

# Basingstoke before Redevelopment

Bob Applin

## Introduction

The Victoria County History project chose the Basingstoke Hundred as the pilot for the revision of its Hampshire volumes originally published in 1911.<sup>1</sup> Basingstoke was chosen because the town itself underwent a major planned expansion between 1964 and 1978 under an overspill agreement between the London County Council and its successors, Hampshire County Council and Basingstoke Borough Council.<sup>2</sup> The population grew from about 28,000 in 1964 to about 78,000 in 1978 and continued by natural expansion to around 100,000 in 2013. The surrounding villages were caught up in this expansion and many have grown considerably as commuter dormitory areas.

The planned expansion involved the large-scale demolition of the northern part of the central shopping area, much of the surrounding low quality mid-Victorian workers' housing and several substantial industrial/commercial premises.

The town changed from a small market town with four engineering works and a pharmaceutical company, between them employing about a third of the working population, to a diversified industrial town with mainly 'blue collar' employment but also with a large element of office work. Many of the employers who moved from London have since either gone to other parts of the country or shut down. Their place was taken by communication, finance and service industries and many smaller high-tech firms in the IT industry. Several international companies have established their head offices in the town. In 2013 the town had a thriving and diversified employment profile. The town and its surrounding villages also housed a large commuter community that took advantage of the excellent transport routes to other centres of employment.

This essay is my recollection of what the central area of the town was like physically before most of it was cleared for redevelopment; written fifty years after the event, it is necessarily subjective. I was in my mid 20s when demolition started; I was not sorry to see a lot of the buildings go and I am still of that opinion.

Basingstoke evolved from a pre-Conquest royal manor, through being a chartered borough of importance to the Wessex woollen industry to an industrialised modern borough. To put this into context I have included a broad-brush outline of the town's history to set the scene for Basingstoke immediately before the trauma of the redevelopment programme. I have made no attempt to discuss the social or political aspects of life in 1960s Basingstoke.

Because of its nodal position on the transport routes to the south and west (M3 & A303 and the railway), and its proximity to London, Basingstoke would have expanded rapidly naturally, as it has in the post-development years. Who knows what the town would have looked like? What is certain is that there would have been considerable redevelopment of the shopping area utilising the derelict land that had been the gardens of the properties fronting Church St and Wote St and the canal wharf area.

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<sup>1</sup> William Page (Ed) *The Victoria History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Constable & Co, 1911

<sup>2</sup> Basingstoke – Town Development – description of the scheme, Basingstoke Town Development Committee, 1962



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**Figure 1 Basingstoke from the north-east in the early 1950s**

## **In The Beginning**

It was not until the Iron Age and Roman periods that the chalk downland around Basingstoke was extensively settled with farmsteads at about half-mile intervals on the hills north and south of the Loddon Valley.<sup>3</sup> Several higher status ‘villa’ sites have also been identified, probably occupied by Romanised Britons.<sup>4</sup> But no settlement has been found that can be identified as ‘Basingstoke’. The administrative centre during the Roman period was at Calleva Atrebatum (near modern Silchester) about seven miles to the north.

The settlement that became Basingstoke was established some time between the end of the Roman period and the Norman invasion; it is recorded as a King’s manor in the Domesday Book of 1086.<sup>5</sup> The most widely accepted account of its origins is that a group of Anglo Saxon settlers led by a chief called Basa established a settlement at what is now Old Basing. They had possibly come up the river Loddon to the point where there was a ford for the Roman road from Silchester to Chichester to cross the river. A high status group of buildings at nearby Cowdrey’s Down was built in the 7th -9th century.<sup>6</sup> A sub group of these settlers, at some stage, moved further up the river and established Basingstoke – the ‘stoke’ (originally *stoc*) element of the name meaning a ‘dependent settlement’ of Basing.<sup>7</sup> This was probably as far up the river Loddon as was navigable – the river, although a much more substantial entity than its present much reduced state, only rose about two miles to the west at what is now Worting Bottom (NGR SU661517) very near the watershed between the Thames and

<sup>3</sup> For example Ructstalls Hill. Oliver M & Applin B, Excavation of an Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement at Ructstalls Hill, Basingstoke, Hants 1972-5, *Proc Hants Field Club*, 35, 1978, pp 41-92.

