

Death of a farmer: the fortunes of war and the strange case of Ray Walden*

by Brian Short

Abstract

The sweeping powers necessitated by World War Two emergency conditions are illustrated by the tragedy which unfolded when one farmer, Ray Walden of Itchen Stoke, refused to plough up a large portion of his farm at the insistence of the Hampshire County War Agricultural Executive Committee. The committee finally decided to dispossess him of his farm, and an attempt to evict him followed, but Walden opened fire on the police officers. A one-night siege was followed by the shooting of the 65-year-old bachelor inside his own farm house. He died in hospital. The coroner's verdict was 'justifiable homicide'. The paper sets out the structures of power, the setting of this agricultural conflict, reconstructs the narrative of events and offers an evaluation.

The huge loss of life in World War Two left few British families untouched in some way. In the UK alone there were over 60,000 civilian deaths, alongside the 265,000 from the forces who were killed.¹ The blitz on British towns meant that the vast majority of civilian deaths came primarily from urban areas. It is a pertinent question therefore to ask why the death of a single non-combatant should be worthy of our attention. But this was a strange death. An otherwise unremarkable Hampshire farmer, George Raymond (known locally as Ray) Walden, was shot by police in July 1940, in his own farmhouse, and later died from his wounds. This paper aims to demonstrate and evaluate the extreme measures facing the farming community during World War Two and the relations of power within agricultural communities.

* This paper is an expanded version of one first read to the British Agricultural History Society's annual meeting in Hereford in April 2007. I am grateful for the help of staff at the Hampshire Record Office, and especially Sarah Lewin, for making arrangements for me to see the uncatalogued Tichborne papers and for assisting with the illustrations; to John Martin, Gavin Bowie, John Curtis, Gertie Northcote, Peter and Marion Stoddart and the Hampshire Constabulary History Society; and to Pamela Hunter (Archivist for Hoare's Bank).

¹ The precise numbers of deaths vary according to different authorities. These statistics are taken from N. Longmate, *How we lived then. A history of everyday life during the Second World War* (1971), p. 84. About half of the civilian deaths were in London. There were 43,000 civilian deaths in 1940 and 1941 and 17,000 in the remaining years of the war. See also W. F. Mellor (ed.) *Casualties and medical statistics* (UK Official History Series, 1972).

I

During the 1930s, faced with continuing agricultural difficulties, and with the increasing deterioration of relations with Germany and the likelihood of a new war, the British parliament re-evaluated its previous *laissez-faire* stance towards farming. Agriculture was now actively prepared for the siege economy which it was feared Germany was about to impose by blockading imported food supplies. As part of the pre-war planning, arrangements were made for the revival of the county committees which had supervised agricultural production in the last two years of the First World War. On the outbreak of war the County War Agricultural Executive Committees (CWAECs) were already in place and quickly assumed total control under Section 49 of the Defence Regulations. The 62 CWAECs had between eight and twelve members each. Their establishment was lauded as one of the war's major administrative successes, and possibly the best example of decentralization and democratic use of control.² It was unarguably the case that through their sustained efforts, food did remain available, albeit with considerable consumer patience, austerity, and hard work by the Ministry of Food in rationing (from January 1940) and distributing supplies.

The outlines of wartime state intervention in British farming are now relatively well known. However, there remains a dearth of local studies which illustrate the impact of these policies at the farm level.³ According to official accounts, the relations between individuals and CWAECs were fairly harmonious throughout the war, but there were many cases, some of exceptional severity, where accusations were levelled of mishandling and bullying by the CWAECs. They were required to put in motion 'firmer measures against the recalcitrant or hopelessly inefficient'.⁴ This could include taking possession of some of a farm's land, or all of the land and the farmhouse, thereby requiring the eviction of the resident.⁵ Depending on the contingent circumstances of each case, these ultimate measures could be undertaken in ways which ensured compliance or, at the other extreme, great hostility.

The Hampshire CWAEC (HWAEC) was chaired throughout the war by Charles Lennard Chute from The Vyne, Basingstoke, with two vice-chairs: Roland Dudley from Linkenholt, and Gerald Wallop (Viscount Lymington, the ninth Earl of Portsmouth), the 'innate shire Tory' with Fascist leanings, from Farleigh Wallop. The backgrounds of such men were typical of those chosen to lead the wartime committees, selected for their substance, influence and farming expertise. Wallop's views were certainly extreme, and pro-German. He may have regarded

² K. A. H. Murray, *Agriculture* (History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series, 1955), pp. 338–9.

³ John Martin, 'The impact of government intervention on agricultural productivity in England and Wales, 1939–45' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1992), pp. 261–6. One recent local study is C. Rawding, 'The treatment of "failing farmers" in south-west Lancashire during the Second World War', in B. Short, C. Watkins and J. Martin (eds), *The front line of freedom: farming in Britain in the Second World War* (2006), pp. 179–93.

⁴ TNA, CAB 102/325, draft by E. H. Whetham for her official history of wartime farming, ch. 3, p. 7. The task was passed by the series editor, W. E. Hancock, to Murray (TNA, CAB 102/327). See also Martin, 'The impact of government intervention', p. 267.

⁵ For the national picture of farm dispossessions see Brian Short, 'The dispossession of farmers in England and Wales during and after the Second World War', in Short *et al.* (eds), *Front line of freedom*, pp. 158–78. For a case study, see G. Neville, 'Eviction and reclamation in World War Two: the case of a Worcestershire farm', *Local Historian* 29 (1999), pp. 76–90.

the HWAEC as an extension of his personal fiefdom and as an instrument to further his own philosophy, one essential tenet of which was the need for landlord control to reassert English agrarian harmony.⁶ In this philosophy he was joined by Charles Chute who, in a letter to *The Times* in 1943, looked forward to the prospect of post-war farming but was anxious that the landlord should retain his key role when the CWAECs were disbanded. He wrote, 'is it really reasonable to expect that most of the best farmers in the country will continue to devote a large proportion of their time and energies to the assistance and guidance of their weaker brethren for no other reward than the proverbial one of virtue?'⁷

The HWAEC, in the phraseology applied to all counties, was charged by the Ministry of Agriculture with the increased production of food from the county and could take 'all necessary measures to secure that land [was] cultivated to the best advantage'. A quota for the area to be ploughed up was given to each county: Hampshire's quota for 1939–40 was 40,000 acres and such good progress was made that 46,934 acres had been ploughed between 4 June 1939 and 15 May 1940, with as much as 38,000 acres ploughed voluntarily by the end of October.⁸

Chute called the committee together informally on 30 June 1939 to report on a preliminary meeting held in Whitehall for designated chairmen and their executive officers and to discuss 'initial arrangements which were felt to be worthwhile in view of the international situation at the present time'.⁹ During the war the committee was to meet every Tuesday at 10.30 in the Castle, Winchester. Within two months there was a change in membership necessitated by the resignation of Sir Rudolph Dymoke White on his election to parliament as Conservative MP for Fareham.¹⁰ By October 1940 R. H. Howard, the labour representative, had given way to R. Chick, who in turn gave way to A. W. Gardiner in June 1941. By September 1941 there appear to have been problems in the administration of the Women's Land Army in Hampshire. By July 1942, Mrs Chute, wife of the chairman, had been replaced by Miss Pauline Woolmer White as Chairman of the county WLA, who retained the post for the duration of the war, and thereby became an ex-officio member of HWAEC (Table 1).¹¹

⁶ Sir Charles Lennard Chute (1879–1956) bequeathed the Vyne, Sherborne St John, Basingstoke, to the National Trust on his death. For Lord Portsmouth see Malcolm Chase, 'Wallop, Gerald Vernon, ninth earl of Portsmouth (1898–1984)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59347>, accessed 12 Oct 2006]. His autobiography, *A knot of roots* (1965) offers insights into other personalities on the Hampshire WAEAC, such as Tom Mitchell with whom Portsmouth worked at tasks which were 'sometimes sad ones when a really hopeless farmer had to be turned out of his holding to make way for better food producers' (p. 71). Further material on his various wartime activities may be found in the Wallop Papers in the Hampshire Record Office (hereafter HRO), 15M84/F213 and 302.

⁷ Letter to the editor, *The Times*, 29 Mar. 1943.

⁸ *Farmers Weekly*, 31 May 1940, p. 17; TNA, MAF 80/894.

⁹ TNA, MAF 80/894. The establishment of the HWAEC and its sub-committees is thoroughly set out in this document.

¹⁰ Dymoke White, originally proposed as a vice-chair of the HWAEC in June 1939 (TNA, MAF 80/894), is remembered by one Hampshire contemporary as 'in charge of all sorts of things'. I am grateful to Mr David Green for his thoughts on the HWAEC. The Fareham by-election of 6 Oct. 1939 was unopposed and was the first wartime by-election. White's maiden speech in Oct. 1940 was concerned with the plough-up campaign, the use of acorns for pig feed, and threshing machines. (<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1940/oct/22/food-production>) (accessed 21 July 2008).

¹¹ HRO, 17M81/4–5, letter to Mrs Chute from Lady Denman, Hon. Director of the WLA, 17 Sept. 1941; TNA, MAF 39/254.

