

SURREY HISTORY



William Cobbett and his Cornhusk paper
Local History in Breadth and Depth
The Horton Hospital Epsom—Asylum to Housing Estate
Surrey History Centre Accessions
of Records and Cataloguing Projects in 2003
Volume 6 Index

VOLUME VII NUMBER 1

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Cover illustration:

'Lunch on the veldt', 1901, during the Boer War, in which the 2nd Battalion of The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment served (ref. 7502/QR/68).

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WILLIAM COBBETT AND HIS CORN-HUSK PAPER

Alan Crocker
Surrey Industrial History Group

Introduction

William Cobbett, whose portrait is reproduced as Fig. 1, is best known for his book *Rural Rides*, published in 1830, which describes journeys he made on horseback, around the countryside, between 1822 and 1826.¹ In this book he comments on a wide range of topics, including agricultural practices, the clergy, the gentry, the government and rural industries, in 15 English counties stretching from



Fig.1 William Cobbett (1762-1835).

Somerset to Norfolk. He was very critical of many activities describing, for example, the manufacture of gunpowder and bank-note paper, as carried out at Chilworth, as being ‘two of the most damnable inventions that ever sprang from the minds of man’.² However, *Rural Rides* was only one of many books he wrote, some of which are almost unknown. This article has arisen from one of these, *A Treatise on Cobbett’s Corn*, which was published in 1828.³ It contains instructions for propagating and cultivating Indian corn or maize, and harvesting, preserving and using the crop. Also, remarkably, the title and contents pages of the book

are printed on paper made from the husks of ears (cobs) of corn. At that time all paper used commercially was made from linen and cotton rags but these were in short supply and papermakers were continually searching for new raw materials. Cobbett therefore enthused over the opportunity of using some corn paper in his book. In this article a summary is given of Cobbett's career, an account is presented of attempts to discover new materials for making paper and finally Cobbett's corn and corn-husk and corn-stalk papers are discussed.

William Cobbett

Cobbett was born on 9 March 1763 at the *Jolly Farmer Inn*, Farnham, now renamed the William Cobbett.⁴ His father, who was an innkeeper and farmer, taught him to read and write and gave him some knowledge of arithmetic. At first he worked in his father's fields and then as a gardener's boy at Farnham Castle and briefly at Kew Gardens. In 1779 he went to live for two years with the Reverend James Barclay at Guildford and was able to use his good library. Then at the age of 20, acting on impulse, he went to London and became a clerk in an attorney's office in *Gray's Inn*. He soon became dissatisfied with his life there and in February 1784 enlisted in the army and spent the next 13 months at Chatham Depot. In his free time he educated himself 'in the company of talking, laughing, whistling, singing and shouting empty-minded men'. In 1785 he was posted to Nova Scotia and became the regimental clerk. Late in 1791 his regiment returned to England and he was honourably discharged from the army. In February 1792, at Woolwich, he married Ann (Nancy) Reid, whom he had met in Canada.

At this time Cobbett set about trying to right abuses he had observed while serving but the army closed ranks and he and Ann were forced to leave the country. They went to France for seven months but later in 1792 moved to the United States and settled in Wilmington, Delaware. He worked as a teacher and acted as an interpreter for French refugees. In 1795 he began his activities as a political journalist and published pamphlets attacking

republicanism. He earned the nickname Peter Porcupine, because his quills were so prickly, and responded in 1797, when he moved to New York, by publishing a daily newspaper *Porcupine's Gazette*, which satirised his enemies. As a result he was taken to court, lost his case and sailed for England in June 1800. Back home he was heartily welcomed by the Tory Government and started to publish his own newspaper, *The Porcupine*, but this soon failed. In 1802 its place was taken by *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, which was published with minor interruptions until his death, 33 years later.⁵ Also in 1806 he published, in 36 volumes, *The Parliamentary History of England*, from 1066-1803.

The success of *The Register*, of which more than 4,000 copies were sold each week, enabled Cobbett, in 1804, to acquire a farm at Botley, between Portsmouth and Southampton. He became deeply interested in agriculture but *The Register* became more militant and in 1810 he was charged with sedition and imprisoned for two years in Newgate. After the Napoleonic wars, in 1815, the Government promptly suppressed any indication of discontent and effectively restricted sales of *The Register* by increasing stamp duty. Cobbett responded by publishing a cheaper version, with a circulation of 40,000, which was much to the alarm of the Government. In 1817 he was offered £10,000 if he stopped publication, refused and decided it was wise to return to America, where he took a farm on Long Island and continued his publishing activities. After two years he returned to England and enthusiastically devoted himself to agriculture. He left his Botley farm in 1821 and founded a seed farm in Kensington. Also in that year he started printing accounts of his rural rides in *The Register* and it was some of these which in 1830 were collected together and published in book form.

Between 1806 and 1832 Cobbett stood for Parliament at Honiton, Coventry, Preston and Manchester but was defeated each time. Eventually, later in 1832, he was finally elected as the Member for Oldham. He played an active role in the House of Commons, speaking over 160 times in his first session. His last speech was made on 25 May 1835 and he died on 18 June, aged 72, at Normandy Farm, about five miles west-north-west

of Guildford, which he had leased in 1831. He was buried in the churchyard at Farnham.

The search for new raw materials for papermaking

Until the latter half of the 18th century practically all European paper had been made from linen and cotton rags.⁶ However, because of the increased production of books, newspapers and magazines there was a serious shortage of this traditional raw material. As early as 1666 Parliament decreed that only wool could be used for burying the dead, partly to encourage the use of wool but also to save linen and cotton for papermakers. In one year about 80 tons were saved in this way. Still, papermakers competed with each other to acquire rags but it was left to clergymen, naturalists, physicians, and other scientists to discover other materials suitable for papermaking. For example, in 1684 Edward Lloyd of Jesus College Oxford submitted a sheet of paper to the Royal Society made from asbestos discovered in Anglesey. Then in 1716 the Society of Gentlemen of London advanced the idea of making paper from raw unspun and unwoven hemp and provided a detailed description of its preparation. Three years later the French scientist René de Réaumur noted that wasps' nests, which are made from wood, resembled paper. He suggested therefore that wood could be used to make paper but did not attempt to do so himself. In 1734 the Flemish naturalist Albert Seba suggested seaweed and in 1741 Jean Etienne Guettard, physician to the Duke of Orleans, proposed making paper from swamp moss and the cocoons of common caterpillars. He also provided samples of paper made from bark, leaves and wood.

However, the most impressive studies were carried out by a Regensburg clergyman, Jacob Christian Schäffer. Between 1765 and 1771 he published six pamphlets describing his experiments and containing samples of paper made from asbestos, bark, cabbage stalks, corn husks, genista, hemp, leaves (bean, horse-chestnut, lime, tulip and walnut), mallow, moss, old shingles, pine-cones, potatoes, reeds, St John's wort, seeds, stalks, straw, thistles, turf, vines, wasp nests and wood, but all of these also contained a considerable quantity of rag fibre. The first book to be printed

on paper not made from rags was a small collection of poems published in France in 1784. The paper was a mixture of grass, lime bark and other plant fibres. Two years later a book of 156 pages comprising the works of Charles Michel de Villette was printed in London in two editions, one using paper made from lime bark and the other from marshmallow. At the back of each of these editions there are samples of paper made from bark (lime, oak, osier, poplar and spindletree), dandelion roots, elm wood, hazelnuts, hops, leaves (burdock, oak and thistle), moss, nettles, reed grasses and swamp moss. These papers were made in France by Léorier Delisle and none of them contained any rag fibre.

Clearly it was necessary to discover whether it was possible to manufacture substantial quantities of paper from these new raw materials and in London, in 1787, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (now known as the Royal Society of Arts) offered a prize of 10 guineas to the person who could make the greatest amount, not less than ten reams. Thomas Greaves, a papermaker from Warrington, responded by sending only one ream of paper made from willow, which must have impressed the Society as he was awarded their silver medal. This encouraged him and in the following year he was given the prize. Then, in 1797, a leaflet was published in London printed on paper made from jute and recommending that it be used as wrapping paper for various materials, including gunpowder. Two years later G. A. Senger in Germany published a 96-page pamphlet printed on paper made from water wool or swamp moss.

Unfortunately few of the above investigators were concerned about whether the new raw materials they were promoting were available in sufficient quantities and whether their use would be viable for economic commercial production. However, in 1800 and 1801, Matthias Koops patented methods of recycling paper and of making paper from 'straw, hay, thistles, waste and refuse of hemp and flax, and different kinds of wood and bark, fit for printing and other useful purposes'. These methods had been developed at Neckinger Mill, in Bermondsey, which was then in Surrey, and which with five vats was the largest paper mill in Britain.⁷ Koops

set up a company to exploit these inventions on a commercial scale in a new mill on Millbank, in modern Pimlico, which was to have 32 vats.⁸ Koops published a book entitled *An Historical Account ... of Paper* in two editions (with several variants) in 1800 and 1801, which were printed on recycled straw and wood paper.⁹ Unfortunately, the company involved went bankrupt in 1802 and the partially-built mill closed. The search for new raw materials for papermaking continued but it was not until the 1830s that successful commercial methods of making paper from straw were developed. This was in France but the papermaker involved was Charles Ball, who had been the papermaker at Postford Lower Mill, Albury, until he became bankrupt and emigrated in 1826.¹⁰ Then in the 1860s esparto grass grown in Spain and North Africa was introduced into commercial paper production in Britain, particularly by William and James McMurray at the Royal Mills, Wandsworth.¹¹ It was not until the late 19th century that woodpulp started to dominate the paper industry.