<sup>4</sup> For example Monk Sherborne, Teague Steve, Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne, Hampshire, *Hampshire Studies*, 60, 2005, pp 64-135.

<sup>5</sup> Domesday Book 4, Hampshire, Ed Julian Munby, Philimore, Chichester, 1982, 39b.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Millet, *Excavations at Cowdrey’s Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978-8*. *Archaeological Journal*, 140 (1983), 151-279.

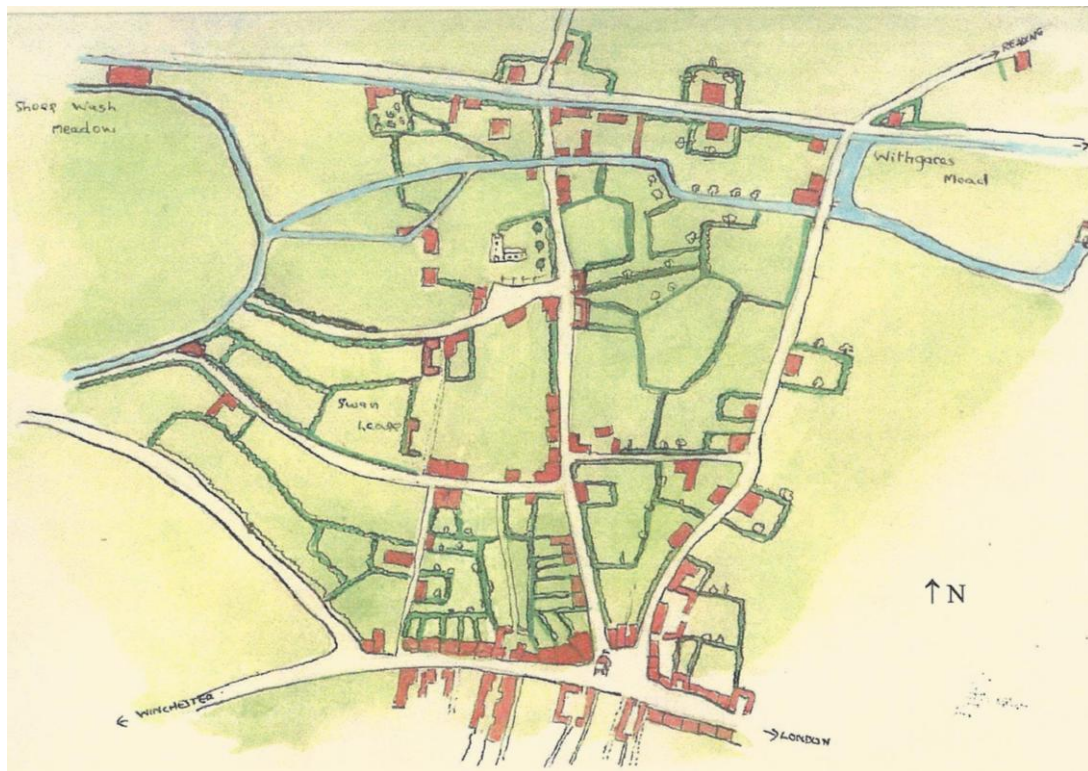
<sup>7</sup> Richard Coates, *Hampshire Place Names*, Ensign Publications, Southampton, 1989, 29.

Test valleys. Over time the newer settlement grew in importance at the expense of the original settlement at Old Basing.

### Why should a settlement be established here?

It is on the boundary of two geological formations. The chalk downland of the North Downs with its light soils was suitable for arable farming and sheep rearing and the heavier clay soils of the Reading and London beds to the north and east were more suitable for pasture for stock rearing. The settlement provided a market place for the exchange of goods and produce from the two areas. From the 18th century the town serviced a hinterland of about 10 miles radius<sup>8</sup> and it is likely that this relationship had been established many centuries earlier.

