edith took their first step in that direction at the beginning of 1889. A son, Herbert Acland Lawford, was born at Kinellan on 3rd January 1889⁴⁷⁶ and he was to survive to adulthood and be known as Acland⁴⁷⁷, although little is known of his life beyond marriage in his mid-twenties. By 1922 his father's preference seems to have been that he should be out of sight and out of mind, with a wide stretch of international water separating him from his homeland, and he disinherited him regretfully⁴⁷⁸.

He was to be their only child. This though seems to have done nothing to diminish Herbert's enthusiasm for Kinellan and he and Edith remained in place on Wimbledon Common until Acland reached manhood and they made their retirement move to Royal Deeside. Their home in Aboyne was to be even larger than Kinellan – with an even larger number of servants – so echoing halls filled with attendants clearly appealed and would have been the natural accompaniment to a hectic social life.

The other sports - soccer before tennis, golf in middle age, shooting for life

It was reported that after university Herbert's sporting interests soon expanded beyond rackets, shooting, fishing and cricket to embrace long-distance cycling, rowing and ice-skating in season, with swimming thrown in for training purposes. This would be quite a portfolio for someone in full-time employment. The *Pastime* profile of Herbert in 1886⁴⁷⁹ is the source of this information and while the writer can be considered an authority on tennis matters and the sporting world, the article covers a period of sixteen City years and is generally vague about the timing and extent of most of the sporting activities. The likelihood is that Herbert dropped cricket as a regular summer sport immediately he started work and cycling, rowing and swimming took their place primarily as elements of his fitness regime. His holidays before marriage may well have embraced long distance cycling and fishing would have been a seasonal activity in Scotland for much of his adult life⁴⁸⁰. *Pastime* relates that he twice rowed in

⁴⁷³ Census 1891 for Ethel & Evelyn shows them resident in Datchet; Datchet is Ethel's address in her marriage licence application of 5/3/1894.

⁴⁷⁴ Censuses 1891 and 1901 for HFL

⁴⁷⁵ Census 1881 for Arthur Slesee and see page 40 above, footnote 409 etc

⁴⁷⁶ Birth certificate copy dated 27/12/2017 & birth announcement in Morning Post 4/1/1889 p.1

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Sir Sydney Lawford to Evelyn Lawford c.1950, Lawford Record 2014 p.96, Scottish sport & social newspaper reports 1904 to 1910, report of Edith's funeral 1913. HAL's birth certificate shows only the name Acland.

⁴⁷⁸ HFL's will dated 29/12/1922 (HC)

⁴⁷⁹ *Pastime* of 9/6/1886 p.391

⁴⁸⁰ For example: May 1890, salmon-fishing in Invernesshire (Sheffield Daily Telegraph 8/5/1890 p.8 - "...hardly the best preparation for the Fitzwilliam tournament..."); September 1892, fishing the Dee on the Park water, near Banchory (Field 17/9/1892 p.456).

winning boats of the London Rowing Club but the main sporting press bears no witness to his performances in open or inter-club competition and he probably only competed in a few internal club events on the Thames; *The Field* of May 1874⁴⁸¹ reports him winning in a race between LRC fours and in June that summer he prevailed in a club race for Junior Eights⁴⁸². Rackets would have been at least a winter sport and despite the absence of any mention by *Pastime*, it seems quite possible that he tried his hand at real tennis before taking to the lawn version in 1877/78. The evidence for this comes from John Hartley whose recollections were recorded by journalist Wallis Myers in 1908 in his volume "The Complete Lawn Tennis Player". Hartley had played squash rackets at Harrow and then gone on to play rackets at Oxford University and represent the university at real tennis⁴⁸³. Commenting on the nature of play at Wimbledon in 1879 and 1880, the champion had this to say:

"The play then was much more moulded upon real tennis than it is now. There was much careful play off the ground and placing of the ball.....In 1880 I defended the cup against Lawford who had won the All-ComersWe both played almost entirely off the ground. This was not, as it has been said, because we could not volley.....It was because we thought it the safest game, having in our minds as I said before real tennis, chaces on the floor and so on"⁴⁸⁴.

Prince's club offered both rackets and real tennis facilities and in London it was relatively easy to make the transition⁴⁸⁵.

Herbert played competitive soccer before he took up lawn tennis and then took to golf after his retirement from the tennis tournament circuit in 1890. He played competitive sports for most of his adult life, adding Curling on Deeside to his fixture list on removal to Scotland in 1909⁴⁸⁶.

Soccer

There may have been little in the way of press reports for Herbert's rowing activities, as he avoided the limelight of regattas, but from 1874 sporting journals provided quite regular reports of his participation in matches for Barnes FC, a football association club. In January 1874, "Lawford (forward)" was reported to have been in good form for Barnes against the 1st Surrey Rifles in Camberwell as his team prevailed by one goal to nil⁴⁸⁷. In March "H.F. Lawford" put in an appearance at the Barnes grounds for the club open sports day and ran in Heat 5 of the hundred yards handicap, losing out to two members of Blackheath FC⁴⁸⁸. When possible, the club timed their sports to coincide with the Oxford & Cambridge boat race to ensure a good attendance of spectators on the banks of the Thames, even though this might

⁴⁸¹ Field 9/5/1874 p.462

⁴⁸² Field 18/6/1874 p.588

⁴⁸³ Obituary in the Times 28/8/1935 p.12 & interview Yorkshire Evening Post 16/11/1933 p.8 (Squash)

⁴⁸⁴ *The Complete Lawn Tennis Player*, p.14

⁴⁸⁵ Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic News 21/9/1918 p.82. "The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the Duke of Connaught were members of Prince's from an early date and they played rackets and tennis there on occasions."

⁴⁸⁶ Aberdeen Journal 18/11/1909 p.8 & 30/11/1909 p.10. HFL was described as "skip" (ie. skipper, or captain) in the reports which indicates he was an experienced player. Quite a number of Royal Wimbledon golfers were members of the Wimbledon Curling Club in 1895 (Surrey Comet 9/2/1895 p.7) and he may have acquired his skills down south.

⁴⁸⁷ The Field 31/1/1874 p.110 BNA

⁴⁸⁸ Bell's Life 4/4/174 p.9

mean – as in 1874 - the audience had to brave a cold, windy afternoon (spirits possibly lifted by the music of the band of the esteemed Corps of Commissionaires). Herbert's second reported match for Barnes came in November, against Pilgrims⁴⁸⁹, and then in 1875 his representative games became more frequent. He played against South Norwood in January 1875⁴⁹⁰ and then Crystal Palace in February⁴⁹¹. In all four matches the team captain was one Charles J. Morice, a stockbroker of Herbert's age, and for the Crystal Palace match they were joined by Arthur J. Stanley, another stockbroker, destined for the tennis circuit and friendship with the Renshaw twins. Arthur Stanley's brother Charles was recorded as playing that same day for Clapham Rovers (versus Woolwich)⁴⁹² and Arthur at least appears to have been a member of both clubs⁴⁹³. Later – from 1878 - Arthur was to play primarily for Clapham Rovers and he was a forward in the teams that contested the FA cup finals of 1879 and 1880, going down to Old Etonians in 1879⁴⁹⁴ and then triumphing over Oxford University in 1880⁴⁹⁵. Charles Stanley was to become senior partner of the stockbroking firm of his name and in 1889 he converted sporting links with Herbert into a family relationship by marrying his sister Evelyn⁴⁹⁶.