A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn

As noted in the Introduction, in 1828 William Cobbett published his book entitled *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*, the title page of which is reproduced as Fig.2. He seems to have used this title for the book, which has some 300 pages, because he had successfully cultivated Indian corn or maize with great care. Indeed, he sent a whole corn plant to the superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew with a letter written by his eldest son, also named William, saying that his father had fulfilled the dream of the Biblical Pharaoh because the plant had seven ears (cobs) on one cornstalk. However, he added 'to be truthful though, one of the ears had broken off'. This letter was written from Cobbett's farm in Kensington and explains that the plant 'was taken from my father's field at Barn Elm'. This was presumably Barn Elms in Surrey, on the south bank of the Thames immediately downstream from the later Hammersmith Bridge. In the book Cobbett states that 'the greater share of the merit of this enterprise belongs to my eldest son'.

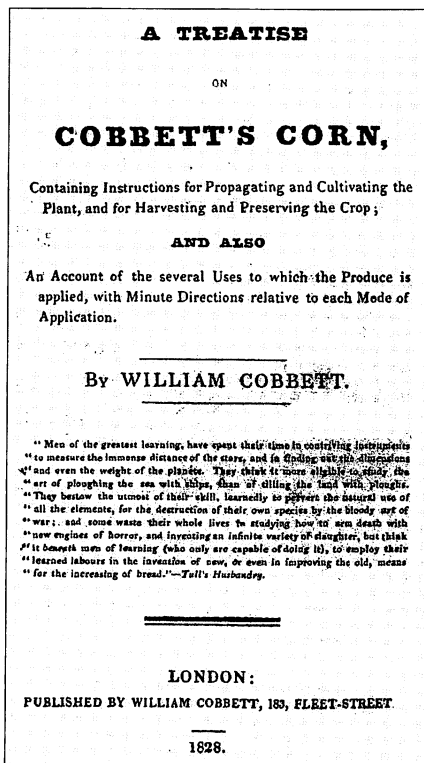


Fig.2 Title page of *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*. The original is printed on paper made from corn husks and the text is 150mm high.

The following quotation from *Tull's Husbandry* is printed on the title page of the book (see Fig.2).

Men of the greatest learning, have spent their time in contriving instruments to measure the immense distance of the stars, and in finding out the dimensions and even the weight of the planets. They think it more eligible to study the art of ploughing the sea with ships, than of tilling the land with ploughs. They bestow the utmost of their skill, learnedly to pervert the natural use of all the elements, for the destruction of their own species by the bloody art of war; and some waste their whole lives in studying how to arm death with new engines of horror, and inventing an infinite variety of slaughter, but think it beneath men of learning (who only are capable of doing it), to employ their

learned labours in the invention of new, or even in improving the old, means for the increasing of bread.

Cobbett makes similar remarks in the book, which is systematically divided into sections. However, this did not keep him from inserting general speculations of a political or philosophical nature, and even commenting on prevailing conditions. After some general remarks, he gives a description of several varieties of his corn, deals with the ground that will be suitable for growing it and recommends the best time to sow the seeds. He describes at length the animals that may be harmful to the maize, such as birds, snails and rabbits, and how to fight vermin. He encourages

the use of oxen in ploughing the land, and then continues with a description of his methods of reaping the corn, and discusses the ways in which it can be used.

Chapter 2 is headed 'Description and History of Cobbett's Corn and an Account of the Several Sorts of it'. On the opposite page is a drawing of a plant of corn which is reproduced here as Fig.3. Referring to this drawing Cobbett describes the plant as follows.

The height of the plant, from the ground to the tip-top, is, with good land and good culture, about four feet. The drawing exhibits a plant in its most beautiful state, with all its blades at their full size and length, with the bloom on the tassel, and with silk hanging down from the ears, which are covered by their husks; a the tassel; b, the top; c,c,c,c, four of the blades; d,d,d, three ears; e,e,e, the silks; f,f, the stalk; g, the root. This is a representation of the plant as it stands in the month of August; late in that month, or early in September.

Two pages from the end of the book, Cobbett remarks: 'Today (21st November) I have not only received a parcel of PAPER made of the husks of my corn; but have sent it to have printed on it the title page of this very book!'. He connects this new triumph of his beloved *Cobbett's Corn* with a fierce attack against his political foes.

A copy of *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn* has been examined at the British Library



Fig.3 Plate 1 showing a corn plant reproduced from *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*. The original drawing is 135mm high.

(shelf mark 441.a.33). It is bound in 14 signatures, the first and the last being folio and the others duodecimo. In particular the first signature of four pages, on which are printed the title page (see Fig.2) and the contents, is different paper from the rest of the book. This is the paper made from corn husks. It contains many shives (small splinters) but otherwise is of similar quality to the paper used in the rest of the book. All of the paper has a wove rather than a laid finish and it contains no watermarks. It is far more impressive than, for example, the straw paper made by Matthias Koops at the beginning of the 19th century.¹² In another copy of the book the general appearance of the corn paper is said to be far from impressive, to have yellowed much more than the rest of the paper in the book, and to contain much dirt.¹³

Cobbett does not reveal who made his corn-husk paper and it is interesting to speculate whether he used a Surrey papermaker. As noted above, in *Rural Rides* in 1822 he criticised the paper mills in the Tillingbourne valley for making bank-note paper but admitted that they also made paper for *The Register*. At that time the papermaker at Chilworth Mill was Hugh Rowland and he was still there in 1828 when *Cobbett's Corn* was published. It may also be relevant that on the wood paper in one copy of Matthias Koops' *Historical Account ... of Paper* is written in pencil 'this paper was made 1797 at Chilworth Mills, Guildford, Surry'. There is no corroborative evidence for this statement but if it is true it suggests that the mill had some expertise and interest in making paper from unusual materials. However, Rowland did not arrive at Chilworth until 1803. The papermakers at Postford Mills, on the ponds between Albury and Chilworth in 1822, had left by 1826 and it seems unlikely that the new owners, the Magnay family, would have been interested in experimenting with new raw materials.¹⁴

However, some paper had been made from corn husks much earlier. Jacob Christian Schäffer had included a specimen sheet in his book published in 1766 and noted that a paper mill near Rimini in Italy had previously made paper from cornstalks, leaves and husks. Then in 1802 an American patent was taken out by

Messrs Allison and Hawkins for making paper from husks. In 1838 Louis Piette published a book on the manufacture of paper from straw and other substances, in which he remarked that paper made from maize straw was very tough, that it looked like parchment or leather paper, being dirty brownish-yellow, too rough to write upon and apt to break. A mill with two papermaking machines was being built near Paris for making paper from cornstalks.¹⁵

In 1862, the 130-page Austrian section of the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Section of the International Exhibition*, held in London, was printed on Indian-corn paper. Part of this was an article by Alois Auer von Welsbach, director of the Imperial State Printing Office in Vienna and of the Imperial Paper Mill at Schlögmühle. This was entitled 'Utility of the Maize-plant' in which he outlined the use of cornhusks and stalks in making paper. It seems that the pulp was made at a specially built mill in Hungary, a major corn-growing centre, and sent to Schlögmühle for converting into paper. However, the supply of cornstalks proved to be inadequate and transportation too difficult, so the project failed. The greatest attempt to make paper from corn was, however, in 1928-9 in the United States, where huge quantities of cornstalks are available. Paper containing 65 per cent cornstalk fibres and 35 per cent wood fibres was used successfully for newsprint but the enthusiasm soon waned.¹⁶ It appears that as yet there is no suitable method of treating the fibres so as to make a really flawless paper. Nevertheless it is encouraging that artist-papermakers are still experimenting with the use of corn husks. Indeed, a member of the British Association of Paper Historians, Gillian Johnson-Flint, knowing of my interest in this subject, recently presented me with a sheet of corn-husk paper which she had made. I am sure that Cobbett would have been pleased.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Alfred Renker, the owner of Papierfabrik Zerkall at Hürtgenwald, Germany, who is a member of the International Association of Paper Historians, for bringing the existence of *A*

Treatise on Cobbett's Corn to my attention. Indeed his father Armin Renker published an article on Cobbett's corn paper in 1958 (see ref. 13) and the present article is based in part on that account.

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Abbreviations:

BAPH: British Association of Paper Historians.

IPH: International Association of Paper Historians.