TABLE 1. The Hampshire War Agricultural Executive Committee

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Address</i>
C. L. Chute MC	Chair	1939 onwards	landowner	The Vyne, Basingstoke
Earl of Portsmouth	Vice chair	1939 onwards	landowner	Farleigh Wallop
W. B. Mason		April '40 onwards	farmer	Manor Farm, Bedhampton
T. S. Mitchell		1939 onwards	retired farmer	Ingsdon, Shawford and Swan Hotel, Alresford
R. P. Chester		August 1943 onwards	pig farmer/ business interests	Wheely Down, Warnford, Southampton
H. Yates		August 1943 onwards	horticulturalist & smallholder	New House Farm, Botley
E. J. Parker		July 1945 onwards	large farmer	Charity Farm, Fareham
Miss Woolmer White	WLA	July 1942 onwards		Orchard House, Rowlands Castle
A. W. Gardiner	Lab Rep	June 1941 onwards	TGWU	22a Devizes Road, Salisbury
J. Wannop Williamson	Deputy EO, later EO	EO November 1945 onwards	county agricultural organiser	2 The Deane, Overton
L. G. Troup OBE	EO & secretary	1939 to November 1945		Candover Park, Brown Candover
J. N. McClean		1939 to March 1945		Flexcombe, Liss
R. Dudley	Vice chair	1939 to July 1943	farmer	Linkenholt Manor, Andover
Mrs Chute	WLA	1939 to July 1942		The Vyne, Basingstoke
R. Chick	Lab Rep	October 1940 to June 1941		80a High Street, Southampton
R. H. Howard JP	Lab Rep	1939 to October 1940		17 Council Houses, Sherborne Road, Basingstoke
Capt Sir R. Dymoke White		1939 to November 1939	MP for Fareham Oct '39 onwards	Southleigh Park, nr Havant
C. F. Hughes		1939 to early 1940	County Land Officer	81 North Walls, Winchester
G. S. Gray		1939 to mid-1940 (died)	farmer	Graces Farm, Martyr Worthy, Winchester

Notes: EO, Executive Officer; WLA, Womens Land Army Representative; Lab Rep, Labour Representative.

Source: TNA, MAF 80/894; 39/255.

The Hampshire committee rapidly acquired a reputation for the enthusiastic implementation of its remit, possibly a little too enthusiastic at times. This zeal was inherited from the county's pre-war agricultural committees: the Agricultural Education Committee, for example, had a highly developed record system using detailed cards for each farm, a system that was praised by the Ministry of Agriculture as being highly appropriate in the event of war.¹² And at the outset of war the HWAEC, despite anxieties expressed by Roland Dudley, put forward a proposal for a detailed land fertility survey of the county, which they would complete by the end of December 1939, using a staff of 40. The Ministry turned down the proposal in favour of a requirement to proceed instead with farm assessments and the plough-up campaign.¹³

The CWAECs' sweeping powers, bestowed by Whitehall, were in turn devolved to District Committees which were at the grass roots of operations tackling local farming issues, with memberships drawn from the districts themselves, and having daily contact with farmers. There were also specialist sub-committees which in Hampshire dealt with such matters as cultivations, machinery, horticulture, farm supplies, labour, agricultural requisites, rabbits and pests, and land drainage. The Hampshire Cultivations Committee, responsible for overseeing the ploughing-up of grassland, and thus directly in contact with farmers such as Ray Walden, actually comprised the members of the Executive Committee.¹⁴ These committees were organized early, at a meeting on 30 August 1939.¹⁵

There were six District Committees covering Hampshire. District Committee 6, the Central or Winchester district, covered the upper Itchen valley, and included Winchester Rural District, Winchester and Eastleigh Metropolitan Districts, and Portsmouth County Borough. It was initially chaired by G. S. Gray of Martyr Worthy near Winchester, who also sat on the Executive Committee, until ill-health forced him to resign early in 1940. He died later that year. The chair of the District Committee was taken over by T. W. Ashton from the Hursley Park estate office, near Winchester. The District Committee included seven other land-related professionals and farmers from the Winchester and Alresford area, including a near-neighbour of Walden's, J. R. Burge of Itchen Down, Itchen Abbas who farmed over 1300 acres on the loamy chalk soils to the north of the Itchen valley.¹⁶ The District Officer was W. C. Mitchell, who had been transferred from the county land office for the duration of the war.¹⁷ A District Committee

¹² TNA, MAF 38/469 includes an example of one of the cards. For the minutes of the committee see HRO, H/CX1/3/3. I am indebted to Sarah Lewin for drawing my attention to the minutes.

¹³ TNA, MAF 80/894. A copy of the extremely detailed questionnaire is preserved with the minutes of the HWAEC feeding stuffs committee (TNA, MAF 80/948).

¹⁴ Membership of these Hampshire committees is given at TNA, MAF 39/255. Later minutes of the Cultivations sub-committee (1944–7) are preserved at HRO as H/CX1/2a/2 but no earlier minutes for this committee appear to have survived at either HRO or TNA.

¹⁵ TNA, MAF 80/894.

¹⁶ J. R. Burge was also a tenant of Lord Ashburton's, and by the time of the National Farm Survey he had

been on his farm for 20 years (TNA, MAF 32/981/304). With 90 cows and heifers in milk, he had a workforce of no fewer than 39 full-time regular workers, and 17 tied cottages. He was graded 'A'. Nearly 200 acres was ploughed up for the 1941 harvest, nearly all for cereals or potatoes. A week after Walden's death Burge was hosting a silage-making demonstration at Itchen Down Farm (*Hampshire Observer*, 27 July 1940).

¹⁷ TNA, MAF 39/255. The county land officers had been responsible for matters of agricultural education, smallholdings and other rural matters in the inter-war period. They continued throughout the war but personnel and many functions were effectively transferred to the CWAECs.

meeting was held at Winchester within two weeks of the declaration of war, but foot-and-mouth disease in the district hindered a survey of grassland to be ploughed, although it was clear at the outset that the large areas of Itchen water meadows were going to present a particular problem for the plough-up campaign.

Hampshire people were not always fully cooperative with the committees' operations. One Horticultural Advisory Officer on the Horticulture sub-committee had the task of allocating quotas specifying the maximum area for flower growing, which restricted output. But some tried to ignore the quotas, and despite the food production sign on his car, he remembered that 'Some of the places I never got past the front gate; the dogs were let loose and that was that!' In other places he, and the committee man with him, were met by people with guns.¹⁸

The committee's enthusiasm, and the manner in which it went about its task, was not to everyone's taste. Roland Dudley, vice-chair until 1943, Sheriff of Hampshire in 1941 and an enthusiast for farm mechanization, resigned in protest at some of its courses of action.¹⁹ And when in June 1944 the tenants on farms taken over by the HWAEC were late in making their 4 June Returns, the WAEC decided to withhold livestock rations from the guilty farmers. In fact the Ministry was unhappy about this draconian action, since there were already penalties in place for failure to comply and these did not include the withholding of rations for livestock. The practice was therefore deemed unnecessary.²⁰ In another Hampshire case, John Crowe of Ashe Manor Farm, between Basingstoke and Whitchurch, was given three weeks' notice to quit in March 1940. He had previously been a distinguished manager for the Duke of Westminster's home farm in Cheshire for 21 years before taking the lease of the farm in 1926 at a time when it was in a very poor state. He then built up a prize-winning herd within a short time. It was claimed that he had offered to increase milk production, but that the HWAEC had wanted more wheat; that he had never refused to carry out HWAEC orders, and was never informed whether he was graded A, B or C. Two well-known firms of valuers were astonished at his dispossession.²¹

The case of Rex Paterson from Hatch Warren Farm near Basingstoke also came to public attention: an innovator and farming pioneer on the chalk downland, he was farming 10,000 acres by 1942, mainly in Hampshire. Using the outdoor bail system of milking cows, which required less labour to manage, he was however, graded B by the CWAEC because it was felt that he had insufficient labour to run his holdings effectively. He had ploughed up land according to their instructions but became embroiled in arguments with the committee from 1943 about the fields which were to be ploughed, a dispute publicized in the *Farmers Weekly*. He was eventually vindicated in a report following a Hampshire NFU investigation in 1944-5,

¹⁸ Imperial War Museum sound archive: 14042/2 (Mr Taylor).

¹⁹ HRO, Q21/3/11: Oath and declaration of Sheriff: Roland Dudley 1 Apr. 1941; J. Wentworth Day, *Harvest adventure* (1946), p. 251. And see H. G. Robinson, 'A pioneer mechanised farm', *Country Life*, 1 Feb. 1933, pp. 156-8. An article in *Farmers Weekly*, 10 Aug. 1934 also explains that he had 1000 acres, mainly arable and that he used combine harvesters and crop dryers. He was

later awarded the OBE.

²⁰ TNA, MAF 80/909.

²¹ Farmers' Rights Association, *Living casualties (the dispossessed farmer)* (1946), p. 10. The activities of this Association are discussed more fully below. The gradings implemented by the CWAECs were, technically, based on the state of the farm, rather than the farmer's abilities. The latter were not so assessed until the National Farm Survey which began in 1941.

which criticised the local officials for victimization, and for allowing the matter to get out of hand. Reference was even made in the House of Commons to the NFU report, which ran to more than 5,000 pages, the adjournment debate in 1945 noting the 'vindictive policy' of the HWAEC, 'a policy which is responsible for dispossessing quite a large number of farmers in Hampshire'.²² Paterson served as chair of the Oxford Farming Conference in 1964, and was awarded an OBE for services to agriculture that same year.²³

The friction, it was claimed in the NFU report, arose because of the 'methods and attitude of the WAEC'. Furthermore the committee's treatment of Paterson was 'wholly unwarranted'. William Craven-Ellis, MP for Southampton, went on to accuse WAECs of abusing their powers, and other members called for the ending of 'Gestapo methods' and especially for a right of appeal to be instituted, a call rejected by the Minister as time-wasting during wartime (but which was incorporated in the Agriculture Act 1947).²⁴ However, the attacks on the HWAEC in the debate did not go unchallenged. Godfrey Nicholson, Conservative MP for Farnham and trustee for an 800-acre holding in Hampshire, stated that he had received 'nothing but great help' from the HWAEC, and his only criticism was that 'they are not quite harsh enough and soon enough in their criticisms'. He felt that his views were widely shared among his relations and the farming community more generally within the county.²⁵ It is clear that the WAEC often had to instruct farmers to farm their land badly, mortgaging the future for the extra yields required in the emergency of war. But while the influential Paterson could obtain some redress through the NFU, there were many smaller farmers for whom no such access was immediately available. Indeed the wartime compliance of the NFU with the CWAECs in general was a notable feature, designed (successfully) to win greater rewards for farmers in the post-war years. The NFU even opposed the relaxation of the dispossession procedures in 1947, fearing that this might result in less favourable farm financial support mechanisms being implemented.²⁶

²² Parliamentary Debates (PD) (Commons) 407, 6 Feb. 1945, 2025–7. The lack of even-handedness of the Wiltshire WAEC has been demonstrated by John Martin, 'George Odum, the Ministry of Agriculture and "Farmer Hudson"', *AgHR* 55 (2007), pp. 229–50.