Both Morice and the Stanleys were known to Herbert from his schooldays. Morice had been an almost exact contemporary at Windlesham House School – both left in 1865⁴⁹⁷ – and the Stanleys overlapped with Herbert at Repton for his last two years⁴⁹⁸. Windlesham had just forty pupils so Herbert and Morice would have been intimately acquainted whether they liked it or not⁴⁹⁹. Repton was small by public school standards and had some two hundred pupils at the time⁵⁰⁰, few enough for Herbert to know everyone close to his age. The Stanleys were accommodated in a different house to Herbert but he was just a year older than Charles and sport may well have brought them together (amongst the throng of diligent classicists destined for the priesthood). Morice went on from Windlesham to Harrow and there would have been joined to their band of sporting brothers although he stayed only two years⁵⁰¹. Another footballer who played for Barnes with Herbert was destined to take a first bow at Wimbledon with him in 1878 – A.A. Hadow⁵⁰². Alexander Hadow, a Harrovian who had won the public schools' rackets competitions of 1871 and 1872⁵⁰³, was first reported in the Barnes team with Herbert in the autumn of 1875, and lastly in January 1877⁵⁰⁴. His experience at Wimbledon was to lose in the second round to Arthur Myers and then watch his younger brother Patrick brush aside his conqueror in straight sets, defeat Erskine and then topple Spencer Gore in the Challenge Round to become the second Wimbledon champion – all without dropping a set⁵⁰⁵. However, neither brother played in the championships again, Patrick departing to employment

⁴⁸⁹ Field 5/12/1874 p.612

⁴⁹⁰ Bell's Life 16/1/1875 p.9

⁴⁹¹ Bell's Life 20/2/1875 p.5

⁴⁹² Bell's Life 20/2/1875 p.5 column 5

⁴⁹³ Bell's Life 20/1/1877 p.9 – AJS played for Barnes against Clapham Rovers.

⁴⁹⁴ Bell's Life 5/4/1879 p.4

⁴⁹⁵ The Sportsman 12/4/1880 p.4 BNA

⁴⁹⁶ Marriage register, Christchurch Paddington 22/8/1889

⁴⁹⁷ Dr Tom Houston, MA DPhil FCIM, historian to Windlesham House School: Emails 3/11/2009 (HFL) & 30/6/2017 (CJM) – both attended from 1863 to 1865.

⁴⁹⁸ Repton School register 1557 – 1910, Dec. 1910: HFL (Sept 1865 to April 1868), AJS (Jan 1866 to Dec 1871), CHS (Jan 1866 to April 1870)

⁴⁹⁹ Email from Tom Houston dated 29/6/2013

⁵⁰⁰ "A short history of Repton", A. Macdonald, Ernest Benn 1929, p.179 (re. 1866)

⁵⁰¹ Harrow register for CJM, entry May 1865

⁵⁰² AELTC website 2017, www.wimbledon.com, Players, Archive

⁵⁰³ Harrow register for AAH, entry Sept 1866

⁵⁰⁴ Sporting Life 3/11/1875 p.1 & Bell's Life 20/1/1877 p.9 (Field searched for AAH to 1880)

⁵⁰⁵ "The Tennis Players", T. Todd, Vallancey 1979, p.220

overseas. Alexander may have abandoned tournament tennis but he maintained a professional link to the Barnes footballers by becoming a member of the stock exchange in 1882⁵⁰⁶ and the indications are that he was a family friend of the Surrey Lawfords⁵⁰⁷.

Altogether Herbert featured in some five match reports for Barnes in 1875⁵⁰⁸ and one for Clapham Rovers (against the Royal Engineers)⁵⁰⁹. He appears to have played regularly for Barnes for the next two years and by 1877 he was reported to be a first choice member of the club's back four⁵¹⁰, although he was missing from the teams that played Great Marlow and Wanderers in the FA Cup of 1877/78⁵¹¹. Matches were played mainly on Saturdays. Barnes competed in the first FA Cup competition of 1871/72, losing to Hampstead Heathens⁵¹², and four years later they lost to Reigate Priory in the first round with Morice, Hadow and Lawford all playing⁵¹³. In the autumn of 1878 Herbert appeared in two FA cup matches against Maidenhead, playing as a back with Charles Stanley in the first⁵¹⁴, and he helped carry Barnes through to a third round tie with Oxford University⁵¹⁵. However, his match play seems to have been tailing off by this time and his only identified club match in 1879 is a fixture against Pilgrims in October⁵¹⁶. His next and probably last reported football match was playing for the stock exchange in its first contest against Lloyds Insurance in 1880⁵¹⁷. The football season ran roughly from October through to the end of March⁵¹⁸, and therefore could have dovetailed with the tennis season, but it seems that Herbert's representative play for Barnes FC came to an end as his involvement in competitive lawn tennis expanded.

The Lloyds match in February 1880 was organised to raise funds for the victims of the Tay Bridge disaster and followed a Rugby Union fixture between the two City bodies two weeks earlier. Nearly half the stock exchange team had links to Barnes FC – Herbert, Arthur Stanley, Charles and William Morice, and Vincent Weston⁵¹⁹ – and this may explain in part how Herbert came to join the Thames-side club rather than a more local club such as Reigate Priory. Charles Morice and Vincent's brother Percy Weston both played for England against Scotland in 1872⁵²⁰ and the club enjoyed high standing. Apart from the quality of its players,

⁵⁰⁶ AAH's admission form to LSE for 1882, "passed" 13/3/1882 ACU

⁵⁰⁷ For example: in 1885 he performed in amateur theatricals in Thames Ditton with stockbroker Edgar Charles Lawford with a variety of other Lawfords assisting & in attendance (Surrey Comet 21/2/1885 p.5) (ECL per Lawford Record 2008 p.50). His business address in 1882 was 3 Drapers' Gardens, like HFL.

⁵⁰⁸ South Norwood BL 16/1/1875 p9, Crystal Palace BL 20/2 p5, Pilgrims SL 20/10 p1, Reigate Priory SL 3/11 p1, South Norwood Field 27/11/1875 p.610 (BL = Bell's Life, SL = Sporting Life)

⁵⁰⁹ Bell's Life 4/12/1875 p9

⁵¹⁰ The Sportsman 27/2/1877 p.4: Barnes v. Old Harrovians – "Neither side was playing its full strength back, as Lawford and Vigne were absent from the ranks of Barnes, and Betts and Welch from those of the Harrovians". Old Harrovian Morice captained Barnes, with the two Stanleys in his side, while A.A. Hadow captained Old Harrovians with Windlesham old boy George Macan (1862 – 1866) in his team.

⁵¹¹ Great Marlow – Buck's Herald 22/12/1877 p.8; Wanderers 1st match – Sheffield Daily Telegraph 14/1/1878 p.4, replay Nottinghamshire Guardian 1/2/1878 p.4

⁵¹² Bell's Life 13/1/1872 p.5

⁵¹³ Sporting Life 3/11/1875 p.1

⁵¹⁴ Sporting Life 23/10/1878 p.1 & 13/11/1878 p.1

⁵¹⁵ Sporting Life 5/2/1879 p.1. In 1876 HFL appears to have made a sole appearance for the famous Wanderers with A.J. Stanley also in the team; the match was against the Civil Service and Wanderers won 7-0 (Daily News 2/11/1876 p.3)

⁵¹⁶ Field 25/10/1879 p.568 BNA

⁵¹⁷ "The House on Sport", 1898, p.147. The 1880 match is described as the first of many between the LSE and Lloyds.