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3. Cobbett, W., *A Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*, containing instructions for propagating and cultivating the plant, and for harvesting and preserving the crop, and also an account of the several uses to which the produce is applied, with minute directions relative to each mode of application, the author, London, 1828.
4. The brief account of Cobbett's life contained in this section has been summarised from information contained in George Woodcock's introduction to the Penguin edition of *Rural Rides* (see ref. 1), undated study-notes entitled William Cobbett 1763-1835, the Poor Man's Friend, issued by Farmham Museum, several sites on the internet and Armin Renker's paper on Cobbett (ref. 13).
5. In *Rural Rides* (see ref. 1), on 30 Nov 1822, Cobbett stated that the paper mills in the Tillingbourne Valley (Chilworth, Postford Upper and Postford Lower) assisted in 'turning rags into Registers'.
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14. See ref. 2, pp. 74, 81, 83.

15. See ref. 6, pp. 320, 396-7 and ref. 13, p. 42 (*Quarterly*).

16. See ref. 6, pp. 396-7.

LOCAL HISTORY IN BREADTH AND DEPTH

Dennis Turner

[Based on a talk given to the Surrey Local History Symposium at Chertsey, November 2003.]

Textual analysts will notice that my title can be seen as an exercise in ambiguity. If you discount 'in' and 'and', you will see that each of my words has more than one meaning and, in combination, the number of different possible meanings of my title grows alarmingly. Your appreciation of the ambiguities may depend on whether you are a consumer or practitioner of local history. Judging from the lecture programmes of local history societies, consumers can be quite voracious and quite catholic. They seem willing to tackle a considerable breadth of topic and locality and a fair depth range in time. Anything from the Romans to the Second World War seems fair game and perhaps anything up to fifty miles radius from the society's base with the occasional foray to more distant parts. It can depend to some extent on whether the programme secretary sees the adjective 'local' as attaching to 'history' or to 'society'.

On the other hand, in my experience, the consumers are less willing to tackle depth of detail unless it is very closely related indeed to their base location, and even then there will be severe limitations.

The practitioner will often be the opposite of the consumer in his attitude. Many successful practitioners are increasingly moved to specialise. Those practitioners who, like myself, have a grasshopper mind, and become constantly tempted into new pathways, tend to be less than successful practitioners.

We all know that life is so complex that a choice has frequently to be made between breadth and depth. It is often stated, usually somewhat bitterly, that today's experts know more and more about less and less. Consequently, while almost every aspect of life depends on the use of specialists, the testimony of such specialists always has to be put into a broader context.

But what do I mean by broader context? We can have breadth in spatial terms; in subject matter; or in conceptual approach. As I have already hinted, local historians are used to the varied nature of subject matter—not only do we have a wide range of topics in our societies' lecture programmes but we can see, for example, the even wider range of subjects covered in recent issues of such journals as *The Local Historian*. We find articles about people and institutions; about occupations; about dwellings and other structures; about social relationships; about class; about control; etc., etc.

I have also already hinted that, if he is to achieve anything worthwhile, every practising local historian will be forced to concentrate on a limited number of aspects of what can so easily become a bewilderingly wide field. My argument is that, nevertheless, he should not let his approach become too narrow and he must constantly make the effort to stay in touch with related matters. But what an important word that little word 'too' is in my use of 'too narrow'!

Limitations in the available time and energy may make us concentrate upon a particular historic period, or on a particular subject, or both; and, because we are local historians, usually on a particular locality. But, if we are not careful, our special focus can easily lead us into excessive narrowness of time-scale, excessive narrowness of subject, and excessive narrowness of geographical area. You know the sort of thing—we have all seen papers with titles on the lines of 'The effect of early nocturnal policing on the lives of the agricultural poor in the northern part of the parish of Ambridge in the late 1880s'. There is of course room for such a precise focus, but it has to be given context. Whatever our chosen special subject, it has to be seen with some breadth: breadth in

time, breadth in social and economic context, and so on. To say nothing of our spatial context.

Students of the past are not homogeneous: they cover several trades. However, documentary historians, landscape historians, architectural historians, buildings archaeologists, landscape archaeologists, and excavators all tend to live in their own cosy pigeon-holes with their own skills and vocabularies and without too much reference to what is going on outside the pigeon-hole. This can make the appreciation of context problematic. Such difficulties in the historical world are just a special case of a malaise that exists throughout contemporary society, of course, but we can leave the general philosophical point to one side.

Local history is clearly the study of people, their institutions, their interactions and their environment in particular places, but local historians must take care to avoid being too narrow in space: they must not be too local. A reasonable geographical compass helps their work to provide its own context and at the same time it offers the possibility of contributing to the broader disciplines of historical geography.

So local history is the study of certain aspects of place. Who lived here and when? What did they do? How did they organise their society? What physical effect did they have on the place and its surroundings? And so on. If we operate within, say, the village, parish or town, to get any sort of perspective at all we inevitably have to look at least a little way beyond the bounds of that village, parish or town, and we have to keep in mind the framework of regional and national history.

Our chosen locality will often have received incomers. These incomers may have come from only as far away as the next village, parish or town. They may, on the other hand, have come from as far away as mainland Europe—as was the case with the Anglo-Saxons of the fifth century or, much later, of the glass-makers of Chiddingfold and the Huguenots of Bermondsey. And there are all kinds of distances in between and beyond. More than a century ago, my own grandfather moved from Cheshire to Balham at a time when each must have seemed remote from the other. In the

Second World War, by all accounts, Surrey was inundated with Canadian soldiers who came from much further away and who, in retrospect, seem to be being blamed for nearly everything that happened in the county between 1939 and 1945—as well, I suspect, for a few things that didn't actually happen at all.

The last half century has seen more, and more varied, incomers than ever before and the encouragement of access to our national and local culture by these incomers has become a major social and political issue. In telling the story of the place, the people who have lived there in the past, how they interacted with the place, what traces they left in the landscape, and what influence they had on the wider world, the local historian can assist the politically sensitive process of 'access' by today's incomers—whether they came on one of Norman Tebbit's bicycles from Newcastle or by aeroplane from Lagos.

Today's incomers will hopefully come to understand that they in turn will leave their trace in the landscape and their influence on the world for future generations to study and discover, just as we love discovering Vikings, Huguenots or Canadian soldiers.

Additionally, whenever we come across incomers in the record or in life, we are forced, or at least encouraged, to think about the history of other places and their impact on our locality. What caused my grandfather to leave Cheshire and what on earth caused him to settle in Balham?

How broad can we go in our core study before we cease to be local? There is clearly no single satisfactory answer to this question but, to begin with, we can obviously look further than the envelope of a single village or parish. The hundred or the county may often be useful frameworks—especially as many aspects of contemporary life, including our record offices, tend to be organised on a county basis. But the county is sometimes an unhelpful unit: for example, for those living close to a county boundary. It can be a meaningless unit for those who study the prehistoric or Roman periods.

Furthermore, even if we are studying a more recent period, our contextual landscape is not always going to be a contiguous one—we

may wish to study certain phenomena across the estates of a great landowner such as the Crown, a noble family or a monastic house. We may wish to study a geographically discontinuous activity—such as gunpowder manufacture or paper-making. But there will always be a contextual landscape of one kind or another.

As we are studying aspects of place, the contextual landscape will usually be a physical one. The study of landscape history itself has been elevated in our lifetime from an antiquarian pursuit to a serious discipline. But the occasional landscape historian was quite seriously at work in Surrey before the term was invented.

In 1912, for example, a remarkable lady named Margaret Glyn was at work in Ewell puzzling out the plan of the village and the lay-out of its fields as they were in 1408 and 1577, the dates of two astonishingly detailed surveys of the parish that have miraculously survived.¹ Although Miss Glyn failed to notice some of the clues that existed in the landscape itself, her results were extremely good. Our late member, Philip Shearman, went over the same ground about fifty years ago when he was working on the Fitznells' cartulary with C.A.F. Meekings² and Shearman challenged some of Miss Glyn's findings. A fellow enthusiast, one Charles Titford, was working in the same area at the time, which should have been a benefit to them both, but unfortunately it doesn't seem to have been so. Instead, a slightly angry exchange of papers appeared in our Collections.³ Sadly, Charles Titford died while the argument was still in progress, so full resolution was not achieved. Shearman's views, which not only differed from Charles Titford's but also from Miss Glyn's in some key respects, have held the field for the last thirty years and are accepted locally. The subject has come up again, however, as Charles Abdy has been preparing text and maps for a Ewell volume in the Society's 'villages' series.⁴

Landscape historians now have their own national journal and, on the whole, they tend to be more interested in what happens outside the village envelope than within it. Field systems and field boundaries, for example, have come in for a fair amount of attention. The basic argument about field systems in general and open fields in particular was initially carried out largely by

economic historians and is scattered through a wide range of journals and monographs that may seem mildly esoteric. Twenty or more years ago, finding a publisher for more detailed local aspects clearly presented problems: in 1973 one Geoffrey Hewlett published a most interesting discussion of the development of the field systems of Otford in Kent in a prestigious national journal, the *Agricultural History Review*. But a few years later, Hewlett published a similar analysis of the hedges and fields of Chelsham parish more comfortably in a prestigious local journal, the *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.⁵

I hope what I have been saying so far has served to illustrate how broad the study of local history can be and, I would say, should be. The local historian himself will often be protected from becoming too narrow by his very need to appreciate a wide range of skills if not, in fact, to become multi-skilled himself in the face of such variety. There is, however, a danger that when we take steps to appreciate the skills of others, we will imagine ourselves to have become experts in our own right. We all do this from time to time, I fear. It is far too easy to convince ourselves, say, after attending a short summer school on place-names or Anglo-Saxon brooches, that we know it all. But of course, in reality we don't know it all and never can. It is salutary to observe, for example, that, after a life-time in the field of place-name studies, the wonderful Margaret Gelling is still changing her mind.