It was a nodal point on the routes between important towns in the medieval period: Winchester to London, Oxford to Chichester, Reading to Winchester and the west of England to Canterbury. The prehistoric long distance trackway, the Harroway, passed about a mile to the south of the settlement on the higher ground and split into the winter and summer tracks just west of the town at what is now the Berg estate (NGR SU616504). At some point, probably quite early in the town's history, the commercial centre of the town moved from the low-lying area around the church to the higher ground about a quarter of a mile to the south where a Market Hall was built, although the area around the church remained important.



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**Figure 2 Basingstoke c. 1500**

### Post Medieval

By the 15th century the road pattern of the town had become established and it would remain essentially unchanged until the 1960s wholesale redevelopment. This comprised the east-west Great Western Road, on the higher ground, from London to Southampton and Weymouth and, after splitting at the western edge of the town, to Salisbury and Exeter. A second east-west route, north of the river Loddon in the river valley, came via Newnham and Old Basing and joined the Exeter road at Worting.

<sup>8</sup> Customer Accounts Ledger, John Ring, Auctioneer and Furnisher of Basingstoke, Dec 1785 -1796. HRO, 8M62/14-15.

Two north-south routes converged on the town and met the Great Western Road in Basingstoke's Market Square. These were the road from Oxford via Newbury and the road from Reading. South of the town the roads went via Alton to Chichester and to Alresford and onwards to Portsmouth.

In addition to this geographically nodal position Basingstoke was also a day's travelling distance from the nearest other larger settlements. Winchester, Reading, Newbury and Andover are all about a day's travel away on foot or horseback, so there was a need for overnight accommodation for travellers. A number of old-established inns became important in the coaching era, for example The Angel, The Feathers and The Crown.

There were several major fires in the town in the 14th and 15th centuries<sup>9</sup> so there are very few records of the town that give a picture of the town and its industry until the 16th century when it had become one of the centres of the Wessex woollen cloth industry.<sup>10</sup> In the 16th century Basingstoke was recorded as the fifth largest town in Hampshire<sup>11</sup> and there are records of several wealthy families involved in the cloth industry.<sup>12</sup> Another fire in 1656 destroyed many more records when the Town Hall was burnt to the ground.

As the production of broadcloth moved westward into Somerset and the surrounding areas Basingstoke became a centre for the production of coarser woollen fabrics known as druggetts and shalloons, but even this industry had died out by the early 17th century.<sup>13</sup> A manufacturer of horse blankets is recorded in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> A short-lived attempt to introduce silk production was unsuccessful. Within living memory the Rectory garden, now Glebe Gardens, near a building known as the Silk Mill (demolished during the redevelopment), contained a large mulberry tree.<sup>15</sup>

During the 18th century malting became a major industry, in both the town and the surrounding area, with the product being supplied to London brewers as well as being used locally. In 1758 Thomas May established a brewery in Brook St that was to become a more than local supplier, having 81 tied houses, from Sandhurst in the east to Winchester in the south, when it was sold to Simonds of Reading in 1948.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Baigent FW & Millard JE, *A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke*, CJ Jacob, 1889, 75, 78, 172, 685.

<sup>10</sup> Jonathan Brown, Market Towns and Downland in Hampshire 1780-1914, *Southern History*, **28**, 2006, 74-93. This article has a good account of why Basingstoke and some other Hampshire towns prospered at the expense of other nearby towns.

<sup>11</sup> John Hare, Church-Building and Urban Prosperity on the Eve of the Reformation, *Hampshire Studies*, **62**, 2007, 181-192.

<sup>12</sup> For example HRO, 1554B/34 – William South.

<sup>13</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724-6, edited by P. N. Furbank, W. R. Owens and A. J. Coulson (Folio Society, London, 2006), 88.

<sup>14</sup> *The Universal British Directory* (1792).