⁵¹⁸ Programmes in Field: for Wanderers 11/10/1879 p.491, for Barnes 25/10/1879 p.567. Also Morning Post 19/10/1876 p. 3 & Bell's Life 5/4/1879 p.4.

⁵¹⁹ Morning Post 19/2/1880 p.3

⁵²⁰ CJM: Glasgow Herald 16/11/1872 p.5; PW Glasgow Herald 26/2/1872 p.5.

Barnes had a high profile within the London sporting community by virtue of its founder and prime mover Ebenezer Morley; it was one of the original eleven Football Association clubs. Morley was born in Hull and trained there as a solicitor before his family moved to Chelsea in the 1850's⁵²¹. He was rowing in the Barnes & Mortlake regatta by 1858⁵²² and had joined London Rowing Club – with its headquarters in Putney - by July 1860⁵²³. His soccer activities came to be based in Barnes and in 1862 he founded Barnes Football Club. Finding that there was no common agreement on the rules of football, a year later he instigated a meeting of “metropolitan and suburban” clubs with the aim of forming an association of clubs playing under a uniform body of rules, and the Football Association was born⁵²⁴. Morley was appointed first secretary to the FA and he drafted the first code of rules, which were tested in a match between Barnes and Richmond in Barnes on 19th December 1863⁵²⁵. His term as secretary lasted from 1863 to 1866 and he then became the second president, holding the office for seven years which saw the introduction of the FA Cup competition in 1871⁵²⁶. It fell to him to make the first presentation of the cup in 1872 to the Wanderers.

Morley can justly be called the father of the FA. Another man who felt he played a parental role in the development of soccer was of course Herbert's headmaster at Windlesham House School, Henry Charles Malden. The Cambridge Football Rules were drawn up in Malden's rooms at Cambridge in 1848 and these were considered by Malden (at least) to have formed the basis for the Association Rules some fifteen years later⁵²⁷. Herbert arrived at Windlesham in 1863 and it seems quite likely that he and Charles Morice were introduced to the FA rules by their headmaster.

Golf

Nicholas Lane Jackson founded *Pastime* magazine in 1883⁵²⁸ and was its proprietor and editor⁵²⁹. He was one of the first sports journalists, having established himself in this new profession by the early 1880's⁵³⁰, but he also had a finger in many sporting pies as an administrator and manager. In association football he founded Finchley FC in the 1870's and played as captain in club matches in the latter part of the decade⁵³¹ (without notable success – it was his fate to participate in many sports and excel at none⁵³²); he became a committee member of the Football Association in 1880⁵³³, acted as assistant honorary secretary in

⁵²¹ ODNB for ECM April 2017. Also Census for Morley family 1851 & 1861; “London Royal Blue Book” directory 1860.

⁵²² The Era 11/7/1858 p.15

⁵²³ Bell's Life 26/8/1860 p.6 BNA

⁵²⁴ Website of the FA, April 2017. Supplement to Bell's Life in London 31/10/1863 p.2.

⁵²⁵ Website of the FA, April 2017

⁵²⁶ ODNB for ECM April 2017. Bell's Life 28/10/1871 p.4: general meeting of FA with ECM in the chair – approves rules, gives draw for first round.

⁵²⁷ See Chapter 3, page 1 above

⁵²⁸ ODNB on NLJ Dec. 2017

⁵²⁹ Times obituary 26/10/1937 p.16; Pastime had been bought by The Field by 1937.

⁵³⁰ The Athletic News 4/10/1882 p.7 announced that NLJ, with HM Oliver as joint-editor, had launched a new publication called “The Athlete's Guide”.

⁵³¹ In The Field 3/11/1877 p.529 (report of match on 27 Oct) - Finchley is described as “a new Association club”. See also Finchley Petrels v. St Albans, *Sportsman* 6/11/1877 p.3. Given NLJ's participation in London's association football matches, it might have been expected that HFL's *Pastime* profile in 1886 would make reference to his games for Barnes. However, if NLJ arrived late in 1877 and HFL wound down his participation in 1878 it may just be that their paths never crossed.

⁵³² Times obituary 26/10/1937 p.16 TDA

⁵³³ Sporting Life 28/8/1880 p.4 BNA

1881⁵³⁴ and then became the secretary of the newly formed London FA in 1882⁵³⁵; he founded the famous Corinthians Football Club in 1882⁵³⁶. At lawn tennis, he was unknown as a tournament competitor but followed the game closely and by the late 1880's was an authority on players' form and consulted on handicapping; he acted as referee at tournaments all over the country and was said to have played a part in the formation of the Lawn Tennis Association in the late 1880's⁵³⁷. As a young man he also participated in rowing, athletics and boxing, and then as the years took their toll he gravitated towards golf⁵³⁸. In the words of his *Times* obituarist, he was a notable figure in association football, lawn tennis, boxing and golf and by the time of his death in 1937 "he had met and associated on close terms of intimacy with nearly all the giants of the sporting past". He knew all the leading lights in his chosen sports and as he was much the same age as Herbert, and a Londoner, he would have observed the lawn tennis pioneer's career as it unfolded.

In August 1893 in an interview by the *Westminster Gazette*⁵³⁹, when commenting on the state of lawn tennis and some of its erstwhile stars Jackson offered a first report on Herbert's progress with his new sport of golf:

"[William Renshaw] took up golf originally at a time when a strained arm prevented him from playing lawn tennis. Lawford, too, is another great golf-player now. With characteristic perversity he exactly reverses all the established principles of style, but in spite of this he has already acquired a position quite in the front rank among exponents of the game."⁵⁴⁰

Jackson was generous in classifying Herbert in "the front rank" of golfers as early as 1893 but he was playing to a club handicap of 5 by March 1894⁵⁴¹ and reduced this to scratch in later years. Elected to membership of the Royal Wimbledon Golf Club in January 1894⁵⁴² he threw himself into the fray of competition and quickly made his presence felt. In March 1894 he came fourth in the club handicap medal competition⁵⁴³ and later in the year he won the annual *Silver Shield* match play tournament, played off handicap⁵⁴⁴. The head to head nature of match play and the pressures of a knockout format would have particularly appealed to him and he won the shield twice more in 1901 and 1902, by which time his handicap would have been around 1⁵⁴⁵. Other Royal Wimbledon trophies that came his way were the *Club Spring Gold Medal* in 1907 (played off handicap when he was on 2) and the *Henry Lamb Medal* in 1908 for the four best scratch scores in the spring and autumn meetings (he scored 78+87+79+80=324)⁵⁴⁶.

⁵³⁴ Sporting Life 1/9/1881 p.3

⁵³⁵ Sporting Life 21/9/1882 p.4

⁵³⁶ Times obituary 26/10/1937 p.16

⁵³⁷ Times obituary 26/10/1937 p.16; also Cheltenham Chronicle (supplement) 8/6/1889, Hill libel case

⁵³⁸ According to the Times he "became a fair player" (26/10/1937 p.16)

⁵³⁹ Freeman's Journal 12/8/1893 p.6 & Aberdeen Journal 23/8/1893 p.2

⁵⁴⁰ In the Bystander of 15/9/1909 p.564 Ernest Lehman reported that "years ago" HFL used a putter "shaped like an inverted capital T" and putted from between his feet.

⁵⁴¹ London Standard 2/4/1894 p.6

⁵⁴² 2nd email from Facilities Manager, Royal Wimbledon Golf Club on 24/1/2017

⁵⁴³ London Standard 2/4/1894 p.6

⁵⁴⁴ RWGC competition history sheets, per 1st email from Facilities Manager on 24/1/2017.