The real question the serious student of local history needs to ask himself is whether he knows enough about a particular relevant specialism for his purposes. That is often a very difficult question to answer with anything but the phrase 'I'm not sure but I sincerely hope so'. If we can't even get that far, then obviously we have to seek further instruction or advice: even if we can go that far, we must still remain cautious. Not too cautious, or we will never get anything done.

This question leads us to move on to consider depth. Depth, not in the sense of the depth of understanding that may be dependent on an intensity of study, but depth in time. The local historian studying (say) an aspect of 17th-century history in his own town

or parish will soon find himself drawn backwards and forwards to seek out roots and causes and to chart consequences. To solve a problem in one decade, one usually has to look at another. To solve a problem in one century, one may also have to look at another. This is so obvious, that I will pass on.

I would like at this point to look briefly, very briefly, at the history of places in the way we have been doing in the Society's Village Studies Project.⁶ We are examining the physical history, or morphology, of a series of Surrey villages, using retrogressive techniques.

To explore the physical history of a settlement, whatever its size, requires partnerships. For the first couple of centuries or so backwards in time, the documentary historian will undoubtedly be supreme but will nevertheless need to team up with the architectural historian. Much further back, and he will need the co-operation of a student of vernacular architecture, a buildings archaeologist, and a landscape historian or landscape archaeologist. Sooner or later, still moving backwards, both the documents and the standing buildings will run out and the dirt archaeologist will have to be brought in.

Unfortunately, so far the Surrey villages project has not been particularly successful in this last respect. But, if we want to explore the history of the landscape around and beneath our settlement properly, the ultimate partnership will be between the documentary historian, the landscape historian and the landscape archaeologist.

The question of depth in time and the obvious play on words leads us to consider the overlaps in these partnerships. It is a truism that there is an archaeological continuum with local history. This was recognised a century and a half ago when the Surrey Archaeological Society was founded to study and publish matters related to both archaeology and local history—aims it still sees as among its primary *raison d'être*. The continuum is today often most clearly seen through the work of architectural historians and architectural archaeologists. The local historian is likely to be using documents to study the people of his chosen locality and their institutions. He will be concerned to discover who owned

and occupied the buildings in his chosen locality, how they were used, and when they were built and when they were altered. The documents will fail the historian at some point and he will be (or should be) willing to seek the help of architectural historians and of archaeologists.

The buildings specialist himself will be studying the buildings occupied by the people recorded in the documents and by their institutions. He, too, will be concerned to discover when and how they were built and how they functioned. The architectural historian will also be using documents as far as he can, but he will merge into a special kind of archaeologist, particularly if he is studying vernacular building.

However, particular types of communication breakdown are all too frequent and all too understandable. We develop organisational loyalties that encourage myopia, or at least the wearing of intellectual blinkers. At one stage in the past, as editor of the *CBA South-East Newsletter*, I was encouraged to attempt a clearing house for the organisers of archaeological lecture programmes in South-East England. There was little response—a few people were happy to give me the dates they had chosen so that others might turn up: far, far fewer were in the least bit interested in asking what clashes there might be before they made their choice.

That is perhaps a diversion: let us return to our consideration of the study of buildings and their surroundings by local historians, architectural historians and archaeologists. The man we more conventionally think of as an archaeologist will be studying the physical context of the buildings in his own peculiar way and seeking information about what went before, but today the architectural historian will increasingly be considering the archaeology of the building and their work will merge. We can only separate the strands of local history and archaeology if they are distanced by both time and space: any other separation will produce less than optimum results.

Thus, in most historical periods, our studies will frequently overlap: archaeology and documents; archaeology, buildings and documents. Where they overlap, however, the integration of

documentary evidence with the raw archaeological material of structures and artefacts is notoriously difficult. Despite the difficulty, wherever they do come close in time and space, integrated and comprehensive historical and archaeological studies are necessary if we are to solve problems and begin to understand our localities. But such integration can be surprisingly fruitful.

A joint project between one-time Museum of London archaeologist Barney Sloane and the well-known local historian John Cloake concentrated on a small area in Richmond and showed the way in which local documentation and archaeology can be woven together to produce a really detailed account of the history of a relatively small plot of land. Although completed some years ago, this work has only recently been published—I was asked to referee one of their early drafts and am proud to have been nagging for proper publication ever since and this has now taken place.⁷ I was keen to see the work published, not so much for its intrinsic interest as for its value as an exemplar of what can be achieved; of how much we can find out. Richmond is particularly rich in the right kind of documents, of course, and the site was remarkably well-stratified and carefully excavated, but something similar could probably be done for parts, at least, of several other Surrey villages or town centres.

In general terms, as archaeologists themselves become more and more interested in studying the material culture of the more and more recent past, they have an increasing recourse to the documents and to the local historian. The London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre—commonly and conveniently abbreviated to ‘the LAARC’—has launched a series of interdisciplinary ‘Studies in Historical Archaeology’ as a major research initiative. Early projects planned are more ‘historical’ than ‘local’ but pilot versions have been proposed using material from Southwark and Lambeth. Initially, the whole initiative was given the somewhat infelicitous acronym of the ‘SHArc Programme’ but this was later improved to ‘London Biography’.

Finally, let us refer briefly to two outstanding but neglected problems that require the co-operation of local historians and

building archaeologists and which need a small change in conceptual approach.

Building archaeologists are very good at analysing and cataloguing vernacular houses as structures but they tend to pay too little attention to their social context.⁸ As a result, we often have all too little idea which of these catalogued buildings were occupied by what social group. We have very little idea, for example, what kind of house was occupied by virgaters in the late medieval period. Many factors ought to distinguish a virgater's house from that of a more prosperous farmer or minor manorial lord on the one side and from the house supported by a quarter virgate or less on the other. Dr Annabelle Hughes has recently done some brilliant, and as yet unpublished, work in the Sussex village of Houghton that demonstrated that in that village the 15th-century virgaters were living in quite substantial houses with a fair degree of standardisation about them. But we do not know whether that was typical, even of West Sussex, and we have no ready Surrey comparisons. We ought to have. At what level of prosperity did a Surrey peasant move from a one-bay hall to a two-bay hall? And was this level roughly the same in, say, Charlwood as it was in Horsley? Co-operation between local historian and buildings archaeologist should be able to find out, but it will take time.

My second question is that of prosperity and attrition. Charlwood has a surprising number of good, prosperous looking timber-framed houses still surviving from the 15th and 16th centuries. Is this because Charlwood was particularly rich at that time or is it because it was particularly poor in later centuries and its inhabitants never got round to replacing their medieval houses with Georgian boxes? We don't really know, although Martin Higgins (in a lecture) has strongly argued that the latter was the case.

So, to sum up. I have not touched on industrial archaeology and I have written nothing about the importance of local history, etc., in the planning and conservation arena: but the importance is there. The message I am trying to get across is the not particularly original one that 'dirt' archaeology, landscape archaeology, building

studies, industrial archaeology and local history are not separate disciplines but are interlocking links in the same chain. The studies use similar and overlapping resources and have similar interests and problems regarding publication and preservation. They all contribute to the overarching discipline of historical geography. If their practitioners are to get the best from their studies and to make themselves heard in the political arena, both at local and national level, they have to work together more and to be more united. A larger proportion of local historians will need to join the Surrey Archaeological Society as the main publishing body and the main lobbying force in the county. A greater number of archaeologists and buildings specialists need to get interested and involved in local history. All branches have to master at least the rudiments of each other's vocabulary. And so on.

The 21st-century Surrey historians must be inter-disciplinary and stand together. United, we can produce better, more synthesised work; united we can stand against destructive developments and uncaring politicians: divided we will achieve less and divided we will fall to the philistines.

Notes

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THE MANOR AND THE FEUDAL CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

A Footnote

Dennis Turner

I have been taken to task about two points in my contribution to last year's *Surrey History*.

Firstly, there was my howler concerning the use of *vill* in Domesday Book in which I stated that *manerium* is found in Domesday Book as an alternative to *vill* (Turner 2003, 293). This may be true of some counties but certainly not of Surrey. The Surrey folios seldom use *vill* and, where they do (e.g. Putney), it would seem to be in the sense of some lesser section of a manor, perhaps a tithing. *Mea culpa*.

I have also been gently chided by one of the most eminent academics within the Society (one whom I recruited myself!) for not being fully up to speed on contemporary views of feudalism. I am sorry about this and it is clearly something to which I will have to attend. I could claim old age, but that would be feeble. Perhaps my academic friend (he knows who he is) would care to update us all in print as I refuse to believe that I'm the only member who is a wee bit behind the times—I am sure the editor could be persuaded to provide some space for a little gentle controversy.