<sup>15</sup> Personal Communication – Debbie Reavell, 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Keith Osborne, *Hampshire Hogsheads*, Vol 1 – North Hampshire, Hampshire Hogsheads, 1996, 36-37.



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**Figure 3 May's Brewery**

With the establishment of the Post coaching system in the latter half of the 18th century, using the improved roads produced by turnpiking, Basingstoke became an important staging point on the routes to the south and west. By the 1830s up to 37 coaches a day changed horses at seven inns in the town.<sup>17</sup> This gave employment to a large supporting workforce to feed and accommodate the travellers and service the horses needed for the stage change. In addition a large number of agricultural workers were needed to supply the fodder etc for the 'local' horses. The coaching employment came to an abrupt end with the arrival of the railway in 1839 and its completion as a through route to Southampton in 1840; only one coach a day went to London in 1841. This had a major effect on the town; its population growth for the next 20 years was well below the national average.<sup>18</sup>

In 1794 a canal was opened from the Wey Navigation (linked to the Thames) to Basingstoke; for a while it was moderately profitable but never paid a dividend. It also was affected by the railway and the section from Basingstoke to the Greywell tunnel was finally abandoned in 1910.<sup>19</sup> The extensive wharf area was used as a timber yard for many years and finally used as the local bus depot. However, it was not all bad news. In the 1850s the 'industrialisation' of the town began. A branch of the Wallis family of corn merchants, earlier, had moved from Reading and had established a diversified business at the canal wharf as bargemasters and dealers in the goods transported; they also ran a foundry on the site.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Derek Spruce, *Basingstoke 1780-1860. Aspects of the Development of North Hampshire Market Town*. MSc Dissertation, 1977. Copy in Reference Section of Basingstoke Discovery Centre (Basingstoke Library).

<sup>18</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Making of Basingstoke*, Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society, 2008, 122-3.

<sup>19</sup> P.A.L. Vine, *London's Lost Route To Basingstoke*, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1994, xiv.

<sup>20</sup> R. A. Whitehead, *Wallis & Steevens A History*, The Road Locomotive Society, 1983, 9.



One of the sons, Arthur, was apprenticed as an engineer in the north of England and returned to take the place of an older brother (who had died) in an ironmonger's business that also had a foundry.<sup>21</sup> In the mid 1850s Arthur Wallis, with partner Charles Haslam, established the North Hants Ironworks at the bottom of the hill to the rail station (which became Station Hill) at what was then the outskirts of the town, to supply cast iron agricultural products.<sup>22</sup> This business expanded over the years, first by acting as agents for farm equipment and then manufacturing their own and branching out into the manufacture of steam engines and road rollers. At the height of their output in 1914 they employed nearly 400 staff. The buildings of the North Hants Ironworks were demolished during the town redevelopment and Crown Heights now occupies (approximately) the site. The company ceased trading in 1972.<sup>23</sup>

A second agricultural engineer, Henry Smith, came from the Midlands in the 1860s and established a flourishing business as agent for the major agricultural equipment manufacturers. His son Fred expanded the business further and by the time of town redevelopment, what had become Fred Smith Ltd had an Austin Morris car dealership as well as the agricultural engineering and supply business. The combined businesses occupied most of the block of premises on the west side of Station Hill, the south side of Junction Rd and the east side of Chapel St.

A second Smith family (no relation) established a corn and seed merchants business that expanded into milling and they established a steam mill in an old chalk pit in Reading Rd, appropriately named Steam Dell. This four storey building existed as a furniture repository until town redevelopment.

Trade directories of the period show that while there were long established family retail businesses trading in the town there was a large turn over of businesses that only lasted a few years. Among incomers who were successful were Alfred Milward from Henley-on-Thames in 1857 and Thomas Burberry from near Dorking in 1856.

Alfred Milward from humble beginnings with a hand cart going from door to door selling boots he had bought from wholesalers, grew his business into a major shoe shop chain that was sold to Clarks in 1994.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Whitehead, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Whitehead, 10.

<sup>23</sup> Whitehead, 44.

<sup>24</sup> Anon, *The Milward Story*, Milward Co, c1957.