⁵⁴⁵ Reported handicaps for HFL were: 1898 - 1 (Daily Telegraph 30/5/1898 p.4 etc); 1904 - scratch (Daily News 23/5/1904 p.11 etc); 1905 - 2 (Illustrated Sporting News 20/5/1905 p.446).

⁵⁴⁶ RWGC competition history sheets

Newspaper reports mention that he played in Royal Wimbledon's team of ten against London Scottish GC in 1897 and 1904⁵⁴⁷ and recorded his participation in various tournaments off the Wimbledon patch. At Prince's Club at Mitcham in 1897 he came second in the club handicap and won the medal for the best scratch score⁵⁴⁸; at Raynes Park GC's summer meeting of 1898 he came 5th playing off a handicap of 1⁵⁴⁹; and from 1900 to 1908 he played regularly in the Royal St George's Whitsuntide meeting at Sandwich with a scratch handicap⁵⁵⁰, his best reported outcome being in 1902 when he reached the last eight and lost to the eventual winner (match play format)⁵⁵¹. Like a good number of other Royal Wimbledon members he had joined The Royal St George's GC, Sandwich in 1898, adding membership of a coastal links club to that of his land-bound course⁵⁵². Surprising to relate, given his single-sex track record at lawn tennis, he played in the Montrose Ladies' Club mixed couple competition in Scotland in August 1897⁵⁵³.

Montrose was some twenty-six miles north of Dundee, on the east coast, and was local to Herbert's shooting residence in 1897. Herbert was shooting tenant of Lauriston Castle, St Cyrus at the time and his choice of tenancy may have been influenced by the proximity of a fine golf course⁵⁵⁴. In its report of the event the *Dundee Courier* gave him the billing "well-known as a player on Wimbledon Common" and listed Lauriston Castle as his address. Miss Millar of Rossie Castle was his partner – they had castles in common – but their combination was brief as they lost in the first round⁵⁵⁵. Herbert's involvement in the competition would have been more a feature of his social links with the people of Montrose, and the Millar family in particular, than part of his programme of competitive golf. The mixed event formed part of the Ladies' Club's annual tournament, played out over a week, and at least six different Millars – two males, four females⁵⁵⁶ - put club to ball for the different events and Mr Robert H Millar masterminded arrangements as club secretary⁵⁵⁷. Earlier, in mid July, Herbert & Edith and a party from Lauriston Castle were guests at a garden party at Edward Millar's Rossie Castle⁵⁵⁸, and their presence was requested for the regimental ball of the Fife and Forfar Light Horse in Montrose a few days later (Millars to the fore once again)⁵⁵⁹.

Herbert occupied a place amongst Royal Wimbledon's leading players and the club itself was ranked as one of England's leading clubs at the time he joined – the *Royal* derived

⁵⁴⁷ Morning Post 26/11/1897 p.2 & Daily News 18/4/1904 p.11. The matches were 10 a side: HFL seems to have ranked 4 in 1897 and 6 in 1904. Family friend AJ Stanley also played for RWGC in 1904, at 8.

⁵⁴⁸ Morning Post 14/6/1897 p.3

⁵⁴⁹ Surrey Comet 23/7/1898 p.2

⁵⁵⁰ 1900: Field 9/6/1900 p.814; 1908: Field 13/6/1908 p.984 etc. These were members-only tournaments.

⁵⁵¹ Field 24/5/1902 p.796

⁵⁵² Email 15/10/2019 from TJC, Secretary of the Royal St George's Golf Club. The Sandwich club was actually founded by Royal Wimbledon members in 1887.

⁵⁵³ Dundee Courier 25/8/1897 p.7

⁵⁵⁴ Field 12/6/1897 p.889. Re. golf course: see Dover Express 17/7/1896 p.6 & Dundee Advertiser 23/9/1898 p.8 –DS Porteous of Lauriston was a member of Montrose Royal Albert Golf Club.

⁵⁵⁵ Dundee Courier 25/8/1897 p.7 & 26/8/1897 p.7. Unlike the Courier, the Dundee Advertiser (25/8/1897 p.3) showed Mrs RH Millar as HFL's partner, and she was a senior figure in the club. However, she played off a handicap of 14 and as HFL and partner were given a scratch handicap in the competition, his partner was more likely to be Rosie Millar, a cousin of Mr RH Millar handicapped at 6 for the ladies singles. The Courier also supplied the addresses of the competitors, gave more detail.

⁵⁵⁶ Dundee Courier 25/8 (p.7) (RCHM, Miss KLHM, Miss Rosie M), 26/8 (p.7) (Mrs RHM), & 27/8/1897 (p.3) (Miss Louise M & EWM)

⁵⁵⁷ Dundee Courier 31/8/1897 p.6

⁵⁵⁸ Dundee Advertiser 19/7/1897 p.3. Descriptions of the ladies' outfits were included in the report, including those of Edith, Mrs and the Misses Millar - "Mrs Lawford, Lauriston Castle, wore a purple cloth costume with folded band of black satin and smart hat, massed heliotrope and purple flowers."

⁵⁵⁹ Dundee Courier 22/7/1897 p.6 BNA

from the Prince of Wales' gracious standing as patron⁵⁶⁰. The *Dundee Courier* was prepared to declare in 1882 that "What St Andrews Golf Club is to a Scotchman so is the Wimbledon Golf Club now to Englishmen"⁵⁶¹ and the *Glasgow Herald* in 1888 bestowed the accolade of *Best in London* on the Royal Wimbledon⁵⁶²; in golfing matters the judgment of Scotsmen is paramount and their journalists then were closest to the horse's mouth. The club was popular, and reported to have a long waiting list for members⁵⁶³, and as Herbert achieved a single-figure handicap directly after joining it seems likely that he served his golfing apprenticeship elsewhere (- perhaps at Prince's at Mitcham which opened in May 1892⁵⁶⁴). The club's circumstances nevertheless were unusual: it shared its course with another club, the course was public property and play was only permitted on three days of the week⁵⁶⁵ – there were sound reasons for Herbert to divide his loyalties even though the Royal Wimbledon clubhouse was just two doors down from Kinellan⁵⁶⁶.

London Scottish Golf Club was born on Wimbledon Common in 1865, a time described as pre-historic for English golf clubs⁵⁶⁷. It prospered and grew, drawing its members primarily from the London Scottish Rifle Volunteers, but over time disagreement arose between civilian and military members over various matters and in 1882 the civilians broke away to form their own club, the Royal Wimbledon⁵⁶⁸. The new club continued to use the same course as London Scottish but acquired *Camp Cottage* in Camp Road as its own clubhouse and so became near neighbour to the Lawfords⁵⁶⁹. The two clubs co-existed amicably, each maintaining nine holes of the course, and then in 1907 Royal Wimbledon took the step of developing its own course on land leased nearby from Warren Farm⁵⁷⁰. It must have been close to this time that a green and bunkers were sited just past the boundary of Herbert's garden and stray balls would have begun to find a resting place in his vegetable patch⁵⁷¹. This, though, would have been of limited concern to the residents of Kinellan who were just a few years away from relocating to Aboyne.