Turner, D.J., 2003, 'The manor and the feudal construction of space', *Surrey History* VI/5, 293-303.

THE HORTON HOSPITAL EPSOM— ASYLUM TO HOUSING ESTATE

by Alan Thomas

Crisis in London

At the end of the 19th century the incidence of mental illness in London was rapidly increasing. The London County Council was faced with the problem of finding secure accommodation for those so afflicted, who in addition to being unable to work had little or no family resources to draw on—in the jargon of the time, they were the ‘pauper insane’. There had been asylums designed to improve the care of the mentally ill since the middle of the 19th century at Hanwell, Colney Hatch, Banstead and Cane Hill. When the LCC took over responsibility in 1888 for providing this care a new asylum was being built at Claybury, and in the 1890s another was built at Bexley. Even so, it was necessary to build temporary accommodation at Colney Hatch and Banstead to try to cope with the demand.

Further accommodation was urgently required, and in looking for a large area of cheap land the LCC found that the run-down Horton Manor estate at Epsom was available, amounting to about a square mile of farmland, and in 1896 they bought it for about £56 per acre. It was planned to build six hospitals with a total capacity of 12,000 patients—a number approximately equal to the population of Epsom at that time. In the event only five were built.¹

Such was the urgency that temporary buildings were erected around the manor house. This became the Manor Asylum, and was used initially for women with learning disabilities. It was

opened in 1899, and two years later some additional temporary accommodation was added for men.

In the meantime the Horton asylum was being planned and built. This was to have a capacity of some 2,000 patients. Although the LCC Asylums Committee might have preferred not to have had a single huge building, because of the urgency a design similar to that of Claybury and Bexhill was used. The architect was George Thomas Hine, and his layout comprised a semi-circular corridor some 500 yards long, to which were attached on the outside 15 two-storey ward blocks and on the inside the service facilities together with the Great Hall for the entertainment of the patients and staff. This gave a compact arrangement and minimised the distances the staff had to walk to reach the wards. Horton Asylum was opened in 1902, and the rate at which it filled was limited only by the capacity of the sewage plant.

Another asylum was urgently needed, and so Long Grove was built on a similar plan and opened in 1907. A working-party studying practice in Maryland had reported in favour of housing the patients in relatively small villas, and Mr Hine did arrange for some five hundred of the patients to be accommodated in this way, but for the most part the design was similar to that of Horton.

In the meantime accommodation was needed for patients suffering from epilepsy, which was seen at that time as a mental illness. The Ewell Epileptic Colony, built on the pattern of separate villas and on a much smaller scale than Horton or Long Grove, was opened in 1904.

Yet another large asylum was needed. West Park was started in about 1912 on a modified version of the semi-circular plan with some separate villas, and was almost complete at the outbreak of war in 1914. Work then ceased, and it was not opened until 1924.

Fig.1 is a section of the 6in./mile Ordnance map of 1933 and shows the hospitals as finally built. The semi-circular plans of Horton, Long Grove and West Park are clearly seen, and contrast with the linear plan of the Manor and the scattered villas of the Ewell

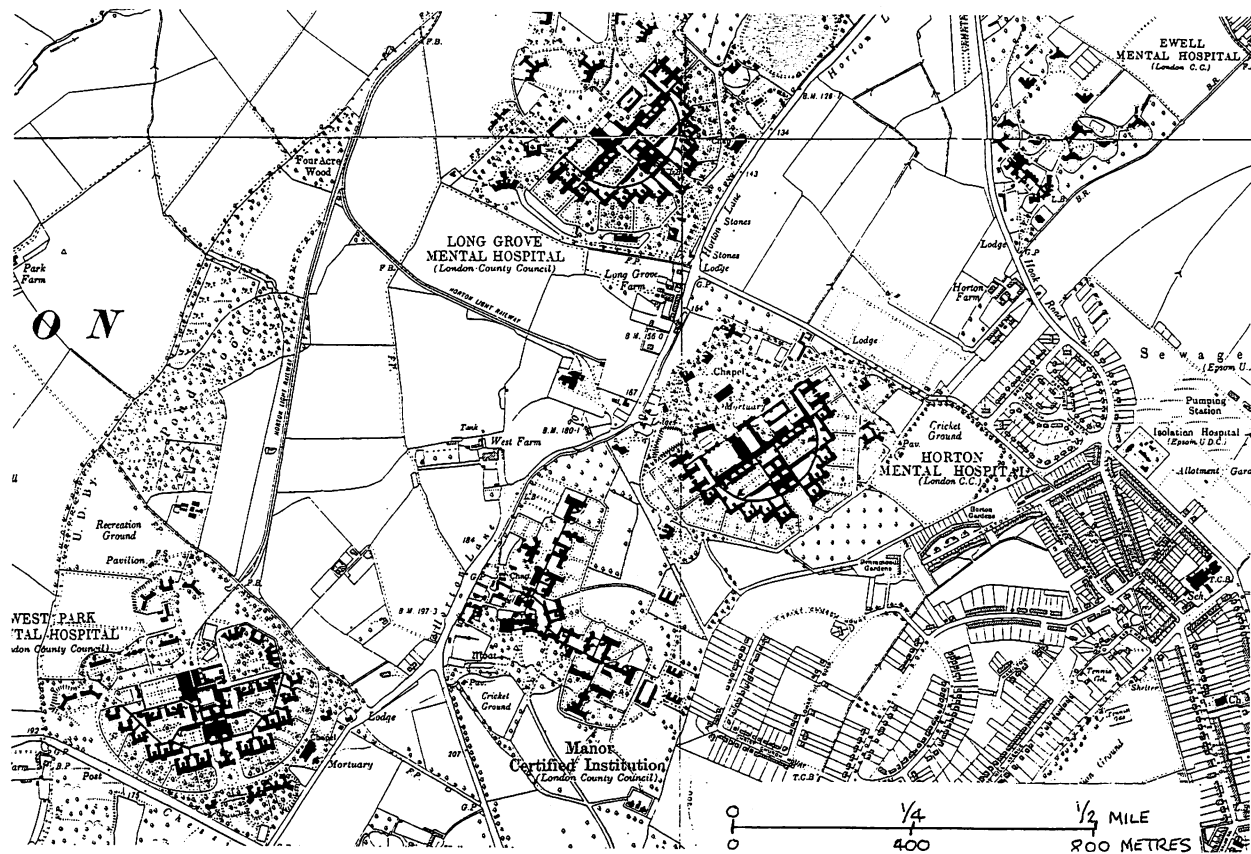


Fig.1 The Epsom Hospital Cluster taken from OS 6in./mile map, 1933.

Epileptic Colony (titled on this map as Ewell Mental Hospital). The other asylums are also titled as mental hospitals—the approved term at the time, perhaps to indicate hope for cures—except for the Manor, which is entitled a ‘Certified Institution’ and housed mentally-deficient patients who could not be cured but required looking after, although some could be allowed to work outside.

The sixth hospital was never built, and in December 1936 there were 2,225 patients at Long Grove, 2,173 at West Park, 1,245 at the Manor, 487 at Ewell and 2,203 at Horton, a total of 8,333 patients.² The land was bought by the LCC and the building work carried out without any consultation with the local authority (Epsom Urban District Council), or its residents, who numbered in 1902 about 12,000—about the same as the number of patients originally intended. If modern planning laws had been in force, the speed of construction needed to meet the demand for places could not have been achieved. There were some protests, notably by the Earl of Rosebery, a prominent resident at that time, but these amounted to little more than letters to the press. (Lord Rosebery, it may be noted, was the first Chairman of the London County Council.)

Access to the sites over the existing roads was poor, and a railway line was laid in 1905 between sidings south of Ewell West station and the site of Long Grove for the delivery of building materials. After this hospital was completed the LCC took over the line and in 1909 built a railway on a new line to Long Grove, the site of West Park and the central pumping station and electric light works. After West Park was completed this line was used for the delivery of coal to the hospitals until 1950, when it was dismantled. Its line may be seen on the map at Fig.1.³

The Horton Asylum

Fig.2 shows the layout of the asylum in the 1930s (by that time retitled Horton Mental Hospital). The 15 two-storey ward blocks are clearly shown connected to the semi-circular corridor, with the laundry, kitchens and other service facilities inside, together with the Great Hall.