© Hants Library & Information Service

**Figure 4 Station Hill looking towards the Station, 1964**

Thomas Burberry came to the town and purchased the drapery business of Thomas Loader in 1856. This was the start of the tailoring business that evolved into the internationally renowned quality goods manufacturer and retailer of today. He also established a household goods store. As his businesses expanded, Thomas sold off various parts of his tailoring business: the ready-made side to Gerrish, Ames and Simpkins in 1878, the bespoke general tailoring factory to John Mares in 1894 and 'The Emporium', his departmental store, to Edgar Lanham in 1922. All of these purchasers (except Simpkins) were ex-employees. It is not known if Burberry retained any shareholding in the businesses that he sold off. The tailoring businesses, along with his own factory for manufacture of high class bespoke tailoring, were major employers of female labour in the town. The connection with Basingstoke ended with the cessation of tailoring in the Basingstoke factory in 1957.

Although the depression caused by the loss of the coaching trade caused the population of the town to grow at a much lower rate than the national average between 1841 and 1861,<sup>25</sup> there was some growth and the town began to expand with housing for the workers coming into the town, many of whom worked on the railways.

The area between Basing Rd, Reading Rd and Gashouse Rd was filled with 'two up two down' houses that opened directly onto the street. Similar houses had been built in Bunnian Place, and later to the south of the Market Square off Southern Rd (Cambridge, Oxford Terraces and Caston's and Jubilee Rds.) and in Flaxfield Rd. In the 1880s the Newtown area (later known as May St) was developed with a better quality of workers' housing; this was also largely occupied by railway workers.

<sup>25</sup> Census 1841, 1851, 1861.



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**Figure 5 Bunnian Place looking north to railway, 1964**

With the exception of those in Flaxfield Rd and Jubilee Rd these low quality houses were all demolished during town redevelopment. A better standard of house was being built from the 1870s on land north of the railway and also from the mid 1880s onwards to the west of the town on Worting Rd and the Essex Rd area. Similar properties were also built south of the town in the Fairfields area with more substantial 'gentlemen's residences' in Chequers Rd, Cliddesden Rd, parts of Fairfields and Winchester Rd. Many of these still exist, some as offices and dental surgeries, but a number have been replaced by blocks of flats.





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**Figure 6 May Street looking east c. 1966**

In 1898 J. I. Thornycroft Ltd (a steam-ship builder at Chiswick and at Woolston on the Itchen) established a factory on the West Ham estate west of Deep Lane to manufacture steam-driven lorries. The business expanded rapidly to include motor vehicles and quickly became the dominant employer in the town, employing 200 by 1904.<sup>26</sup> They produced motor cars until 1913, but ceased this production to concentrate on building motor lorries; the manufacture of steam lorries was phased out by 1911.<sup>27</sup> The company was a major contributor to the war effort in both world wars. At the height of production during World War Two the factory employed about 2,500 workers, of whom at least 500 were women. After several amalgamations, which culminated in the Basingstoke factory becoming part of British Leyland, the factory was sold in 1972 to the American Eaton Corporation which manufactured gear boxes for commercial vehicles. The site closed in 1982.

The growing importance of Basingstoke's position in the national railway network was emphasised when the London & South Western Railway was expanded from two to four tracks as far as the Battledown junction west of Worting and a major expansion of the goods yards and a rebuild of the station were made in 1900-01.

Expansion of the town continued in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when housing of various standards was built in Worting Rd, Queen's Rd, Alexandra Rd, George St, the west end of Lower Brook St and off the Reading Rd north of the railway to house the growing population which was about 9,800 by 1911.<sup>28</sup> In 1914 the first Council houses were built – a crescent of 14 houses in Cranbourne Lane, then at the edge of the town, off Winchester Rd and now demolished.

<sup>26</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Making of Basingstoke*, Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society, 2008, 23.

<sup>27</sup> Alan Townsin, *Thornycroft*, Ian Allen Publishing Ltd, 2001, 14.

<sup>28</sup> 1911 census.