In 1909 Herbert made his move north and transferred his allegiance to Aboyne Golf Club, a young club on Royal Deeside which had graduated from nine to eighteen holes just a year before⁵⁷². The course was well patronised by the local gentry and in a speech at the opening ceremony for the extension Lord Aberdeen waxed lyrical⁵⁷³:

“....Aboyne - this delightful locality, where with beautiful scenery, a noble river and splendid air, there is everything to delight and attract. Truly it is a gem of a place and the

⁵⁶⁰ RWGC website 23/1/2017

⁵⁶¹ Dundee Courier 15/11/1882 p.2

⁵⁶² Glasgow Herald 10/12/1888 p.4

⁵⁶³ Penny Illustrated 2/11/1889 p.359, Pall Mall Gazette 25/1/1890 p.20 etc.

⁵⁶⁴ Sporting Life 14/5/1892 p.7. AJ Balfour MP was president of the club, which was an offshoot of Prince's of Knightsbridge.

⁵⁶⁵ Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays - Sportsman 13/2/1906 p.1; Pall Mall Gazette 25/1/1890 p.2 (which mentions that W Renshaw is also a member). See also RWGC website 23/1/2017 etc .

⁵⁶⁶ Map by John Bartholomew & Co, 1917 "Wimbledon and Summerstown"

⁵⁶⁷ Sportsman 13/2/1906 p.1

⁵⁶⁸ London Scottish GC website January 2018. One newspaper correspondent attributed the schism to disagreement over the powers of Lord Elcho, colonel of the volunteer regiment (Scotsman 16/2/1884 p.6 [Luffness Links] & see Lake's Falmouth Packet 2/12/1882 p.2)

⁵⁶⁹ RWGC website January 2017; Census 1881 for Frank R Mallleson, Bartholomew map 1917.

⁵⁷⁰ RWGC website January 2017, Sportsman 13/2/1906 p.1

⁵⁷¹ Aerial photo c.1923 & Bartholomew map 1917.

⁵⁷² Aberdeen Daily Journal 25/9/1908 p.4.

⁵⁷³ Aberdeen Daily Journal 25/9/1908 p.6

setting has been completed by the provision of a most picturesque and admirable golf course...”.

The course was situated around Loch Aboyne and near the hill of Mortlich, with a spectacular view up the valley over the grounds of Aboyne Castle⁵⁷⁴. Natural features included grazing black-faced sheep who apparently were often hit by golf-balls and whose droppings were a natural hazard, but when dried could be useful for practice swings (according to the local St John family)⁵⁷⁵. After the war there was royal endorsement of the course when the Prince of Wales and Duke of Gloucester played some rounds while staying at Balmoral - Gloucester was reported to have enjoyed himself and “expressed his satisfaction with the course”⁵⁷⁶.

The Lawford males were soon striding the fairways and Acland was the first to win silver. Playing off a handicap of twelve in August 1910 he tied with the vice-president of the club to share the Ex-Captain’s Cup⁵⁷⁷. The following year Herbert was runner-up in the same competition, playing off four⁵⁷⁸, and he demonstrated his rapid assimilation into Deeside golfing society by playing for the club in two matches⁵⁷⁹ and finishing amongst the leaders in two further club competitions⁵⁸⁰. He distinguished himself in a club competition again in 1912, picking up a prize at the age of sixty-one⁵⁸¹, but in 1913 Edith’s illness would have blunted his appetite for competitive sport and thereafter performance would have declined with age. In his will of 1922 he left his golfing “gear” to his brother Sydney, along with his shooting gear, and we may assume that he continued to swing his clubs into the twenties.

Shooting

Consistency in choice and action was second nature to Herbert. During his career he worked for just one firm of stockbrokers and he lived at Kinellan in Wimbledon for twenty-five years after the death of his father in 1884. In lawn tennis he played in the Wimbledon men’s singles event every year for twelve years starting in 1878⁵⁸² and in the Irish Championships he competed in the men’s singles ten years running from 1880⁵⁸³ (prompting praise from an Irish journalist for “a record which neither Englishman nor native has nearly approached” and the compliment “*ipsis hibernis hiberniores*” – *more Irish than the Irish themselves*⁵⁸⁴). At golf his handicap in competitions reported between 1894 and 1911 varied just between 5 and 0⁵⁸⁵. And for shooting he could announce publicly at Lauriston Castle, near Montrose in September 1900 that he could now say that he had visited Scotland for thirty autumns, which was almost every year since he had left university⁵⁸⁶. (Let it not be said that he was just a creature of habit but familiarity does seem to have appealed to him.) The audience for his declaration of loyalty

⁵⁷⁴ “A Tale of Two Rivers”, Michael St John, Bushmain 1989, p.132

⁵⁷⁵ Michael St John, Ch.XI, “Golf” p.135. MStJ, born in 1915, was playing the course by 1925 (p.138)

⁵⁷⁶ Aberdeen Press and Journal 29/8/1930 p.7 & 6/9/1930 p.5. Gloucester played a round first on 28/8 and then made a second visit on 5/9 with the Prince. “The Prince played an excellent game, hitting a long and straight ball. He practically drove the green at the first hole, which measures 210 yards.”

⁵⁷⁷ Aberdeen Daily Journal 9/8/1910 p.8 BNA

⁵⁷⁸ Aberdeen Daily Journal 10/8/1911 p.8

⁵⁷⁹ Aberdeen Daily Journal 31/7/1911 p.8 & 10/8/1911 p.8

⁵⁸⁰ Aberdeen Daily Journal 30/8/1911 p.8 (Captain’s) & 9/10/1911 p.8 (Autumn meeting)

⁵⁸¹ Aberdeen Daily Journal 9/6/1913 p.9 & 23/8/1912 p.7

⁵⁸² “Wimbledon – Gentlemen’s Singles Champions 1877 – 2005”, Wimbledon LT Museum, 2006 p.11

⁵⁸³ See Appendix 1 to this chapter

⁵⁸⁴ Freeman’s Journal 21/5/1889 p.6.

⁵⁸⁵ The Standard 2/4/1894 p.6 (5), Daily News 23/5/1904 p.11 (scratch), Aberdeen Daily Journal 9/10/1911 p.8 (4) etc.

⁵⁸⁶ Aberdeen Weekly Journal 19/9/1900 p.10 – under the heading “Entertainment at Lauriston Castle”.

to Scotland and its wildlife was a gathering of his servants and their friends for a party at Lauriston Castle – forty or so guests entertained to supper followed by “loyal and patriotic toasts” and then dancing. Mr Brown, the butler presided, Herbert’s Wimbledon coachman acted as “croupier” (assistant to the chairman⁵⁸⁷) and Mr Rae - a forester - provided the music. Judging by Herbert’s reported comments after the toasts, the party was held as an expression of Herbert’s gratitude to his staff after another fruitful shooting stay at the Castle, but it may also have been in celebration of the marriage of Edith’s sister Louisa, who took her vows in Montrose at St Mary’s church under the supervision of her Uncle Edward Gillet some days later⁵⁸⁸.

The *Pastime* profile of 1886 described Herbert as “a capital shot” who indulged his love for shooting every autumn, and it related an account from *The Field* some years earlier of his prowess in downing grouse “in a bad season for birds” (“he brought down over 100 brace to his own gun on the first two days”)⁵⁸⁹. Grouse seem to have been a regular target but his shooting was for a mixed bag. On one August day at Lauriston in 1900 he and his party killed grouse, snipe and hares⁵⁹⁰ and the estate was said to be well stocked with pheasant and partridge⁵⁹¹ (both out of season at the time). In Forfarshire on the moors in September 1887 he bagged partridge and some hares⁵⁹²; at Pitfour, Aberdeenshire, taken by “Mr Lawford and Mr Wrench” in 1889, the estate offered a particularly wide range of game - grouse, partridge, pheasant, woodcock, snipe, duck, hares and deer⁵⁹³; Cromarty House in 1890 provided 7,500 acres of “excellent wildfowl shooting in winter” (goose and duck) and probably an opportunity for woodpigeon as well⁵⁹⁴, although in October that year Herbert shot partridge, rabbit and hares⁵⁹⁵; and on Laghead Moor, south-west of Dumfries on the Cally estate, Herbert and a teenage Acland suffered “disagreeable weather” in pursuit of grouse and snipe in August 1904⁵⁹⁶. After the early nineties Lauriston Castle became his most regular tenancy and he was

⁵⁸⁷ New Oxford Dictionary 1998: “**croupier** - noun....2 *historical* the assistant chairman at a public dinner, seated at the lower end of the table”. This seems to be an old Scottish use of the word.