²³ John Martin, 'Paterson, Rex Munro (1902–1978)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52533>, accessed 15 Oct. 2006]; 'Rex Paterson and the Hampshire WAEC', *Farmers Weekly*, 10 Nov. 1944, p. 21. Paterson's disagreements with the HWAEC can be seen in his papers deposited at the Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading (FR PAT B/2). See also R. Paterson, 'Low cost milk production', *JRASE* 123 (1962), pp. 22–32. Paterson also held 100 acres in nearby Old Alresford (TNA, MAF 65/22).

²⁴ The request for an appeals procedure was repeatedly

raised in the Commons during the war, but consistently refused by the minister, Robert Hudson. See, for example, PD (Commons) 400, 8 June 1944, 1629–50. The question of the seemingly absolute power of the CWAECs was actually raised in the Commons just about three weeks after Walden's death, although there was no specific reference to the case (PD (Commons) 364, 15 Aug. 1940, pp. 964–5).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2032–3. Nicholson had made similarly supportive remarks about the HWAEC in June 1944 (PD (Commons) 8 June 1944, 1636), whilst denouncing Labour Party opponents as totalitarian and Socialism as the 'ante-chamber to Fascism'.

²⁶ P. Self and H. J. Storing, *The state and the farmer* (1962), p. 126.



FIGURE 1 Borough Farm and the Itchen Valley. The farm is just to the south of the railway line and Walden's landlord was based at Tichborne House, at the southern edge of the map. The fields which were the subject of the plough-up order are outlined. Extract from the 1870 1:10,560 map SU 42 (Reprinted by permission of the Hampshire Record Office).

II

Moving from the national and county context, we may now turn to the immediate farming environment. Itchen Stoke and Ovington were two small villages and, until they were amalgamated in 1931, parishes, in the Itchen valley, just to the west of New Alresford. The population of the combined parishes in 1931 was 304. Almost on the boundary between the two former parishes, and also reaching into the parish of Tichborne, lay the small Borough Farm, part of the Tichborne estate to the south (Figure 1). It was situated in an area described in the Rev. Telford Varley's *Hampshire* thus:

The whole of this river valley indeed is attractive to a rare degree. Hard as it is to decide between one spot and another, perhaps the sweetest of all is the mingle of river, reed-swamp and watersplash between Itchen Stoke and Ovington.²⁷

The farm therefore lay in an idyllic countryside, indeed in the valley of one of the finest chalk streams in the world.²⁸ It also offered some of the best trout fishing in the country and attracted the attention of visitors and anglers, including W. H. Hudson whose sojourn from 1900 at neighbouring Itchen Abbas, is portrayed in his *Hampshire Days* (1903).²⁹ He stayed in a cottage belonging to the Liberal Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, whose similar delight in the valley is recorded in his privately printed *Cottage Book* (1909).³⁰ Borough Farm was sited between narrow chalk hills to north and south, and with the Alton and Winchester line of the London and South-Western Railway running close to the north of the farmhouse. To the west was a tributary of the Itchen, the Candover Stream, and to the south was the modern B3047. To both east and west were extensive water meadows. The soils are a combination of silts and shallow soils over underlying chalk, depending on their proximity to the river itself. The farm was never much more than 60 acres, and much consisted of two large fields of 22 and 11 acres to the south. The 1940 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 sheet therefore shows the farmhouse and farm buildings, somewhat hemmed in (Figure 2).³¹ To the north, east and west was land belonging to the extensive Itchen Stoke Manor Farm, belonging to the Hon. A. H. Baring, the wealthy retired banker and later 1st Lord Ashburton, while to the south lay lands belonging to Park

²⁷ HRO, 24M71/21: Norah Cole, *History of Itchen Stoke* (n.d., 3 typescript vols), p. 4, citing Rev. Telford Varley, *Hampshire* (1909).

²⁸ Because of its outstanding ecological value, the upper Itchen at this location was declared a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) in 1997 and in 1998 a Candidate Special Area of Conservation (cSAC) under the European Habitats Directive. The area is on the north-western boundary of the proposed (2008) South Downs National Park.

²⁹ B. Tippet, *W. H. Hudson in Hampshire* (Hampshire Papers 27, 2004), pp. 19–21. Hudson's visits to Ovington are recorded in W. H. Hudson, *Hampshire days* (1928), pp. 251, 270. The area attracted many walkers and painters: a fine pen and ink sketch of Borough Farm and the

River Arle at Itchen Stoke, 1880, for example, was made by Marianne Hunt (HRO, 55M88/1, fo. 34). The claim as to trout fishing is made in the sale catalogue for Ovington Park in 1949 (HRO, 117M91/SP140/1).

³⁰ M. Waterhouse (ed.), *The Cottage Book: the undiscovered country diary of an Edwardian statesman* (1999).

³¹ HRO, 152M82/6/3, Valuation Book 1910–15 for Ovington shows the hereditament. Valuation Office Field Books, which would have offered more detail on the farm, are missing, as are all those for the Winchester area, through bomb damage in the Second World War. A request from the Inland Revenue to see the National Farm Survey maps was therefore granted in 1943 (TNA, MAF 38/865).

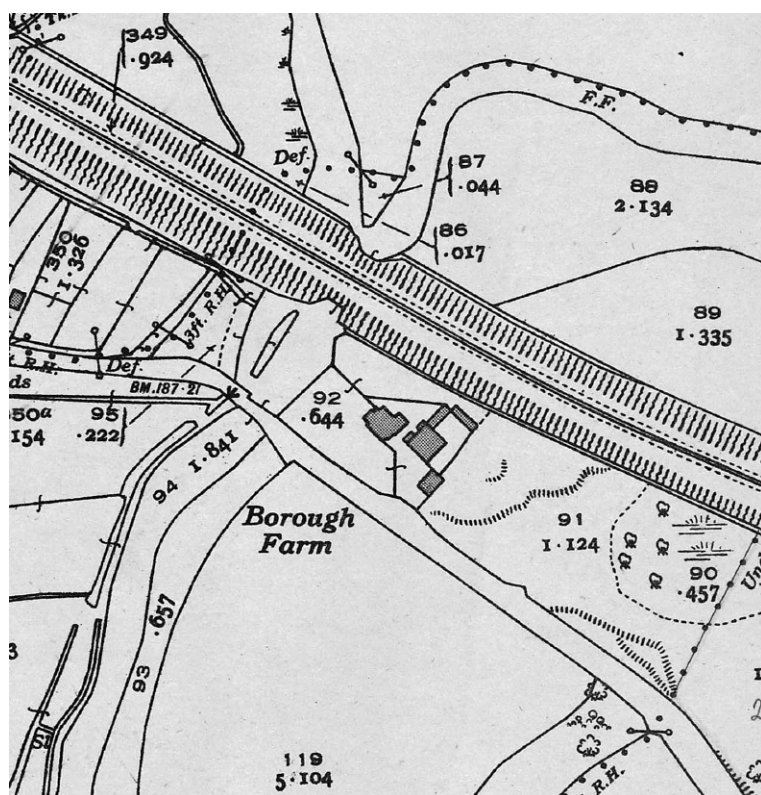


FIGURE 2 Extract from the 1940 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 sheet SU 42 SW sheet 9, showing Borough Farm. The old gravel pit is shown as parcel number 90 (reprinted by permission of the Hampshire Record Office). The farmhouse is to the north-west of the farm complex.

Farm (tenanted by Mr Porter in 1941, 330 acres) and Tichborne Down Farm (T. E. Bennett, 65 acres).³² At Ovington Park was another banker, Arthur Hervey Hoare of the private banking family, who moved his most of his London banking staff to Tichborne for the duration of the war before leaving the house in 1946. The village was also home to numerous evacuees 'trekking' from Southampton, where the bombing of late November 1940 was particularly heavy.³³

The early 1930s Land Utilization Survey found the area to be primarily pastoral, with some marshland pastures among the Itchen water meadows. Much of the surrounding countryside was arable on the central Chalk area, even though prices for wheat were generally poor at this depressed time. Lying in the Itchen valley, however, Borough Farm was on unpromising river gravels surrounded by alluvial and low lying soils, described in the 1930s as 'sometimes neglected and now only reedy rough pasture'.³⁴ A derelict gravel pit lay to the east of the farmhouse by

³² In June 1941 A. T. Porter was described as offering 'insufficient personal supervision and drive [being a] non-working, sporting type of farmer'. He was graded 'B'. The Hon. A. H. Baring was graded 'A' (TNA, MAF 32/981/304). See below n. 60 for further information on T. E. (Thomas) Bennett.

³³ HRO, 45M90/2, Ovington and Itchen Stoke Womens' Institute publication (1952) (no pagination). Arthur Hervey Hoare (1877–1953) oversaw the move to

Ovington, setting up the bank's administration in the house and billeting staff in the village, most of which he owned. Messrs Hoare's own archive contains papers relevant to the move (HB/7/B/7; HB/9/E/4 and HB/9/E/6), and see also V. Hutchings, *Messrs Hoare Bankers: a history of the Hoare banking dynasty* (2005), pp. 204–7.