## The 20th Century



**Figure 8 6" Ordnance Survey map of central Basingstoke, 1938**

The road pattern of the core of the town had remained unchanged from at least the 16th century and by the 1960s had become totally inadequate for the traffic it had to carry (a bypass to divert the A30 south of the town had been opened in 1932 as part of the national work creation scheme during the Depression of the 1920s and 1930s).

Before World War One, national grocery and butchery chains began to move into the main shopping area of Winchester St and London St, displacing the family-owned businesses. As the 20th century progressed more national chains, such as Timothy Whites (hardware and pharmacy), Woolworth, Boots, Currys, took over more of the shops in Winchester St and London St. There was some rebuilding, for example, Marks and Spencer, Burton and Lloyds Bank, but mainly the existing building were modified and expanded onto land at the rear of the properties. By 1939 these two streets and the Market Square area were dominated by the national companies and banks; although there were some local businesses, at a guess about 20 per cent were local, including the Lanham departmental store that had been established by Burberry as his 'Emporium'.

In addition to the streets already mentioned, shops and commercial enterprises occupied most of Church St, Wote St, Potters Lane, New St, Cross St, Brook St and Station Hill; most of the shops

<sup>32</sup> Eric Stokes, 122-3.



were independent traders. The Basingstoke Cooperative Society had gradually taken over several shops on the west side of New St.<sup>33</sup>



© Hants Library & Information Service

**Figure 9 London Street c. 1950**

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<sup>33</sup> Barbara Applin, 43.



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**Figure 10 Winchester Street c. 1958**



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**Figure 11 Lower Wote Street looking towards Station Hill, 1964**





© Derek Wren

**Figure 12 Wote Street, 1964**

In addition to the shops there were numerous public houses – one on most corners and then more in between in the central area. In the older parts of the residential areas there were numerous ‘corner shops’ (usually literally) which were mainly food shops including bakers and greengrocers, although a range of other businesses were also operating: hairdressers (male and female), newspapers, usually combined with tobacconist and confectionery, and shoe repairers. The vast majority of these premises were compulsorily purchased and demolished in the 1960s for the comprehensive development of the central area.



© Derek Wren

**Figure 13 Lower Church Street, 1964**

In the interwar years, although Basingstoke did not escape the effects of the 1920 and 1930s Depression (for example, there were layoffs at Thornycroft), the town continued to grow naturally with council housing being built at Kingsclere Rd, Grove Rd and South Ham, private development at Eastrop and Deep Lane, and ribbon development along Winchester Rd and Worting Rd. Smaller scale, but still significant development was also happening in the three nearby ‘dormitory’ villages, Old Basing, Worting and Kempshott (all within two to three miles of the town).

The Town Council actively promoted the town as a place for industry<sup>34</sup> and succeeded in attracting Kelvin, Bottomley & Baird (later Kelvin Hughes, then Smiths Industries) manufacturers of aircraft instruments and Eli Lilly, pharmaceuticals, to the town by the outbreak of WW2.

Basingstoke got off relatively lightly from bombing during World War Two; early in the war Church Square, St Michael’s and the Wesleyan Methodist churches were extensively damaged and in separate raids Solbys Rd, Burgess Rd and Cliddesden Rd were also attacked. In 1944 a V1 aimed at Thornycrofts fell harmlessly (not counting the many broken windows) where Milestones Museum is now.

The 1944 Abercrombie report on post-war reconstruction identified Basingstoke as a potential site for dispersal of some of London’s population. This had the effect of putting ‘planning blight’ on the central area; owners generally were not willing to invest in rebuilding/improving their properties, so for the period up to the Town Development scheme the shopping areas remained basically as they were before World War Two. The exceptions to this statement were the opening in the late 1950s of a departmental store and supermarket on the west side of New St by the Basingstoke Co-operative Society<sup>35</sup> and a major car showroom and garage for Jacksons on the corner of Wote St and Basing Rd.