⁵⁸⁸ Morning Post 29/9/1900 p.1. The marriage took place on 19/9/1900. Gillett was uncle by marriage to Louisa’s aunt Catherine, née Scott. Anna Scott of Brotherton was patroness of St Mary’s and was responsible for the appointment of the rector (Dundee Courier 17/9/1898 p.4).

⁵⁸⁹ Pastime 9/6/1886 p.391.

⁵⁹⁰ Dundee Courier 15/8/1900 p.6. Mr Lawford “(3 guns) killed on Garvock Hill 19½ brace grouse, 2 brace snipe, and 9 hares. The birds generally rose wild.”

⁵⁹¹ Dover Express 17/7/1896 p.6. The present owner of Lauriston – William Newlands of Lauriston – stated in 2013 that “there are still numerous pheasants on the estate and until recently a few coveys of grey partridges” (email dated 31/10/2013).

⁵⁹² Scotsman 26/9/1887 p.5 BNA

⁵⁹³ Aberdeen Evening Express 21/6/1889 p.3 – “Pitfour mansion house” was close to Mintlaw village. Mr Wrench was possibly Frederick Stringer Wrench, a contemporary of HFL who was a close friend of tennis-playing Sir Victor Brooke (Wimbledon 1879 & 1880). FSW was a Draper and his obituary in 1926 listed shooting amongst his hobbies (Ballymena Weekly Telegraph 19/6/1926 p.5). The Wrenches were a City family and members of the Drapers’ Livery company; they had intermarried with the Lawfords and the families were close (see “A History of the Wrench Family”, by Peter Y. Wrench 1991, p.6, 12, 13 etc).

⁵⁹⁴ Inverness Courier 27/5/1890 p.6. The report refers just to “Mr Lawford” but Field 18/10/1890 p.595 gives “Herbert”. HFL was reported to have been fishing in Inverness-shire earlier in the month (Sheffield Daily Telegraph 8/5/1890 p.8) and the short description of an estate he provides in the first paragraph of his “House on Sport” article on Shooting woodpigeon (p.401) is consistent with the Cromarty estate – “...some 7,000 acres of land, moor and arable....in the centre, round the house, about seven hundred acres of woods.” Edith’s uncle was minister of Cromarty – see page 39 above.

⁵⁹⁵ Field 18/10/1890 p.595

⁵⁹⁶ Scotsman 15/8/1904 p.7 & Field 20/8/1904 p.348

reported to have visited for almost fifteen years in a row before he acquired Drumnagesk House in 1909⁵⁹⁷ and needed to rent no more.

The Lauriston estate was owned by the Porteous family who had acquired the property in 1849 with wealth accumulated running breweries in the Perth area and trading in Bengal⁵⁹⁸. Under their ownership the landholdings were extended and the farms modernised; the castle was renovated and enlarged and the gardens were landscaped so that the whole conformed to the model of a wealthy merchant's country residence - castle extended in fashionable Italianate style and girt by extravagantly styled grounds complete with picturesque paths, tortuous streams and rugged bridges⁵⁹⁹. The ornamental features might have been of interest to Edith Lawford - likewise the modern, extensive accommodation which ran to over twenty-five rooms - but for Herbert the priority would have been the shooting, said to be over 5,000 acres of which 4,000 was arable land and the rest woodland and moor⁶⁰⁰. Montrose's Royal Albert Golf Club nearby may also have been of interest and we know that estate owner David Porteous⁶⁰¹ was himself a member and in 1898 organised the admission of a shooting tenant by the name of Slazenger⁶⁰², who was evidently Captain Ralph Slazenger, founder and senior partner of the sports equipment manufacturer of the same name⁶⁰³. Slazengers were selling a racket with the persuasive name *Lawford* at this time and perhaps a business relationship spilled over onto the moors⁶⁰⁴.

Earlier in this chapter reference has been made to Herbert's essay on lawn tennis in the Stock Exchange's charity volume of 1898⁶⁰⁵ and he made a further contribution to the work by writing a section on shooting. It is revealing of the man and his sport but his chosen subject was *Wood-Pigeon* and he made no more than passing reference at most to his more commonly reported targets of grouse, partridge, snipe and pheasant – he deals with just one speciality⁶⁰⁶. There were three sections on Shooting in the book and three authors: the first two stockbrokers covered pheasant and partridge⁶⁰⁷ – society birds – and Herbert, in his contrarian way, chose to lecture on the sport to be had from taking on the farmers' "worst enemy". He was well aware that pigeon were unfashionable and began his chapter by observing that many neglected their opportunities to shoot them "because they think the game not worth the candle or because they do not know how to set about it". In his view pigeon posed different problems and so were interesting: they could be harder to bring down than "fairly high pheasants"⁶⁰⁸ and

⁵⁹⁷ Aberdeen Daily Journal 25/10/1909 p.4

⁵⁹⁸ A short history of the property by William Newlands of Lauriston, email dated 31/10/2013. See also obituary for David Scott Porteous in Aberdeen Journal 8/8/1931 p.8.

⁵⁹⁹ Newlands' short history 31/10/2013

⁶⁰⁰ Field 12/6/1897 p.889 & Dover Express 17/7/1896 p.6. In his 2013 history Newlands refers to the extension of the land holdings to 4,000 acres in 1872. He also mentions an inventory of the castle in 1908 which records the accommodation as: dining room, drawing room, smoking room, library, business room, entrance hall and vestibule, 19 bed and dressing rooms, three bathrooms, five water closets, large kitchen, scullery and pantry, servants' hall, housekeeper's room, brushing room "and the usual offices".

⁶⁰¹ Aberdeen Press & Jnl 8/8/1931 p.8, obituary; Montrose Review 21/10/1892 p.5 (mother's funeral)

⁶⁰² Dundee Advertiser 23/9/1898 p.8 & Field 16/8/1890 p.284

⁶⁰³ Montrose Standard 18/8/1899 p.6 & Aberdeen Weekly Journal 25/10/1899 p.11; obituaries for RS in the Times 25/10/1910 p.11 & Canterbury Journal 29/10/1910 p.2 etc.

⁶⁰⁴ Northern Echo 1/5/1899 p.4 & "Friends at Court – Wimbledon and Slazenger since 1902", Simpson & King, Quiller Press 2002, p.8. Inevitably there was also a *Renshaw* advertised as well as a *Demon*.

⁶⁰⁵ Principally p.4 and p.27

⁶⁰⁶ "The House on Sport", Editor W.A. Morgan, Gale & Polden, 1898, p.401

⁶⁰⁷ "House on Sport" p.385 & p.390. "Wild-Fowling" was also included in the volume but for reasons impenetrable to the layman, the editor placed it at the end between chapters on "Walking" and "Yachting" – perhaps because the focus was on shooting from boats, one steel-hulled and called "The Ironclad".