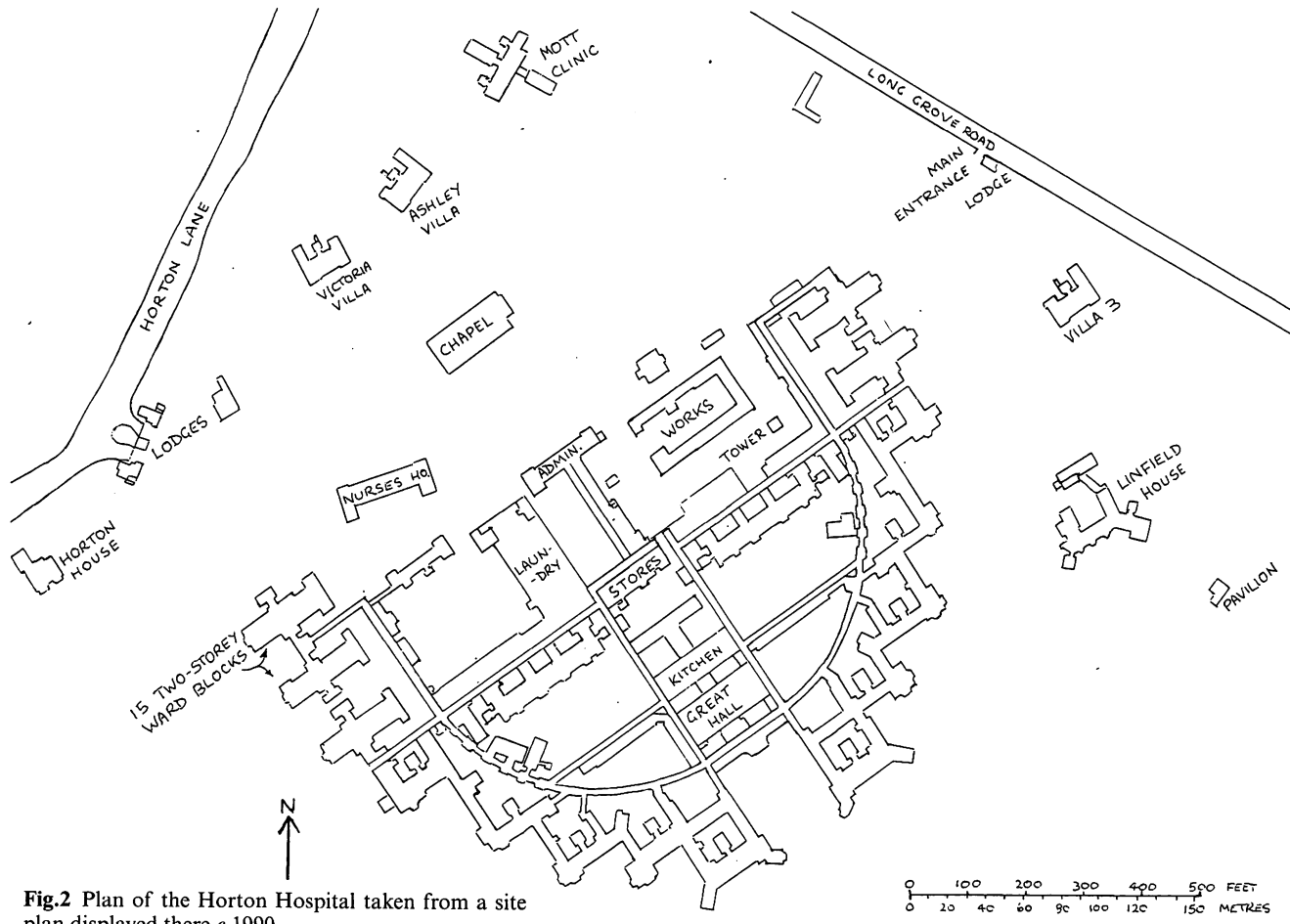


Fig.2 Plan of the Horton Hospital taken from a site plan displayed there c.1990.



Fig.3 The Horton Water-Tower, 2002 (Photograph by the author).

All the asylums were originally built with their own boiler-houses for central heating, and had water-towers combined with the boiler chimneys. The site of the Horton tower is identified on the plan (Fig.2), and, in common with the other towers, was a prominent feature of the local scene (Fig.3). After the Second World War a central oil-fired boiler house was established, which supplied hot water for central heating to the hospitals, and the individual boiler-houses went out of use. At Horton the boiler-room was used to house diesel generators for emergency electricity supply.

Fig.4 is a photograph of part of the buildings, taken from the top of the water-tower. The semi-circular corridor and some of the ward blocks are shown. The bricks used for the greater part of the walls are believed to have been made on site. Their dull yellow-grey colour aroused criticism at the time, and their uniformity was relieved by bands of red brick in the cornices and elsewhere. Fig.5 shows the chapel, a separate building outside the main complex, where extensive use was made of red brick decoration.

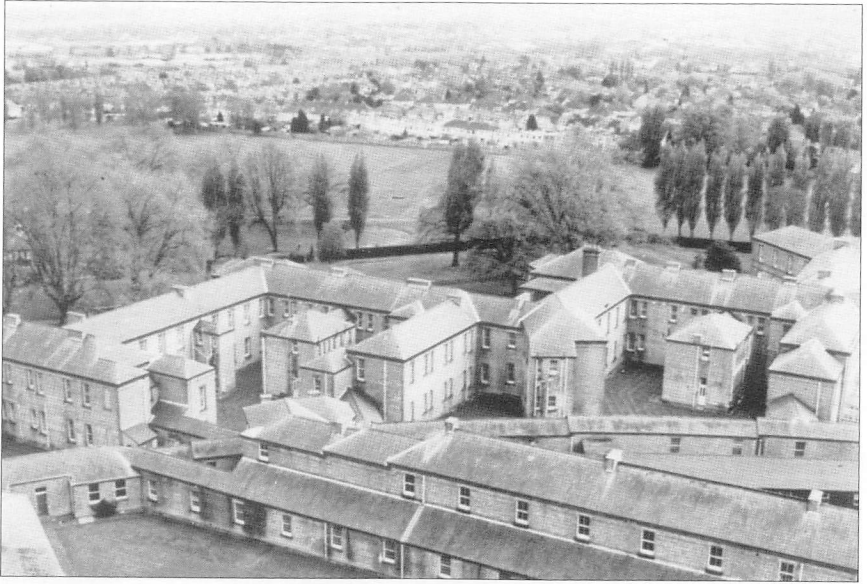


Fig.4 View of the semi-circular corridor and ward blocks, from the water-tower (Photograph from the Bourne Hall Museum).



Fig.5 Horton Chapel (Photograph from the Bourne Hall Museum).

Other buildings shown on the plan were for staff, doctors and nurses, including a 12-bedroomed house for the medical superintendent (whose salary in 1902 was £1,000 per annum).⁴ In 1908 the number of staff employed at Horton was 405.

Horton, like the other hospitals, was as far as possible self-sufficient, having its own farm, and butchers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, dressmakers, laundry and other trades. It kept aloof from the town: the patients were closely confined, and many of the staff scarcely less so. In the early years there were fears about escaping 'lunatics', and a certain stigma was perceived because of the presence of the asylums.

War Service

In 1915 it was decided that Horton should become a military hospital. The Medical Superintendent, Dr J. R. Lord, was appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel in the RAMC and continued to administer the hospital. Over 2,000 mental patients were removed to other hospitals between 12 March and 8 April 1915.⁵ They caused overcrowding at these other hospitals, and conditions were poor: TB and other diseases flourished, and food was short—mental patients were not a priority.

The building was adapted to serve as a general hospital, with the addition of operating theatres and an out-patients' department. Eventually up to 2,500 patients were accommodated. Service as a war hospital continued until 1919, and the last patient left at the end of October. After re-adaptation of the hospital to its original function, the first mental patients were re-admitted in February 1920.

Dr Lord's book (Ref. 5) gives an account of the hospital and its work from 1914-1919, and as far as is known it is the only book written about Horton by someone who served there. Ruth Valentine's book (Ref. 1) relied on documentary evidence and interviews with former staff and patients.

At the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 Horton was taken over as an Emergency Medical Services hospital for both civil and military patients, and the mental patients were once

more sent elsewhere, with consequences for their physical health similar to those in the first war. Closure as an emergency hospital started in March 1947, but was not complete until 1949, when the last of the departments which had been moved from Kings College Hospital moved back.

In reconversion to a mental hospital the opportunity was taken for a new beginning and a less institutional aspect. Railings round the wards were taken down, giving better access to the gardens (although this change may be the reason for the replacement of the boundary fence round the perimeter of the hospital land by a wall).

Treatment

In the early years there were no effective treatments for mental illnesses. The asylums were just that—places where mentally ill people unable to live outside could be looked after. It was not until the 1920s and '30s that various forms of therapy were introduced—in 1923 occupational therapy, and in the 1930s shock treatments, including insulin and electro-convulsive therapy. Pre-frontal leucotomy was introduced in 1936. It was not until after the Second World War that drug treatments were introduced: the first was largactil in 1953.

In 1924 an apparently bizarre treatment was introduced for patients suffering from general paralysis of the insane—the final stage of syphilis. It had been discovered that if patients with this disease became infected with malaria, they often improved or recovered. It was thought that the high fever killed the spirochetes responsible for syphilis: but of course the patient then had malaria. An 'insectarium' was established where the mosquitos could be bred, together with an isolation ward where the patients could be infected safely and subsequently treated. Insects were also sent to other hospitals. In addition to treating syphilis, the unit became of great value during the Second World War in the development of treatments for malaria, when quinine became very scarce. The drug mepacrine was developed, which proved of immense value in reducing the effect of malaria in Africa and the Far East. The

clinic, by this time known as the Mott Clinic, after the Pathologist to the LCC Mental Hospitals, continued in operation until 1965, by which time antibiotics were the standard treatment for syphilis. It had become the World Health Organisation's Regional Malaria Centre for Europe. A commemorative plaque was unveiled at Horton in 1975, and this is now in the Bourne Hall Museum, Ewell. About 10,000 patients had been treated.⁶

Central Services

The creation of a 2,000-bed asylum, with some 400 staff, required the provision of water and energy for lighting, which were beyond the capability of Epsom. The Manor Asylum was lit by gas, and the possibility of building a gas-works to supply Horton and the other projected asylums was considered. In the event it was decided to use electric lighting, which meant that a power station would have to be built. Any gas required could then be supplied from Epsom.