© Sid Penny

**Figure 14 New Street c. 1980**

The Co-op stores became a victim of the central area redevelopment as the main shopping area moved away from the older area to the new shopping centre. The Co-op stores were demolished in

<sup>34</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Making of Basingstoke*, Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society, 2008, p140-1.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Applin, *The Co-op and Basingstoke*, Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society, 2012, 90.

1984, to be replaced by an office block.<sup>36</sup> Jacksons remained until demolished in the second phase of the town centre redevelopment.

Post-war Basingstoke continued to expand, with Council housing being built at South View and further development at South Ham. In the early 1950s 400 houses were built at Oakridge by the Ministry of Supply to accommodate some of the workers being recruited to AWRE Aldermaston. Once the post-war building restrictions were lifted, private developers built several estates on the outskirts of the town: the Clarke Estate at Winklebury, Harroway off Cliddesden Rd, the Berg Estate north of Pack Lane at Kempshott and Riverdene east of Eastrop Lane.

Lansing Bagnall came to the town in 1948 and from small beginnings became, for a while, the major employer. An industrial estate (Bilton) was built on land south of Winchester Rd and a variety of businesses moved there, some local and others from outside the town. Most of these businesses have since either moved from the town or ceased trading, their place being taken by wholesalers and other service-type businesses. By the 1960s employment in the town was dominated by engineering, with about a third of the working population being employed by four engineering companies mentioned above. The town was prosperous and unemployment was below the national average.<sup>37</sup>

This was the situation just prior to the huge upheaval of the redevelopment of the central area and the associated road works. The town's population had grown to about 28,000, but the shopping area with the same kind of shops was basically that which had served a much smaller population pre-war, also the war-time Retail Price Maintenance legislation had not long been repealed. This led to a complacent attitude by some of the shopkeepers (not all, by any means, but a noticeable number) who thought they were doing their customers a favour by serving their needs with a restricted range of goods at high prices.

With the growth of car ownership the ancient road layout, with everything converging on the Market Square in narrow streets, was grossly overloaded, despite efforts at alleviation in the form of one-way systems and a sort of inner ring road using residential streets.

To sum up, these are the recollections and impressions of someone who was in his mid 20s when Town Development started and who was an enthusiastic supporter of the concept. This was the era of Harold Wilson's 'White Heat of Technology' and most of us of that age wanted change. Basingstoke did not get all that was planned and was let down in several respects by developers and central government, (because of the national economic problems of the 1970s). But what we have today is probably better than it would have been had the town continued to expand naturally. What is certain is that there would have been growth, probably quite rapid, particularly after the electrification of the railway and the building of the M3. There would have been major redevelopment of the town centre, probably from Potters Lane northwards, using the derelict land to the rear of the properties fronting Church St and Wote St as well as the Wharf area.

There were six houses of architectural merit that were demolished that I consider were worth saving if was possible; unfortunately they were isolated buildings in the mass of Victorian and later in-filling and it is difficult to see how they could have been saved. They were: Warren House and the Friends Meeting House in Wote St, Brook House and Brewery House in Brook St and Queen Anne House and Bedford House in Church St. The first four were late 18th century buildings and the two Church St houses near St Michael's Church had been refronted in the 18th century.<sup>38</sup>

The small market town of folk memory would have disappeared anyway. Malcolm Parker, in the Introduction to his book of Basingstoke photos, sums this up very well. *Basingstoke changed monumentally, but so did the rest of the country. In the unlikely event that Basingstoke remained*

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<sup>36</sup> Barbara Applin, 116.

<sup>37</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Making of Basingstoke*, Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society, 2008, 188.

<sup>38</sup> Personal Communication, Bill Fergie, 2013.



*untouched by developers, it is inconceivable that the ..... community that existed just after the war would have remained unchanged. Like a much-loved old coat, the town was worn at the seams, no longer fitted properly and had simply gone out of fashion.*<sup>39</sup>



©HCMAS, Photo Barbara Large

**Figure 15 Central Basingstoke c. 1950**

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<sup>39</sup> Malcolm Parker, *Images of England – Basingstoke*, Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2007, 8.