³⁴ Land Utilisation Survey of Britain sheet 123 (Winchester) and L. D. Stamp (ed.), *The Land of Britain, Part 89: Hampshire* (1940), p. 368.

the late nineteenth century. The farm was small, inconvenient and old-fashioned: only in 1937 was decent drainage obtained, when a Winchester Rural District Council scheme to improve domestic drainage resulted in a drain and cesspool for sink waste.³⁵

From this otherwise inauspicious farm came the best-known individual farm dispossession case of World War Two, that of (George) Raymond Walden. He had been born in Chardstock, Dorset in 1874.³⁶ His father George had been born at Yetminster, and his parents and both sets of grandparents had lived in the Dorset, Devon and Somerset border country. George and his wife Frances (née Sandford) had seven children. From their dates and places of birth, it appears that his move with Frances and two children (Beatrice, the oldest child, born 1873 and Ray) into Hampshire took place by 1876.³⁷ Ray's five younger sisters were born after the move. They were Barbara (born 1877), later Mrs Roskilly, who gave evidence of identification at Walden's inquest, who in 1901 was working as dressmaker at St Mary Kalendar (absorbed into the parish of St Maurice) in Winchester, and living with her sisters Lucy (born 1881) and Frances (born 1876), who was working as a grocer. Beatrice (no occupation given) and Mabel (born 1883), who was a dressmaker, were still living in Ovington in 1901. The other daughter, Clara, (born 1879) was living in Islington as a draper's assistant in 1901. The eastward migration of this west-country farming family was consistent with that of many others from the region who were looking to bring their dairying skills to the depressed south-eastern farm economy during the 1870s, when unlet farms were in plentiful supply and rents in Hampshire at a low level.³⁸ It is relevant to note that Ray's uncle and aunt also moved from the same west-country area to Staffordshire in the late 1870s. Other members of Frances' family moved further eastwards to farm in Sussex.³⁹

It is unclear whether George brought his family immediately to Borough Farm, since the first appearance of the Waldens in the Tichborne estate rentals is for the Lady Day (25 March) audit 1881 when it was stated that they had taken over the holding from the executors of the previous tenant, the late Eleanor Smith, at £30 per annum, with a standard clause that the landlord was to find timber, bricks, flint, sand and lime for repairs.⁴⁰ However, two of the younger children, Frances (five years) and Barbara (three years), were returned in the 1881 census as having been born in Itchen Stoke. The census birth dates are correct, as corroborated by their registered

³⁵ HRO, 39M73/BP3380 (Winchester RDC Building Plan).

³⁶ Chardstock was transferred to the county of Devon in 1896.

³⁷ Birth date information and other genealogical material is taken from the England and Wales Birth, Marriage and Death Indexes, together with the relevant census enumerators' schedules 1871–1901.

³⁸ 1881 census, TNA, RG11/1244; 1891 census, RG 12/949; 1901 census, RG13/1097. For the agricultural depression of this period see R. Perren, *Agriculture in depression, 1870–1940* (1995); P. J. Perry, *British farming in the great depression, 1870–1914* (1974); E. J. T. Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change' in Collins (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales*, VII, 1850–1914 (2000), pp. 151, 374.

³⁹ Jonas Phillips, a miller, had married Hannah, Walden's aunt who had been born in Chard. By 1881 they were in Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire (TNA, RG 11/2777). Information on the Sandford and Phillips family was kindly supplied by Mrs Gertie Northcote (née Phillips) the granddaughter of Walden's aunt Clara (Frances' sister), in an interview on 21 Nov. 2007.

⁴⁰ For the Tichborne rentals, see HRO, 37M48/8 (I am grateful for permission from the Tichborne estate to study this documentation). There were actually few calls on the estate for repairs at Borough Farm, work on a cart shed roof in 1891 being quite unusual (HRO, 37M48/111/10). Eleanor Smith was the tenant at the time of the tithe survey of Ovington (apportionment 1846, map c.1848–51) (HRO, 21M65/F7/183/2). Her will is dated 1879 (HRO, 5M62/18, p. 526).

birth dates, so the family would appear to have lived elsewhere in the area for about five years before taking on Borough Farm, generally referred to as being in Ovington.⁴¹

George died in February 1887, and was buried in St Peters, Ovington churchyard. Ray was 12, and Frances was thus left with seven young children. The Lady Day rentals show that she continued the farm, remaining in the rentals as 'Widow Walden'. The 1891 census shows Frances, aged 47 and a farmer, with four children living at home. Ray was then aged 16 and already returned as a farmer. Frances herself died in 1902, aged 63. The service for her burial at Ovington was conducted by the priest from the Catholic chapel at Tichborne House and it would seem that her children were brought up as Catholics, since Ray's own burial at Ovington, in 1940 was also officiated by a Catholic priest.⁴² The Catholic connection between tenant and landowners may even have been significant in their taking up a tenancy here, although there is no indication that George had been a Catholic.

Walden remained farming with his mother at Borough Farm, but by August 1902 he was farming some land at Tichborne Down on his own account at £30 per annum. On occasion the half-yearly rents were paid by both mother and son together, 'by Raymond and Mrs Walden'. In 1901, aged 26, he was returned in the census as living at nearby 'Verindhall' (almost certainly Vernal Farm), with one living-in servant, a carter, James McCartie (ironically perhaps, given what was to come, the son of an Irish police inspector). He then succeeded to the tenancy of Borough Farm, taking over on his mother's death.⁴³ The fact of employing a carter was perhaps significant, since one valuable source of income for Borough Farm was the digging and carting of gravel, either 'rough' or the finer material, from the gravel spur upon which the farm was situated (Figure 2). His father had been paid for this service by the estate, carting the gravel to the Alresford Union, to other tenants, or to sell on to the highways authorities, and he and his mother continued the practice at least through to the latter's death. His mother was also paid by the estate for clearing the river of weeds, a twice-yearly payment

⁴¹ The time of the Waldens' arrival at Borough Farm coincides with a difficult period for their landlords, the old Catholic Tichborne family. They had suffered financially from having money squandered by the high-living Sir Alfred Tichborne, and had also just emerged in 1874 from the expensive law suit connected with 'the Tichborne Claimant' (D. Woodruff, *The Tichborne claimant: a Victorian mystery* (1957)). The Tichborne and Doughty Estates Act, 1874, was passed to enable the trustees of the estate to raise the sum of £91,677 12s. 2d. expended in the various legal proceedings. The rentals of the estate were reckoned at £25,000 (J. B. Atlay, *Famous trials of the century* (1899), p. 387). Today the Tichborne Estate comprises a mansion house, some housing in the village of Tichborne, 1150 acres of farmland and 400 acres of woodland.

⁴² HRO, 32M69/PR8/7. Frances' will was dated 1903 (5M62/31, p. 46). The chapel at Tichborne House, inserted into the house at its rebuilding from 1803, served as the focus for the Catholic parish of Tichborne. A

chaplain and missionary priest are noted here in *VCH Hants*, IV, p. 338 and the priest lived at The Presbytery until the 1920s. The parish church, unusually, has a Catholic chapel in the north aisle, and a Catholic school was held to the south of the church from 1845 until some point before the end of the nineteenth century (HRO, 37M48/3). This may have been where the Walden children were educated. The building has now been demolished (E. Roberts and E. Crockford, *A history of Tichborne* (nd, privately printed)). Mrs Gertie Northcote informed me that one of Frances' brothers became a Catholic priest as also did one of Ray Walden's cousins.

⁴³ Raymond Walden is listed as the farmer at Borough Farm in the first year of his tenancy proper in 1903 (*Kellys Directory for Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire and the Isle of Wight and Channel Islands* (1903), p. 247). He is similarly listed in the last full year of his life in the 1939 edition (*Kellys Directory for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (1939), p. 287).

of £3 10s. 0d.⁴⁴ In 1900 Ray was being paid for cartage work for the estate and in 1901 he was providing 'horses for ploughing etc', for which he was paid £23 1s. 0d. This extra income would undoubtedly have been a significant factor in maintaining a small farm at this time. During the 1880s the estate was making allowances against the rentals of its tenant farmers, to allay problems caused by the recession in farm profits, but there are no mentions of such allowances by the later 1890s.⁴⁵ The Waldens paid their rent at the due dates of Lady Day and Michaelmas, and the only time when some arrears are noted is in 1903 following Frances Walden's death when arrears of £39 18s. 0d. were noted. The arrears were paid off, however, by January 1904. During this time the rents were actually paid to the estate office by the bailiff, Edward Eames, but by August 1904 Ray Walden was paying the rent himself, when it had increased to £40 per annum for 'Borough Farm and land late Godwins'. The neighbouring farmer Thomas Godwin was now in his 70s and Walden took over a meadow and some downland from him – the latter almost certainly the land for which he was later to be in trouble with the CWAEC – and he continued to farm this land and pay £40 per annum to the time of his death, the last payment being recorded in the estate ledgers on 29 May 1940.⁴⁶ He kept much to himself, remained a bachelor, and over 50 years had scarcely left the neighbourhood.⁴⁷

III

The power to dispossess farmers, wholly or in part, if CWAEC instructions were consistently refused, was enfolded within an elaborate process. One element was particularly unpopular with farmers: there was no right of appeal except to the CWAEC, the rationale being that any more complicated procedure would have slowed down production. This remained, however, a recurrent grievance.