To supply water the boring of an artesian well was begun in 1899, and it was decided to build a combined 'Pumping Station and Electric Light Works'. This station was designed to the specifications of the Asylums Engineer, William Charles Clifford Smith.⁷

The building consists of three main parts, the pump-room and associated water-tower, the engine-room and the boiler-house. The pumping machinery and the shell of the building, its interior now largely converted to other uses, still exist. The building is listed Grade II. A plan is shown at Fig.6.

The pump-room, forming the base of the water-tower, surrounds the well-head and has an internal area of about 25ft x 45ft (8m x 14m). The walls are brick-built and 2ft 6in (0.8m) thick to support the weight of the water tank, the base of which is approximately 50ft (15m) above ground level. There is an intermediate floor, the original use of which is unknown, but it may have been for chlorination equipment.⁸ A building attached to the west side of the tower housed water-softening plant. The boiler-house chimney, located to the north of the tower, was demolished when electricity generation ceased.

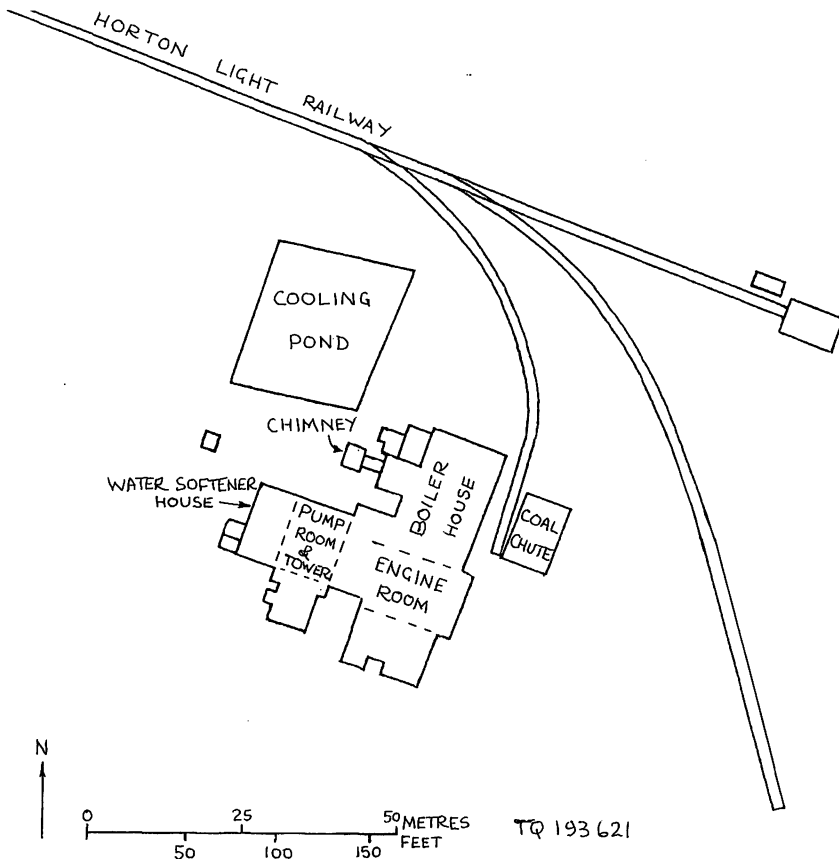


Fig.6 Plan of Pumping Station and Electric Light Works taken from OS 1:2500 Plan, 1932, with annotations by the author.

The building is built largely of the same yellow-grey brick as that used for the Horton asylum, and was similarly relieved by red-brick cornices and window arches, particularly on the tower and the east ends of the boiler-house gables. Fig.7 is a photograph of the building in a derelict state in 2001.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in boring the well. This was originally specified to have a 10ft (3m) diameter brick-lined shaft sunk to a depth of 200ft (61m) and then to have an 11in (28cm) bored section down to a depth of 450ft (137m).⁹ The bore entered the chalk at 309ft (94m) and was lined with tube to

314ft (96m). When the bore reached 450ft (137m) a flow test was carried out, which gave a rate of only 72,000 gallons/day (327,000 litres/day) instead of the required figure of 84,000 gallons/day (382,000 litres/day) needed to supply not only Horton but the epileptic colony and another new asylum. Approval was given to deepen the bore to 550ft (168m).¹⁰ It is possible that the clay dug from the well was used to make bricks, as it is believed that some were made on site.

It was found that polluted water was leaking into the well at a depth of 129ft. The problem was referred to the LCC Asylums Committee, where initially it was argued that as the resulting water, when tested after the bore had reached 500ft, was equal in quality to the water supplied to London by the New River Co., therefore nothing needed to be done. The committee was evenly split on this matter, and nothing was decided; but three months later, in July 1900, approval was given to lining the well from 100ft downwards.¹¹ This clearly proved to be insufficient, as 15 months later approval was given to line the well to the top.¹² These changes to the original specification proved expensive, and the total cost of the well was over twice the cost of the pumping machinery and water softening plant combined.

The well and pumps are still in existence, and could probably be restored to full working order. The well is fitted with two sets of 'bucket' pumps, which lift water on the up-stroke of the piston rods. Each set consists of three cylinders and pistons or buckets, driven from a three-throw forged crankshaft. The crankshaft is driven through reduction gearing from a belt connected to line-shafting mounted on the wall of the pump-room. The belt pulleys on the pump are of the 'fast and loose' type, so that by moving the belt from one pulley to the other, the pumps may be stopped or started. The pulleys on the line-shaft are of different sizes for the two sets of pumps, so that by turning the sets on or off three different flow-rates can be obtained. The use of gearing and a three-cylinder arrangement ensures that the load on the line-shafting is substantially constant, in spite of the intermittent load of the individual pump cylinders.



Fig.7 The derelict 'Sherwood' building, 2001 (Photograph by the author).

The well-pumps lifted the water to a small header tank mounted just below the ceiling of the pump-room, about 20 ft (6m) from the floor. From there the water flowed down to two sets of three-cylinder plunger or force pumps, which pumped the water up to the tank on top of the tower. As in the case of the well-pumps, gearing down from the belt-drive pulleys ensured a constant load on the drive, and, again, two different sizes of pulleys on the line-shaft allowed three rates of pumping to be obtained, to match the rate of pumping of the well-pumps. Air vessels are attached to the outlet side of the pumps, to store and release energy so as to minimise the fluctuations in the output flow—though why there are three, one for each cylinder, is not clear: one large vessel would be sufficient. All the pumping equipment, and a winch to allow the well-pumps to be lifted for maintenance, were supplied by R. Warner and Co. of Walton-on-the-Naze for £1,674 10s. 0d.¹³

The tank on the tower held 35,000 gallons, and the water flowed from there to the water-tower at the Horton asylum. Further

force-pumps must have been fitted there, since the Horton tower is higher than that of the pumping station, but no sign of such pumps was found during demolition of the boiler-house at the base of that tower. There are four large tanks in the Horton tower, one on each of four floors, but the purpose of each is not known, although at least one would have been for the general water supply, and one was probably reserved for fire-fighting.

The water-softening equipment, installed in a building next to and attached to the tower, was removed at an unknown time. This may have been when a water supply was obtained from Epsom, presumably to supplement that from the well. A contract for the supply of seven million gallons per annum, or 19,000 gallons/day (87,000 l/day) was signed in January 1904—this required the laying of 5,800 yards (5,300m) of ring main from the Epsom works in East Street through Horton and on to the High Street.¹⁴

The line-shaft from which the pumps were driven was in turn driven from two direct-current motors supplied from the adjacent power station, or 'electric light works'. It is not known whether both motors were used simultaneously to provide the necessary power for the highest rate of pumping, or whether they were used singly, the second motor having a standby role. When the d.c. supply was replaced by an a.c. supply from the National Grid, a single three-phase motor replaced the two d.c. motors.

At the date of construction of Horton, well-pumps and force-pumps similar to those installed there were still being installed elsewhere driven directly from steam engines, as for example the engine and pumps installed at Waddon, Croydon in 1910, now to be seen in the Kew Bridge Steam Museum. The electric drive at Horton can therefore be seen as an early modern installation.

Electricity Generation

The specification of the electric light works approved by the LCC Asylums Committee in 1900 was for a three-wire direct current system, with 200 volts between pairs and 400 volts between the outer conductors. The voltage used in the wards would be limited to 200 volts. Sufficient power was to be available to supply 3,800

lamps (equivalent to 8,187 lamps of eight candle-power) and 16 motors ranging from one to 16 h.p. for driving water pumps, laundry machinery, bread-making machinery, ventilating fans and workshop tools.¹⁵ It is impossible from this inadequate information to give an accurate estimate of the total power output, but it was perhaps about 200kW.