⁶⁰⁸ "House on Sport" p.402

with a strong breeze against them they could be “as good as driven grouse”⁶⁰⁹; “where pigeons abound, a good deal of sport can be got out of them”⁶¹⁰.

In his chapter he describes, amongst other things, using decoys and shooting from a hide, and his account demonstrates his country knowledge, his willingness to dirty his hands, his practical skills, his eye for detail and his patience. His systematic hunting of pigeon called for rather more than being marshalled in butts and pulling a trigger, hip flask at the ready. Late one September when on location in pursuit of partridge, he saw a blue cloud of pigeons rise off the ground in a field and spotted the ideal location for a hide – “a sort of oasis, a few rocks with whin bushes between them and rough long grass, about twenty yards long by ten broad”⁶¹¹. He resolved to ambush his prey when conditions were favourable.

“I had not long to wait for a windy day and after breakfast I drove off for the field, armed with a dead pigeon, a fir bough or two and some soft wire. The fact of there not being a single pigeon in the field did not disappoint me, nor were there any to be seen in the sky, for I knew they had had breakfast at daybreak and had gone to digest it in the woods a mile or more away.

With my back to a rock, a whin-bush in front, and a fir bough on either side, a few minutes saw a nice hide ready for a seated gunner, and with the help of the wire I soon had my pigeon, looking life-like enough, perched on a stook about twenty-five yards from the hide with his head *upwind*. Still seeing no birds about, seated in my hide, I pulled out the newspaper and had nearly read it through when the noise of wings past my head made me drop the paper, seize the gun, and with a fluky shot bring down the pigeon; it had seen me and was hurrying off. Picking him up, wiring him and placing him on the ground this time, was the work of a moment, but my watch told me I had been forty minutes shooting one bird.

However, now I began to see black specks in the air in the distance, all coming from the same direction – the big woods – and I then knew I should be busy ere long. Each bird I shot I ran out and wired until I had a little flock of half-a-dozen, some on stooks and some on the ground, but all in about a twenty yard circle. After that I did not trouble to pick up any more, unless they lay on their backs too near the decoys, and so would be likely to scare coming birds. Towards the middle of the morning pigeons came fast enough to keep me amused, many merely swept over the field, making for other feeding grounds.....Most single birds, however, and many pairs, swooped towards the decoys; as soon as they were well within shot I rose and killed them either on the swoop, or as they turned to make off on seeing me.....

Farmers generally make their hide of stooks in a circle, with a straw roof; they wait for the birds to light on the ground near the decoys, and so make sure of their shot, often killing two or three at once, but they lose all the fun of the passing overhead birds; moreover their way shows no sort of sport. I always take care to have a couple of men at work during the time I am in hiding. They each take a separate beat, and visit every

⁶⁰⁹ “House on Sport” p.405

⁶¹⁰ “House on Sport” p.407

⁶¹¹ “House on Sport” p.405

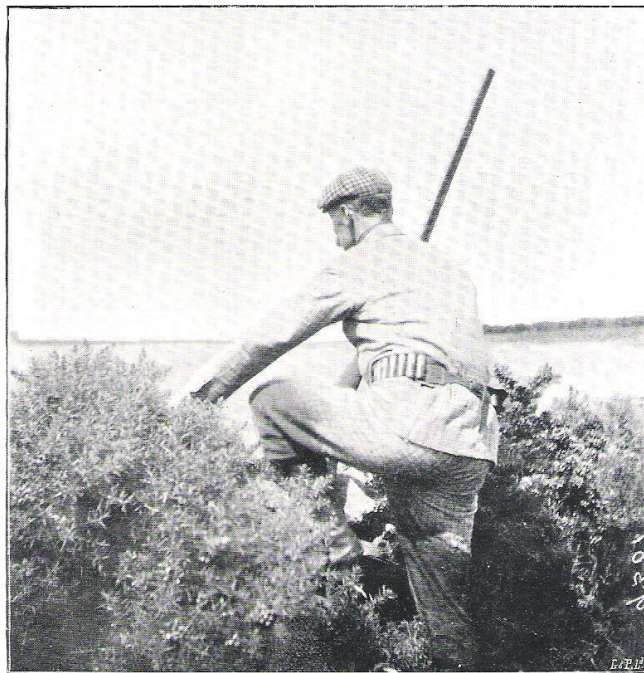
cornfield within a mile or so, so as to flush birds feeding elsewhere; they should take care to enter each field so as to drive the birds in the direction of the gun.....

After shooting about three hours and a half, I reckoned I had dropped sixty pigeons, and put up a signal for the men to return.....

The autumn I have been speaking of showed a bag of close on eight hundred pigeons; it might have been far more had I been able to devote more time to them but I was called away so much to shoot elsewhere....”⁶¹²

The image of Herbert seated in his hide, rock to his back and gorse bush to his front, scanning a copy of *The Inverness Courier* while awaiting the company of a pigeon, is an appealing one.

Nicholas Jackson referred to Herbert’s “characteristic perversity” when commenting on his golfing style in 1893⁶¹³ and he would probably have repeated the phrase if asked to comment on Herbert’s choice of photos to accompany his piece on shooting. There was just one picture – a rear view of a man climbing through a hedge, face hidden, with not a bird or dog or beater or even barley stook to be seen⁶¹⁴.



THROUGH THE HEDGE.

4.6 HFL’s illustration from “Shooting, Wood-pigeon”,
“The House on Sport”, p.404

⁶¹² “House on Sport” p.405 to 407

⁶¹³ Page 51 above

⁶¹⁴ “House on Sport” p.404

Herbert Lawford, tennis playing record 1878 to 1890

Chapter 4, APPENDIX 1

(reported participation in open tournaments, excluding handicap events)

SINGLES

Year	Wimbledon Championships (first held in 1877)	Irish Championships Dublin (first held in 1879)	Prince's Club Hans Place, London	Other London tournaments
1878	Lost in semi-final of All-Comers to Lestocq R. Erskine	N/A		
1879	Lost in first round to E. Lubbock	Did not enter		Grand National, Hendon Lost in third round to Otway E. Woodhouse
1880	Won All-Comers, beat Otway E. Woodhouse in final	Lost in second round to William Renshaw (who took the title)	Champion, beat Edgar Lubbock in final (beat W. Renshaw in 3rd round)	
	Lost in Challenge Round to John T. Hartley			
1881	Lost in semi-final of All-Comers to William Renshaw	Won All-Comers, beat R.T. Richardson in final	Lost in semi-final to William Renshaw (challenge round basis not used)	
		Lost in Challenge Round to William Renshaw		
1882	Lost in semi-final of All-Comers to Ernest Renshaw	Lost in second round to Ernest Browne	Lost in second round to Ernest Renshaw	London Athletic Club Champion, beat Otway E. Woodhouse in final
1883	Lost in first round to Ernest Renshaw	Lost in final of All-Comers to Ernest Renshaw	Champion, beat W.C Taylor in final	London Athletic Club Champion, beat E.L. Williams in final
1884	Won All-Comers, beat Charles W. Grinstead in final	Won All-Comers, beat Eyre Chatterton in final	Tournament ceased	London Athletic Club Champion, beat F.A. Bowlby in final
	Lost in Challenge Round to William Renshaw	Champion, beat Ernest Renshaw in challenge round		
1885	Won All-Comers, beat Ernest Renshaw in final	Defending champion		London Covered Court, Hyde Park Champion, beat C.H.A. Ross in final
	Lost in Challenge Round to William Renshaw	Champion, beat Ernest Renshaw in challenge round		
1886	Won All-Comers, beat Ernest W. Lewis in final	Defending champion		London Covered Court, Hyde Park Defending champion Lost in Challenge Round to E.L. Williams
	Lost in Challenge Round to William Renshaw	Champion, beat W.J. Hamilton in challenge round		
1887	Won All-Comers, beat Ernest Renshaw in final	Defending champion		Did not play London Covered Court
	Champion - no challenge round as William Renshaw did not defend	Lost in Challenge Round to Ernest Renshaw		
1888	Defending champion Lost in Challenge Round to Ernest Renshaw	Lost in final of All-Comers to W.J. Hamilton		
1889	Lost in semi-final of All-Comers to William Renshaw	Lost in first round to E.W. Lewis		
1890	"Lost" in second round (did not play - walkover in both rounds)	Did not play		