The first mention of Walden in the Hampshire WAEC minutes comes on 9 April 1940: 'That the occupier be asked to write before or attend at the next meeting of the committee stating his objections to the issue of the order (reference 6/312/8225) – for 34.257 acres to be ploughed up'.⁴⁸ The minute is very clear on the acreage required, and it is repeated in a later minute. The discrepancy between this minuted requirement and the figure of four acres commonly given, is explained below. But that this stage had already been reached implies a previous refusal by Walden to comply with District Committee requirements, with the result that the matter was referred to the Executive Committee. The matter was deferred to the next meeting on 16 April, when it was agreed that a compulsory order for ploughing should be issued and served. On 7 May special consideration was given to the case, when it was agreed that the Executive Officer should contact Walden's landlord's agents to ask whether they could obtain a more suitable

⁴⁴ In November 1902 Lady Dorothy Grey, wife of Sir Edward Grey, noted from their cottage retreat at Itchen Abbas how each meadow channel was being cleared out with a spade and reeds cut (Waterhouse, *Cottage book*, p. 132).

⁴⁵ HRO, 37M48/4.

⁴⁶ HRO, 158M89. Tichborne estate rent roll, 1892–1909; and Estate cash book and ledgers, 1930–49.

⁴⁷ *Hampshire Telegraph and Post*, 26 July 1940, p. 12. It should be noted that none of his six sisters were married by the time of the 1901 census, with their ages then between 25 and 17. Barbara was married in 1914, aged 37.

⁴⁸ The minutes of the Hampshire WAEC are at TNA, MAF 80/895, covering the period 20 Feb. to 20 Aug. 1940, and 80/896, for the period 3 Sept. to 19 Dec. 1940.

tenant if the existing tenancy were to be terminated on grounds of bad husbandry and non-compliance with the committee's directions. In the meantime application was to be made to the Minister of Agriculture for consent to the committee taking possession of Borough Farm, comprising 62 acres. This was the standard procedure in such cases.

It appears that there were problems on the farm other than the refusal to plough. At the 21 May meeting it was reported that the corn ricks at Borough Farm remained unthreshed, and the Ministry was again to be approached, this time for permission to requisition the ricks, if consent was also given to take possession of the farm.⁴⁹ We hear nothing more until 25 June when the County Land Officer had reported on the farm and it was resolved that in the event of Walden failing to comply with the order terminating his tenancy, formal possession of the farm be taken, and the Chief Constable be requested to arrange for the eviction. It is perhaps noteworthy that at a special meeting of the HWAEC on 2 July the Minister of Agriculture, Robert Hudson, addressed the committee on the future of government policy for agriculture 'in the light of changing circumstances'. The Liaison Officer with remit for Hampshire, Anthony Hurd from Wiltshire, was also present.⁵⁰ One of Hudson's tasks during the war was to stiffen the resolve of CWAECs in their efforts to expand farm production, and to dispossess their farmers if necessary. No doubt his visit reinforced the Hampshire determination to tackle foot-dragging farmers such as Walden. On 9 July it was agreed that notice be served on Walden, informing him that unless he vacated the farm within seven days he would be evicted. This is the last mention of Walden in the minutes of the committee before his death.

On the 22 and 23 July the siege of Borough Farm took place, likened by one reporter to a 'rural Sidney Street'.⁵¹ Unsurprisingly the incident was reported in local newspapers, but several national newspapers, such as the *Daily Mirror*, also covered the story.⁵² *The Times* carried a report of the inquest under the headline 'Farmer killed in all-night siege'.⁵³ The *Daily Mail* Special Correspondent wrote from Alresford:

Sixty six year old Raymond Warden [sic] bachelor farmer of Alresford, died in hospital last night after being wounded in an astonishing 18hr one-man resistance to a siege, by armed police at his farm. In various towns and villages around the county are policemen and firemen whose legs and arms smart from shot-gun wounds they received in this remarkable episode. One of them PC Reginald Draper of Ropley, ... [the] first police casualty had to be taken from his home this afternoon to Winchester hospital – to a bed near the old farmer's, so serious were his wounds. Tear gas bombs, rifles, shot-guns, revolvers and sticks all figure

⁴⁹ This is the only mention of unthreshed ricks, and it is difficult to know how such criticism should be taken. Their existence may have reflected the fact that government policy was to encourage farmers to hold wheat in stack until it was required for flour milling. The existence of unthreshed ricks of wheat was not necessarily indicative of Walden being an incompetent farmer. Criticisms of this type were also levelled at the progressive farmer George Odium by a member of the Wiltshire WAEC. The criticisms were disclosed in the 1949 'Odium versus Stratton' case in Wiltshire, but were successfully refuted.

I am indebted to Dr John Martin for drawing my attention to this point. The judgement was reprinted by the *Wiltshire Gazette*, and the relevant section is on p. 7. See also Martin, 'George Odium'.

⁵⁰ Hurd's role as Liaison Officer is well described in his book *A farmer in Whitehall* (1951). He gives 2,695 as the total figure for tenancies terminated between 1940 and 1944 (p. 128).

⁵¹ *Hampshire Telegraph and Post*, 26 July 1940, p. 12.

⁵² *Daily Mirror*, 24 July 1940.

⁵³ *The Times*, 31 July 1940, p. 2.

in this story. It began yesterday morning when PC Draper and others cycled to Borough Farm ...⁵⁴

The *Hampshire Chronicle* contained a report:

Forcing their way into Borough Farm, Itchen Stoke, early on Tuesday morning – after an 18 hours siege and gun battle – police officers found the man who had successfully held them at bay lying helpless with a serious gunshot wound in the head. The farmer, 65 years' old George Raymond Walden, died in the Royal Hampshire County Hospital at Winchester during the evening, after lying gravely ill throughout the day ... Police Constable Draper, in the Royal Hampshire County Hospital, is reported to be in a comfortable condition. Inspector Hatcher, Police Sergeant Longman, Police Sergeant Warren and Police Constable Cripps were all hit with pellets, but fortunately none were seriously wounded.⁵⁵

The inquest was opened at the Royal Hampshire County Hospital, on 25 July. Only evidence of identification was taken; this was given by Walden's widowed sister, Barbara Roskilly, from Alresford. She had been keeping house for her brother for about the last 10 years, and had last seen him alive on the Monday morning at about 11 o'clock before the siege began. She added that his state of health then was quite good, and had in fact been so for some time past. 'He only had a few headaches now and again. He was not an excitable person, to the contrary, he was very placid. Sometimes when things upset him he was a little nervous.' The inquest was then adjourned until 30 July at the Guildhall, Winchester.

The adjourned inquest was conducted by the Winchester City Coroner, Theophilus E. Brown, sitting with a jury.⁵⁶ Those reported as present included R. Knox (Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire), W. G. Stratton (Head Constable of Winchester), C. G. Hickson (Deputy Clerk to the County Council, representing the police), D. S. M. Scott (representing the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the HWAEC), S. A. Pettifer (Frere, Cholmeley and Co., Lincoln's Inn, representing Sir Anthony Tichborne, the landlord and Messrs James Harris and Son, agents for the Tichborne Estate), R. R. Geech (representing members of the deceased's family), Supt. Fielder, and others. PC Draper attended the court on a stretcher. The coroner specifically stated that the inquest was only to ascertain the cause of death, and that he would attempt to keep strictly to that limited aim. A number of people involved with the incident then gave evidence.

⁵⁴ *Daily Mail*, 24 July 1940. The reporter had obviously spoken to a neighbour, hence the use of Raymond alongside the mis-spelling of his surname. Walden's age was given as 65 on his death certificate. Other reporting inaccuracies include the *Hampshire Telegraph and Post*, 26 July 1940 referring to 'Warden' rather than Walden throughout, and mis-identifying Walden's sister Barbara as 'Mrs Rose Killy' (rather than Mrs Roskilly).

⁵⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 27 July 1940. In the reports published in the *Hampshire Telegraph and Post*, 26 July 1940 and *Hampshire Advertiser*, 27 July 1940, it was

stated that members of the Alresford Fire brigade were also present at the scene. If so, it would seem that the numbers of police, firemen and onlooking neighbours would have represented a considerable crowd at various times during the siege.

⁵⁶ I am grateful for the help of Mr and Mrs Stoddart in the initial stages of this research. See the *Hampshire Chronicle*, 3 Aug. 1940, p. 3. The jury would be required since death had resulted from an injury caused by a police officer in the purported execution of his duty. This is now set out in s. 8 (3) of the Coroners Act, 1988.

The Cultivation Officer was William R. Mead, based at 82 High Street, Winchester. He stated that, after due consideration, the committee made a Cultivation Order dated 17 April 1940 directing the ploughing, summer fallowing, and preparing for a cereal crop in 1941 of two areas amounting to approximately 34 acres. That order was not complied with. The matter was further considered in connection with both the landlord and the tenant and an order for taking possession was issued on 20 July. At that stage the landlord had no power to intervene in the action of the CWAEC, only being furnished with a copy of the possession order as a matter of courtesy. An attempt by Mr Geech to ask about CWAEC procedures was interrupted by the Coroner because it was thought to wander beyond the cause of death.⁵⁷

John Reginald Morton, based at the Carfax Hotel, Winchester, was the Assistant County Land Officer, employed by the HWAEC. He stated that he prepared a schedule of Borough Farm, in support of the application to the Ministry. Notice to terminate the tenancy was served on Walden. On 24 June, Mrs Roskilly came to see him and he gave her some friendly advice, as a result of which he saw Walden on the following day. But neither he nor his sister were successful in persuading Walden of the gravity of his position, and notice of intention to take possession on 20 July was then served, the notice later being found among Walden's papers. Arrangements were made with the Chief Constable that two constables should be present at Borough Farm at 11.20 am on July 22 to see that there was no breach of the peace. Morton was instructed to carry out the dispossession, and when he arrived the police were already there. He tried the doors but found them locked, and thereupon broke open the back door and the inner door of the farmhouse. As they went through the inner door one of the two policemen with him warned that Walden was inside with a gun, and advised him to retreat outside. This he did, and Walden re-fastened the outer door.⁵⁸

At the start of the police evidence a sketch plan of part of the farm premises was produced, together with photographs which had been taken. PC Draper, stationed at Ropley, gave evidence (from his stretcher) that at 11.30 am on July 22 he went, on instructions, with PC Cripps to Borough Farm. He saw Walden standing at the back door of the farmhouse. Cripps went first, saying 'Good morning, Mr Walden, I want to speak to you.' Walden said 'No!' and something else which he could not catch, closing the door and bolting it top and bottom. Cripps shouted to him but there was no reply. The position was explained to Mr Morton (who had arrived) and then he and PC Cripps got through the back door into the scullery. They moved through to the kitchen (which was fastened on the inside) and Cripps then warned 'Look out. Here he comes with a gun.' Neither policeman was armed, so they withdrew to the yard. Cripps went to inform Supt Fielder, while he remained to watch Walden's movements. At about 12.50 he was standing at the entrance to the cow pen yard when he heard the back door open. He stepped behind a board fence and peeped over. He saw Walden about 12–15 yards away, so he said 'Well, what are you going to do now?' Without speaking, Walden raised the gun and fired with one barrel

⁵⁷ Mr Geech was almost certainly from the firm of Burley and Geech (Solicitors) from Bishop's Waltham, near Winchester (HRO, 45M69). He is thought by John Curtis to have been a friend of Walden's sister Barbara (pers. comm., 29 Nov. 2006).

⁵⁸ In an answer to Mr Pettifer, Morton emphasised that the process of eviction had nothing to do with the landlord or the landlord's agents (*Hampshire Telegraph and Post*, 2 Aug. 1940, p. 5; *Hampshire Observer*, 3 Aug. 1940).

of a double-barrelled gun, hitting Draper in both legs and one arm. A roadman and some field workers came to his assistance on the ground. He received 15 pellets in the left leg, two in the right leg, and two in the left arm. He was taken home and later to the Royal Hampshire County Hospital. At the time of giving his evidence only two pellets had been extracted.

PC Cripps, stationed at Preston Candover, corroborated Draper's evidence. Having seen Walden creeping down the stairs with a gun, he went off to inform Supt Fielder while Draper remained. He returned to find that PC Draper had been shot. After seeing him to the doctor's surgery at Ropley, he returned again, and tried to get Walden to come out, but without success. Leaving the scene he later returned about midnight with other officers under the command of Inspector Hatcher. He and Sgt. Warren each threw two tear gas canisters into the house to force Walden out; they then heard movements and he and another officer stood ready to arrest him as he came out. But the door opened a little and Walden fired both barrels through the partly opened door without hitting anyone. Then he fired again, presumably from another gun, as he had not had time to reload. The door was then shut again and barricaded from the inside. Half an hour later Cripps and Warren forced the house and in the kitchen at the foot of the stairs they found an empty civilian gas respirator case, thus explaining why the gas canisters had not been effective. Cripps then stated that he heard a movement on the stairs. Withdrawing quickly, he just got out of the way when another shot rang out. Later he advanced across the farmyard towards the front door only to be shot at again, this time receiving pellets in his right arm, right leg and chin. Inspector Hatcher, who was with him, was also slightly wounded in the left hand. The police were using electric lamps and were thus visible in the darkness to Walden, who also had the reputation of being a good shot. Cripps remained on duty outside the premises until 7 am the next morning, keeping out of sight of the house. Then he left, and when he returned Walden was being carried out of the house suffering from severe injuries.

Inspector Hatcher, stationed at Basingstoke and the officer in charge at the scene, said he saw Draper at his home at Ropley after he had been shot. The same afternoon police officers were stationed all round Borough Farm. His intention was to arrest Walden on a charge of attempting to murder PC Draper. In turn he corroborated Cripps' evidence. At daybreak on 23 July additional police were brought to the farm and the house was surrounded. Shortly before 7 am both the outer doors of the house were forced and wedged open. Walden then fired at the officers. Sgt Longman, together with three constables, Ward, Cole and Vine, entered the scullery by the back door and Sgt Longman called to Walden to surrender, assuring him that no harm would befall him. Walden merely said 'You are going to kill me or I am going to kill you; I am not going to give in.' The scullery door was forced and he heard several more shots fired, the last two in fairly close succession. He entered by the front door and found Walden lying on the floor of the kitchen in a kind of sitting posture, and with a severe wound on the right side of his head. By his right side was a double-barrelled gun, which he was not holding but which was pointing towards his head. Hatcher searched the premises, and found, in addition to the double-barrelled 12-bore gun by Walden's side, a single-barrelled, loaded 4.10 gun under the bed and a certain amount of ammunition for both guns, some of which had been fired. He gave evidence also of finding shot marks on the kitchen walls, on the staircase and near the entrance to the stairs, but none in the ceiling. Both the guns used by the police, and Walden's double-barrelled gun, were firing No. 6 cartridges.

Police Sgt. Longman, also stationed at Basingstoke, spoke of the final attack. He forced an entry to the scullery with the three constables, and forced open the kitchen door. He then saw a gun pointing towards him from the stairs. He pushed the door to, and shots were fired. He called out to Walden, 'Put your gun down and surrender.' Walden replied 'I am going to kill you like you are going to kill me; I am not going to give in.' Longman said 'Don't be a silly man, put up your gun and come out.' But Walden fired, and so taking a gun which one of the constables gave him Longman fired back twice towards the stairs. He called out again to Walden telling him to come out, but Walden only fired in reply. One of these shots struck him in the neck and arm, so he gave the gun to PC Cole, who also called on Walden to surrender, and later fired. Hearing a groan he went into the kitchen and at that moment Inspector Hatcher came in at the front door with other constables. Walden was slumped on the floor, his gun containing two empty cartridges.

PC Cole corroborated Sgt Longman's statement up to the time when the latter was hit by a shot and he took the gun. He then said to Walden 'Come out and put that gun down.' And Walden replied 'No, I am not coming out; I am going to shoot.' Looking out of the door he saw Walden standing on the stairs pointing the gun directly at him. He could see what looked like his elbow and he fired at that. After a short time he heard a groan, and going into the kitchen with Sgt Longman he found Walden in the position that Inspector Hatcher had described.

The hospital pathologist said that Walden died on the day of his admission to hospital suffering from gun-shot wounds. In his post-mortem examination he found a gun-shot wound on one side of the head, and there were 30 pellets there in a circle about four inches in diameter. One pellet had gone through the right eye to the brain and it was that one pellet which caused his death. There were no signs of scorching or powder marks. Howard Davies, an experienced Winchester gunsmith, said that there were approximately 280 pellets in a No. 6 12-bore cartridge. If such a cartridge had been fired at the head of a man from two feet, there would certainly be some scorching, and moreover, if a man had fired it at himself from such a range there would be massive injuries. He concluded that Walden's wound was consistent with being shot from a distance of about 15 feet.

Summing up the case, the Coroner said that it had aroused some notoriety but when one came to boil it down, there was really very little in it. Walden had been ordered by the CWAEC, in the execution of their duty, to do certain acts upon his farm. A good many attempts were made to induce him to carry out what had been ordered; but he disregarded the order; in fact he flouted it, and he did not attempt in any shape or form to do what he had been ordered to do. In consequence, the Committee had applied to the Ministry of Agriculture, and had been authorized, if they failed to get their orders carried out, to evict Walden. That eviction had nothing whatever to do with the landlord, Sir Anthony Tichborne, or his agents. That was the position of 22 July. Eviction at all times was a somewhat difficult process, and the HWAEC, in their wisdom and quite properly, applied for two police officers to accompany their representative to ensure that there was no breach of the peace. So PCs Draper and Cripps, together with Mr Morton, went to the house and made a peaceable approach to take possession of the land. They were unarmed. One of these officers remained behind while the other went to report that Walden was armed. Then, without warning Walden shot at the remaining constable 'in what he could only describe as a murderous manner'. Reinforcements were obtained, and

entrance was ultimately obtained. But before that, and after it, and practically continuously until 7 o'clock the following morning, Walden was shooting at every officer who appeared, and as a result he wounded four, including one quite badly. Consequently the position changed from what had been a civil proceeding to a criminal act. Walden, without any justification whatever, had fired at PC Draper and wounded him. If he had not been killed, he would undoubtedly have had to stand trial on a charge of attempted murder. There was no suggestion that he committed suicide, and it was a shot from one of the policemen which caused the fatal wound. If the jury came to that conclusion, the coroner thought the proper verdict for them to return was justifiable homicide, and he instructed the jury to this end. Their verdict was indeed one of justifiable homicide

On behalf of the jury the foreman expressed sympathy with PC Draper and wished him a speedy recovery. The same expression was made by Mr Geech on behalf of the relatives, and sympathy with the relatives was expressed by Mr Pettifer on behalf of his clients, mentioning that this unfortunate affair closed 'a very pleasant association of landlord and tenant' with the Walden family lasting many years. Mr Scott, on behalf of the HWAEC, also expressed his regrets at the occurrence. There the inquest proceedings ended.⁵⁹

A meeting of the HWAEC actually took place on 23 July, the day that Walden died, but there was no mention of the incident in the minutes. However, on the 30 July a minute states that:

Arising from the County Land Officer's report, the committee considered certain statements which had been made in regard to the tragic circumstances of this case, and the advisability of holding an enquiry into the manner in which the eviction was carried out. Resolved: that an enquiry into this case was not necessary.

Instead, at their 6 August meeting, two weeks after the shooting, it was resolved that:

Arising from the County Land Officer's report ... that the landlord's solicitors be informed that there was no objection to their new tenant moving into the farm, but that the committee cannot accept any liability for the damage done to the premises by the police.