MEN'S DOUBLES

	All England Doubles Championships	Irish Championships, Dublin
1879	<i>Oxford University All England Doubles:</i> Champion with L.R.Erskine, beat G.E. Tabor & F. Durant in final	<i>Did not enter</i>
1880	<i>Oxford doubles: HFL did not enter</i>	Champion with A.J.Mulholland, beat P. Aungier & J.J. Cairnes in final (defeated Renshaws in second round)
1881	<i>Oxford doubles: HFL did not enter</i>	<i>Defending champion</i> Lost in Challenge Round with Mulholland to Renshaw twins
1882	<i>Oxford doubles: HFL did not enter</i>	Conceded walk-over in second round with A.J. Mulholland to E. Knox and J. Hewson (AJM retired on medical advice)
1883	<i>Oxford doubles: HFL did not enter</i>	Lost in final of All-Comers with H. Berkeley to Renshaw twins
1884	<i>All England Championships at Wimbledon:</i> Lost in first round with H. Wilberforce to Renshaw twins	Won All-Comers with E. De S. Browne, beat E.L. Williams & E. Lewis in final
		Lost in Challenge Round with E. Browne to Renshaw twins
	<i>Did not enter after 1884</i>	<i>Did not enter after 1884</i>

Notes to HFL's playing record

Sources used

Principal:

The British Newspaper Archive, general digital newspaper searches 1877 to 1890 (mainly sports editions)
Wimbledon Championships database, per Alan Little 23/4/1998
The Badminton Library, "Lawn Tennis" by CG Heathcote, 1890
"Fifty Years of Wimbledon", A. Wallis Myers, 1926
"Fitzwilliam's First Fifty", JJ Treacy 1927; "The Fitzwilliam Story, 1877 – 1977", Ulick O'Connor 1977

Secondary:

"Wimbledon of the North, 100 Years of the Northern", David Allaby, 1981
HFL's "portrait" in Pastime 9/6/1886 p.391
HFL's profile – Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News 23/6/1883 p.381
"Tennis Archives" website, 24/3/2015
"The Tennis Players", Tom Todd, Vallancey 1979

The Northern Tournament

The Northern, first staged in Manchester in 1880, later came to rank high in the tournament hierarchy but neither William Renshaw nor Herbert are recorded as ever playing in its singles event.

Mixed doubles

No report has been found of Herbert's participation in a mixed doubles event at any venue.

William Renshaw's main British tournaments in 1886 – sources

Chapter 4, APPENDIX 2

<u>Tournament Started</u>	<u>WR participation</u>	<u>Source</u>
<i>Irish (Dublin)</i> 24/05/1886	<i>WR & ER cancelled late</i>	<i>"Fitzwilliam's First Fifty", Treacy, 1927, p.17 & 18</i> <i>Manchester Courier 2/6/1886 p.7</i> <i>Freeman's Journal 22/5/1886 p.6, 25/5/1886 p.7 & 31/5/1886 p.7. Field 29/5/1886 p.692 & 693</i>
Bath 31/05/1886	Won men's doubles Won mixed doubles	Western Daily Press 5/6/86 p.3 & 7/6/86 p.3 Bath Chronicle 27/5/1886 p.5 Field 5/6/1886 p.738 & 12/6/1886 p.777
Cheltenham 7/6/1886	Won men's doubles Won mixed doubles Exhibition single Harry Grove	Cheltenham Looker-on 12/6/86 p.381 & 382 Bath Chronicle 17/6/1886 p.8 Field 12/6/1886 p.776 & 19/6/1886 p.811
Northern (Liverpool) 21/6/1886	Won men's doubles with ER Won mixed doubles Exhibition single J Dwight	Athletic News 29/6/86 p.4 (all results) "Wimbledon of the North", D Allaby 1981, p.158 (all results) Manchester Courier 23/6/86 p.7 & 25/6/86 p.8 Field 26/6/1886 p.852 & 3/7/1886 p.27
Midland Counties (Edgbaston) 28/6/1886	Lost in 2nd round of scratch men's doubles Lost final of mixed Exhibition mixed double	Birmingham Daily Post 2/7/1886 p.7 Birmingham Daily Post 3/7/1886 p.6 Birmingham Daily Post 1/7/1886 p.7 & 30/6/1886 p.7 Field 3/7/1886 p.25 & 26
Wimbledon 3/7/1886	Won men's singles Won men's doubles with ER	Morning Post 14/7/1886 p.2 & 5/7/1886 p.2 Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic News 24/7/1886 p.557 "50 Years of Wimbledon", Wallis Myers, 1926, p.91 Field 17/7/1886 p.92 & 24/7/1886 p.144
Chiswick Park 19/7/1886	Lost in 1st round of handicap singles Won mixed doubles	London Evening Standard 20/7/86 p.5 Morning Post 23/7/1886 p.3 Field 24/7/1886 p.143 Sheffield & Rotheram Indep' 26/7/86 p.4
Exmouth 2/8/1886	Lost final of singles handicap Won mixed doubles	Devon & Exeter Daily Gazette 9/8/86 p.4 Devon & Exeter Daily Gazette 5/8/86 p.3 Field 7/8/1886 p.221 & 222; 14/8/1886 p.246
Scarborough 9/8/1886	Exhibition single E Browne Exhibition singles H Grove Umpired mixed semi-final	Sheffield & Rotheram Independent 13/8/86 p.4 Sheffield Daily Telegraph 14/8/86 p.7 Yorkshire Post 16/8/1886 p.3. Leeds Mercury 16/8/86 p.3 Sheffield & Rotheram Indep' 12/8/86 p.7 Field 14/8/1886 p.248

Other "senior" tournaments not entered by WR:

London Covered Court 10 to 17 April	HFL entered, but both Renshaws absent	Morning Post 19/4/1886, p.2 Field 17/4/1886 p.493
Welsh (Penarth) 14 to 16 June	ER entered singles handicap & men's doubles HFL absent	South Wales Echo 17/6/86 p.4 Field 19/6/1886 p.811
London Athletic Club 15 to 18 June	Strong field but HFL, Renshaws, E Browne absent	Morning Post 19/6/1886, p.2 Field 19/6/1886 p.810
Harrogate 16 to 21 August	E Browne entered, but both Renshaws & HFL absent	Sheffield Daily Telegraph 23/8/86 p.3 Field 28/8/1886 p.337
Buxton 23 to 28 August	Weak field - no "names" entered (eg. Chipp & Grove)	Sheffield Daily Telegraph 24/8/1886 p.8 & 30/8/1886 p.3 Field 28/8/1886 p.336