The final mention of Borough Farm at this time was in the minutes for 10 September when it was resolved that the account of Walden's neighbour T. E. Bennett for £2. 4s. *od.* for looking after the farm be approved and paid.⁶⁰

The 1941 National Farm Survey makes it clear that Borough Farm had been merged for practical purposes with John Foot's Home Farm in Tichborne to give him 163 acres of crops and grass and 55 cattle (including 21 cows and heifers). Foot, working the farm with his three

⁵⁹ Walden's death certificate was later issued from Winchester Registration District on 2 Aug. 1940 (number DYB 091450) with the cause of death 'injury to the brain following a gunshot wound inflicted by a police officer in self defence and in legal execution of his duty. Justifiable homicide PM'.

⁶⁰ This was Thomas Bennett, born in 1890 into the family of a rural postman, and living as a baby at Tichborne Down in the 1891 census (TNA, RG12/949).

His was the neighbouring Tichborne Down Farm, of a similar size (65 acres in 1941) and also belonging to the Tichborne estate, but classed by the Ministry of Agriculture as being in New Alresford parish (TNA, MAF 65/22). In the National Farm Survey he was classed as a 'B1' farmer, with 'no obvious failings', the form having been filled in by J. R. Burge and T. W. Ashton, and completed by W. T. Mitchell on 21 Sept. 1941 (TNA, MAF 32/985/312).

sons, was graded an 'A' farmer. He had ploughed up 8 acres of 'The Crawls' near the mansion for oats for the 1940 harvest, and for 1941 he had ploughed part of the old Borough Farm's Miller's Hill field for 20 acres of oats and 7½ acres of wheat. He had occupied Home Farm for 6½ years but had taken on an additional 51 acres since June 1940 – a clear reference to Walden's farm, although there is no mention of Walden at all.⁶¹

The notoriety of the building seems not to be well known by local people today. But John Curtis of West Lea farm shop (with watercress a speciality from its beds next to the clear waters of the Itchen which divide his land from Borough Farm) knew Ray Walden as a rather thin-faced man who wore an old hat and carried a gun – a rather fearsome old man to a child. John was 11 years old at the time of the trouble and remembers his father trying to intervene but being stopped by police. His father always thereafter remained convinced that if he could have spoken directly with Walden he could have prevented the final outcome. One newspaper report did state that two friends called out to him, but that he did not reply or open the door. John also remembers that Walden had a sister living with him [Barbara], but that she was away at the time of the shooting, and he also remembers that the issue aroused great sympathy in the locality.⁶² Barbara had left to stay with friends in Alresford rather than witness the sorry dispossession of her brother from the farm where they had both been raised as children.

IV

It is a commonplace that history is a story written by the victors, and Foucault saw truth as the fragile product of historical struggles. Despite early work by the Hammonds, English agrarian history has only recently begun in earnest to recover 'other' versions of 'improvement' or 'progress'.⁶³ The story of the real CWAEC wartime successes in feeding Britain undoubtedly hides the stories of the victims. But contemporary demands for the rights of those deprived of their freedom to farm as they thought appropriate were immediate, and debated locally and nationally, even within the exigencies of wartime. In today's atmosphere of concern for minorities, 'others' and ethical scholarship, what has been called 'contrition chic' has appeared.⁶⁴ Yet standards of historical evidence are important in judging events such as the death of Walden, as is the context of his death. In presenting this account, it is also significant that it has recently been claimed that civilian death during the Second World War, and perhaps in the twentieth century more generally after 1918, has remained an under-researched area compared with other historical periods.⁶⁵

⁶¹ TNA, MAF 32/991/321 and 73/15/42, Sheet XLII.5. John Foot had ploughed the 8 acres for the 1940 harvest in response to a ploughing order from the Executive Committee dated 15 Nov. 1939 (TNA, MAF 80/894).

⁶² Interviews with John Curtis, Aug. 2001 and Nov. 2006. The report mentioning the friends was in the *Hampshire Observer*, 27 July 1940.

⁶³ For a summary of views on agricultural progress and the social relations of agricultural change, see

A. Howkins, 'Agrarian histories and agricultural revolutions', in W. Lamont (ed.) *Historical controversies and historians* (1998), pp. 81–91.

⁶⁴ A conversation evening on repatriation, restitution and reparations hosted by the British Academy in December 2006 raised these issues.

⁶⁵ J. Rugg, 'Managing "Civilian deaths due to war operations": Yorkshire operations during World War II', *Twentieth-century British History* 15 (2004), pp. 152–73.

The mystery of the exact requirement of land to be ploughed is interesting. Was it four acres, as stated by some reporters at the inquest and as thereafter used by other writers? Or was it the 34 acres as stated in the HWAEC minutes, and also as stated by other reporters present at the inquest? If the latter, then Walden was being asked to plough up 55 per cent of his small farm, at a time when most other farmers were being asked to plough about 10 per cent. Mead, from the HWAEC, was certainly cited as stating that 34 acres was the required amount. One suspects that the four acres was the result of mis-hearing by a reporter during the inquest proceedings, and it is therefore most unfortunate that it is this figure which has been used in later publications and by the Farmers' Rights Association (FRA).⁶⁶ Mead quoted the 34 acres as stemming from a cultivation order dated 17 April, and on both 9 April and 16 April the minutes of the WAEC explicitly give the compulsory acreage to be ploughed as 34.257 acres, a figure clearly denoting that particular fields had been allocated for arable production.⁶⁷ And indeed, the National Farm Survey map annotated between 1941 and 1943, shows two larger fields, separated at their northern end by a small belt of trees and situated on downland to the south of Borough Farm which are colour-washed grey and labelled 'Borough Farm 6/312/8225'. The final number in this reference '8225' matches the number cited in the HWAEC minutes. The larger of the fields contains 22.417 acres, the smaller 11.840 acres – together giving 34.257 acres – the amount Walden was expected to plough up according to the minutes.⁶⁸ (The fields are shown in Figure 1.) So there can be no doubt that he was expected to plough up more than half of his farm, being that part on the downland outside the narrow confines of the valley itself. This would have depleted hugely his resources for maintaining his dairy herd, especially since it appears that he was already producing some corn from his 62 acres, hence the reference to his corn ricks remaining unthreshed.⁶⁹ Even assuming a minimum of four acres of corn already being grown, if the order was indeed for 34 acres the required additional plough-up would have taken up nearly 60 per cent of his remaining pasture, a figure difficult to justify rationally on farming grounds, especially of an elderly farmer. Furthermore, if Walden was being required to plough up in the Spring (April), which is when the WAEC minutes of his case begin, in order to rid his land of weeds by summer fallowing, he was being deprived of his summer grazing or of the chance to get a hay crop in for his winter feed requirements. It was certainly the case that dairy farmers in Hampshire had been forewarned in September 1939 that they would be expected to break up some of their grassland for arable, but the amount demanded of Walden seems disproportionate.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ The *Hampshire Observer*, 3 Aug. 1940 gives 34 acres, as does the *Hampshire Advertiser*, 3 Aug. 1940; the *Hampshire Chronicle*, 3 Aug. 1940 gives 4 acres. Given that two fields are mentioned as being required to be ploughed, it does seem unlikely that these would only amount to 4 acres. Finally, and difficult to fathom, the *Hampshire Advertiser*, 27 July 1940, gives 5 acres. But this latter article also consistently refers to the deceased as 'Warden'!

⁶⁷ The minutes (TNA, MAF 80/895) give the compulsory order reference number as 6/312/8225.

⁶⁸ TNA, MAF 73/15/42, sheet XLII.5. The sheet is a

reduced copy of the 25-inch sheet, which includes original printed Ordnance Survey field sizes.

⁶⁹ That Walden normally produced some arable crops is also confirmed by John Curtis who remembered seeing Walden's sister about the farm when, as a boy, he helped with Walden's harvest, binding and rick building (pers. comm., 29 Nov. 2006).

⁷⁰ See the *Hampshire Chronicle*, 3 Aug. 1940 for the instruction to summer fallow the ploughed land. For the warning to dairy farmers, see TNA, MAF 80/894, minute of 14 Sept. 1939.

TABLE 2. Acreages of wheat, barley, oats and potatoes (combined) in the United Kingdom, Hampshire, and in the locality of Borough Farm, 1939–41

	1939	1940	% change 1939–40	1941	% change 1940–1
United Kingdom ('000 acres)	5,910	7,380	24.9	8,814	19.4
Hampshire	112,196	143,287	27.7	188,075	31.3
Tichborne	511	620	21.3	966	55.8
New Alresford	158	113	–28.5	172	52.2
Itchen Stoke and Ovington	499	836	67.5	1,032	23.4
Combined three parishes	1,168	1,569	34.3	2,170	38.3

Source: K. A. H. Murray, *Agriculture* (History of the Second World War series, 1955), Appendix Table 4, p. 373; TNA, MAF 68/3905; 3942; 3979.

It is not known whether he possessed a tractor, and if he relied on horses the ploughing could have entailed more than 30 days' work. There is no mention in the HWAEC minutes of a contractor being employed, and it is possible that Walden – as with John Crowe, and indeed with Odlum in Wiltshire – were caught in the prevailing bias against 'dairymen' as opposed to 'real' (i.e. arable) farmers, being expected to restructure their farming without experience or adequate equipment.⁷¹

Even though there were criticisms of Walden's farming other than his refusal to plough, the more one thinks about the decision and its tragic outcome, the harsher the treatment meted out by the HWAEC appears. Table 2 gives the acreages of wheat, barley, oats and potatoes being grown in the three parishes making up the locality within which Borough Farm lay. These were the main crops emphasised in the early years of the war, and it can be seen that the percentage increases of these crops between 1939 and 1941 was greater than either the UK figure or that for Hampshire as a whole. This was despite the presence of the water meadows and the loss of farmland within the boundaries of New Alresford parish, probably for military use.⁷² Table 3 shows the rate of plough-up of permanent grassland, and again demonstrates that the area around Borough Farm was well in advance of both national and county rates. It would appear from these data that the area was performing above the norm for national and county expectations, and that there should have been little cause for the HWAEC to be anxious about these parishes pulling their weight at this time. The data for 1941 would not, of course, have been available to the HWAEC at the time of the decision to dispossess Walden.

⁷¹ The case of Odlum is dealt with in Martin, 'George Odlum'.

⁷² The area to the east, north-east and north-west of Winchester, and around Borough Farm at Tichborne

Park, became a training ground for American troops on their way to Normandy later in the war (<http://www.armyreserve.army.mil/USARC/DIV-IT/0095DIV-IT/History.htm>) [accessed 22 June 2008].

TABLE 3. Acreages of permanent grass (for mowing) and permanent grass (for grazing) (combined) in the United Kingdom, Hampshire, and in the locality of Borough Farm, 1939–41

	1939	1940	% change 1939–40	1941	% change 1940–1
United Kingdom ('000 acres)	18,773	17,084	–9.0	15,114	–11.5
Hampshire	287,422	262,232	–8.8	226,724	–13.5
Tichborne	936	824	–12.0	759	–7.9
New Alresford	576	460	–20.1	264	–42.6
Itchen Stoke and Ovington	961	811	–15.6	462	–43.0
Combined three parishes	2473	2095	–15.3	1485	–29.1

Source: K. A. H. Murray, *Agriculture* (History of the Second World War series, 1955), Appendix Table 4, p. 373; TNA, MAF 68/3905; 3942; 3979.

Walden's death aroused great sympathy, not only in the neighbourhood, but also nationally, and was an undoubted spur to the establishment of the FRA from Shropshire by L. V. Priestley. The Association was an outlet for aggrieved farmers, many having been dispossessed, and several pamphlets were published from their Church Stretton offices. One, *Living Casualties* (*The dispossessed farmer*), was:

dedicated to the memory of George Raymond Walden aged 65 years of Borough Farm, Itchen Stoke, Hampshire who was dispossessed by the Hampshire War Agricultural Executive Committee. While defending his home, where he had lived all his life, and his father before him, he was gassed and shot to death.⁷³

The FRA later declared him a 'martyr of civil liberty'.⁷⁴ Whilst we have seen that the claim to life occupancy of Borough Farm was not strictly correct, and neither was the mis-quoted figure of 4 acres to be ploughed up which was also used, the pamphlet does indicate the strength of feeling over Walden's death, and also the resistance to eviction without the right to independent appeal which had been such a contentious feature of wartime CWAEC activities.

The well-known agricultural journalist and broadcaster, A. G. Street, published his novel *Shameful Harvest* (1952), with a story loosely based on this case, and with a dedication to George Walden. His later *Feather-bedding* (1954) referring to the need for 'Desperate measures and desperate remedies' also contained a reference to the incident, calling it 'un-British and

⁷³ Farmers' Rights Association, *Living casualties*. Walden's fate is mentioned by other agricultural historians in discussions of the opposition to CWAEC control: see J. Martin, *The development of modern agriculture: British farming since 1931* (2000), pp. 63–5; S. Ward, *War in the countryside, 1939–45* (1988), p. 24. The latter mentions that the police were backed up by troops, but no

contemporary source confirms this.

⁷⁴ Issues relating to dispossession are also dealt with in Self and Storing, *State and the Farmer*, pp. 127–38. As well as *Living Casualties*, where the reference to Walden is on p. 22, the FRA also published *The New Morality* (1945) and *The New Anarchy* (1948).

undemocratic'.⁷⁵ Here was, as Angus Calder remarked 'where the mailed fist showed through the velvet glove'. Both Calder and Street in *Shameful Harvest*, incidentally follow others in ascribing the incident to one arising over a requirement to plough just four acres of land.⁷⁶

Perhaps Walden was something of a test case for the HWAEC, maybe even a flexing of their muscle and a refusal to back down in a struggle over principles. Walden may not have been an energetic or particularly good farmer, but there was no history of difficulty with the pre-war Hampshire Agricultural Committee.⁷⁷ He was an elderly bachelor with relatively few contacts, probably somewhat isolated from the rest of the farming community, stubborn and old-fashioned – perhaps even unpopular with his landlord, although like him a Catholic. There is no evidence that his landlord tried to intervene on Walden's behalf: a question asked at the inquest on behalf of Sir Anthony Tichborne was designed only to absolve him from any connection with the incident. The coroner's terms of reference were confined to ascertaining the immediate circumstances and the cause of death. The events leading up to the incident were only briefly stated. Any further investigation of the incident was therefore left to the HWAEC, and perhaps significantly, they declined to pursue it.

Walden had become – in Anthony Hurd's words – one of 'agriculture's war casualties'. These were, it was claimed, inevitable in fighting a totalitarian war, when 'action was speedier and safeguards far less' and when extended reporting of such incidents was curtailed for fear of damage to morale. But whereas most wartime deaths, whether military or civilian, were reported with an overt or underlying 'heroic' rhetoric, Walden's could not be, except by a small minority of his peers and neighbours. Under the pressures of war, mistakes were made by the CWAECs, and there was waste of resources on many occasions, but in national terms, the job got done.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, as Whetham noted, 'the more notable of their omissions and mistakes will find a permanent, if exaggerated, record in local gossip and local history'.⁷⁹ For the FRA there was the hope that 'perhaps a more enlightened generation will honour the memory of this obscure Hampshire farmer'.⁸⁰ Certainly Street felt that Walden, in refusing to budge from his family home, was fighting:

Nazi methods in Hampshire as stoutly as younger Britons were fighting them overseas. Somehow it is difficult to blame him overmuch. The real blame for his martyrdom lies with

⁷⁵ A. G. Street, *Shameful harvest* (1952); id., *Feather-bedding* (1954), pp. 28–35. A lukewarm review of the former book in the *Illustrated London News* (10 May 1952, p. 814) referred to 'woodenness', a 'deadening effect' with the small, independent farmer in the novel, Jimmy, having made a enemy of an old but wealthy friend, finding that 'when war breaks out, and independence can be made a crime, the power to save or smash him is invested in his old foe'. And the *Times Literary Supplement* (6 June 1952, p. 373) referred to 'a violent climax [which is] not very convincing'. All the same, the novel is a vituperative attack on the CWAEC wartime powers. A review in *The Times* (5 Apr. 1952, p. 6) wrote of the CWAEC's 'excess and extremism'.

⁷⁶ A. Calder, *The people's war: Britain, 1939–45* (1969),

p. 427; and for the same 4-acre figure, see F. Mountford, *Heartbreak Farm: a farmer and his farm in wartime* (1997), pp. 106–7. Street actually refers to 4½ acres (p. 274). Most recently *The Guardian's* 'Country Diary' editor, Martin Wainwright, repeats the error in his edited *Wartime country diaries* (2007), p. 100. It is high time this canard was laid to rest!

⁷⁷ HRO, H/CX1/2, Hampshire Agricultural Committee minutes, 1926–47.

⁷⁸ Self and Storing, *State and the farmer*, p. 133, n. 1; Hurd, *Farmer in Whitehall*, p. 35.

⁷⁹ TNA, MAF 102/326, draft of official wartime history by Whetham, p. 395.

⁸⁰ FRA, *Living Casualties*, p. 22.

those responsible for the administration of the war-time state control of farming at that date, and principally with his farmer neighbours. Some of these were on the committee that issued the instructions that ultimately led to his death; while the others stood by and let this dreadful thing happen without making any effort to prevent it. To the lasting shame of British farmers in general and Hampshire farmers in particular history will show that not one farmer fought alongside George Raymond Walden in his hour of need.⁸¹

We might conclude with E. H. Carr's words – that the incident demonstrates 'the thesis of the lesser evil and the greater good'.⁸² It was vital that food supplies were maintained, in the face of merchant shipping losses in the Atlantic, for the urban majority whose morale might quickly evaporate if supplies were threatened, undermining national solidarity.⁸³ But we have also seen that the issue was more complex than this because Walden became a symbol. For progressive farmers he symbolized old-fashioned small-farmer attitudes; for those on the HWAEC he symbolized resistance to their wartime campaign to produce more food at almost any cost; for his neighbours and fellow tenants he was insular and little part of any community spirit; and for the FRA he was a martyr for his stand against state tyranny. Who was to blame for his death? It is, of course, difficult, possibly invidious, at this remove to apportion blame. Walden was particularly obstinate in refusing the HWAEC request, even turning a deaf ear to last-minute attempts to change his mind by his sister, among others. The HWAEC was undoubtedly over-zealous in its pursuit of plough-up; and the police surely handled the siege itself rather badly and need not have stormed the house at all. Walden died intestate, and his sister Barbara administered his effects, worth £461 14s. 11d.⁸⁴ Borough Farm was later sold off by the Tichborne Estate. The final word should go to the official recognition of such cases as these:

One farmer may be called upon to plough up most of his farm or revolutionize his whole method of farming, with possible loss to himself, whilst his neighbour engaged in mixed arable farming continues relatively undisturbed with increased profits. These are the fortunes of war, which it's difficult and often impossible to avoid.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Street, *Feather-bedding*, pp. 30–1.

⁸² E. H. Carr, *What is history?* (1967), pp. 79–81.

⁸³ See R. Mackay, *Half the battle: civilian morale in Britain during the Second World War* (2002); S. Rose, *Which people's war? National identity and citizenship in wartime Britain, 1939–45* (2003), pp. 197–238. For shipping losses during the summer of 1940, see Central Office of Information, *The Battle of the Atlantic* (1946).

⁸⁴ *National Probate Calendar 1940*. 'Administration: Llandudno 13 Nov. to Barbara Roskilly, Widow'. Walden was buried next to his father in Ovington churchyard on 27 July 1940 (HRO, 32M69/PR8/7).

⁸⁵ Ministry of Agriculture, *Notes on agricultural policy for those directing the food production campaign* (Spring 1942), p. 4.