The station began supplying power in February 1902.¹⁶ It ceased generation on 3 August 1935, when an alternating-current supply was taken from the National Grid via the Epsom Urban District's undertaking.¹⁷ The pumping station continued to operate, but it is not known when it was shut down—presumably at some time during the run-down of the hospitals in the 1980s/1990s.

The engines, generators and boilers were immediately scrapped (it being necessary to remove the end wall of the engine-room to allow removal of the engines), and nothing is known for certain about the details of this equipment, except that it was supplied by Edmundsons Electricity Corporation for £17,825.¹⁸ From the size and shape of the spaces it may be speculated that there were two vertical steam engines driving two generators, and that there were three or four Lancashire boilers, the flues of which were connected to the chimney through an economiser.

Behind the building there was a large cooling-pond for the condenser cooling water. This is shown on Ordnance plans as having a surface area of 0.130 acres, or 629sq.yd (526sq.m.), although the water area appears to have been only 80ft x 60ft or 533sq.yd (446sq.m.). At 5ft (1.5m) deep it would have held 148,000 gallons (670cu.m) or about four times the capacity of the water-tank on the tower.¹⁹ In April 1905 approval was given to the fitting of spray bars over the pond, to improve the efficiency of cooling and thus save coal.²⁰ From the construction of the new light railway in 1909, coal was supplied to a siding adjacent to the boiler-house, as shown in Fig.1 and Fig. 6. The coal was shot down a shaft to the level of the boiler-house floor, which was some 10ft (3m) below ground level. There does not appear to have been any substantial coal-storage area—the coal must have been delivered as required, or perhaps stored in the trucks.

Conversion of the Electric Light Works

Following the scrapping of the engines and boilers, and the demolition of the chimney, the shell of the engine and boiler houses was left. In February 1937 the LCC Asylums Committee (now the Mental Hospitals Committee) approved the transfer of the building to the Manor hospital (known since 1921 as the Manor Certified Institution). The building was to be converted into a hostel for male patients working outside the Institution.

The temporary end wall of the engine room was to be rebuilt, and an intermediate floor inserted. On the first floor so created would be dormitories for 40 patients in three rooms separated by partitions. The ground floor would be a day-room with a section for bicycles, and adjacent to it would be kitchens, bathrooms and sanitary accommodation and other ancillary accommodation. Staff bedrooms, dining room and sitting room would also be provided.

The boiler-house would be converted into a gymnasium with a wooden floor, and the existing coal-bunkers adapted as store-rooms. The economiser chamber would be used to accommodate a central-heating boiler.

The cooling-pond, of dimensions 80ft x 60ft x 5ft deep (34.4m x 18.3m x 1.5m) would be converted into a swimming-pool with the sides raised and the bottom sloped to give a depth of 3ft (0.9m) at one end and 6ft (1.8m) at the other. Filtration apparatus and a chlorination plant would be added, with aeration by an open-air cascade. The former building for the water-softening plant would be adapted for dressing-rooms and sanitary accommodation. The grounds would be converted for recreation.

The work of conversion was supervised by the leading carpenter at the Manor, who was paid an additional 1d per hour; he was already paid 2d per hour over the local trade rate. The additional cost was estimated at not more than £6. The work was to be completed by 30 November 1937.²¹ On 21 June 1938 the hostel was named 'Sherwood'. It was not stated if this name had any special significance.²²

At some point in the Second World War the Sherwood building was used as part of the Emergency Hospital Scheme,

as was the Horton hospital itself. In December 1941 it was agreed that part of the gymnasium might be boarded off for use as a company headquarters of the 56th (Surrey) Battalion of the Home Guard, including the fitting of shelves and the establishment of a canteen. Reference was made in the approval to 'residents using the gymnasium' but it is not known if these were the original mental patients.²³ A bomb fell on the swimming-pool, and this damage was never repaired.

After the war the Sherwood building may have reverted to its former use, but there is no record. It was handed over to the National Health Service in mid-1948.

It is probable that the Sherwood building was disused for some time, until in 1965 further conversion took place to provide a workshop for mentally-handicapped patients. The gymnasium, the former boiler-room, was converted into a workshop for a variety of trades, initially for brush-making, tin-smithing, fencing and metal basket making. Later printing and printed-circuit card assembly were added. Some patients worked in outside industry.

Both male and female patients were taken, in spite of misgivings, and Sherwood became the first mixed unit at the Manor. Furthermore, there were no locked doors, but there was little trouble. The behaviour of the male patients improved because of the presence of the female patients. There was accommodation for 23 men and 12 women.²⁴ Sherwood took patients from outside the hospital, and in later years some had criminal records who might otherwise have gone to prison. The unit specialised in 'turbulent adolescents' from 15-25. Attempts were made to make the unit independent of the Manor, to make it a regional centre, but the health authorities refused. Sherwood closed in 1985, two years after the founding supervisor, Mr Albert Tebbs, retired.²⁵ The buildings then slowly became derelict and heavily vandalised, although the pump-room and its equipment remained in fair condition.

Conversion to another use for the third time started when the site was chosen for a 'leisure club'. A new building was erected to the north of the former boiler-room, in which were provided a swimming-pool, squash courts, exercise machines and changing

rooms. The boiler-room was filled to ground level and fitted as a club-room and bar, with windows on to a terrace and to an outdoor swimming-pool which covered part of the area of the cooling-pond. The engine-room was converted, upstairs into a dance studio and offices, and downstairs into a crèche and bar service rooms. The former water-softening house was provided with an intermediate floor and fitted upstairs as a beauty parlour and downstairs with various therapy rooms.

The well-head and equipment in the pump-room was retained, except that the drive motor and part of the line-shaft carrying the drive pulleys was removed so that the room could be partitioned to enable a staircase and lift-shaft to be built, together with some offices. The staircase and lift gave access to the first floor of the water-tower, which was fitted as a meeting room, and to the beauty parlour and the ground floor below it.

The pump-room and the pumping equipment were refurbished, the pumps being painted in bright colours to form a visual feature of interest in the entrance hall. A window opening was made into the pump-room to allow the pumps to be seen. To increase the interest of the scene, a motor was added to drive the line-shaft and turn the cranks of the well pumps through their belts and gearing. It was not possible to operate the pumps themselves, so the pump-rods were disconnected from the crankshafts. The plunger pumps were not made to function; indeed they were painted in such a way as to render this impossible. Fig 8 is a view of the well and pumps in the refurbished pump-room.

In the conversion some structures were removed which had been added in previous conversions, notably an external staircase that partially covered the left-hand gable of the boiler-house. Its removal enabled the gable-end to be restored to its original appearance, with the arch over the window dressed in red brick. Elsewhere the brickwork was repaired to return the building as far as possible to its original appearance, except that a building attached to the engine-house and projecting from it was removed. The former economiser chamber was also removed. Figs.7 and 9 show general views of the building before and after restoration.

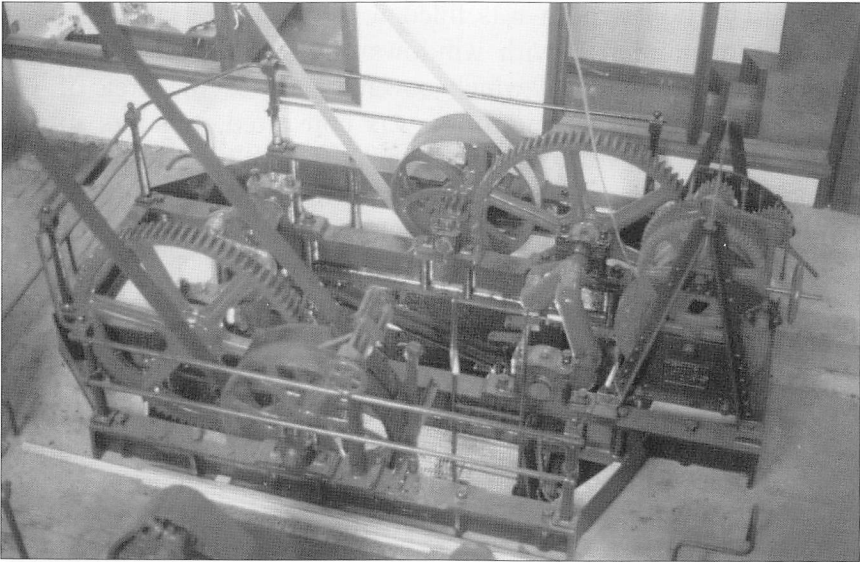


Fig.8 The well-pumps in the refurbished pump-room, 2003 (Photograph by the author).

The central-heating boiler-house, oil tanks and chimney adjacent to the pumping station were demolished and tennis courts and a car park for the leisure club were built on the site. This central boiler-house was built after the Second World War to supply heating to all the hospitals, to replace their individual systems.

The Surrey Industrial History Group, a Group of the Surrey Archaeological Society, gave its Conservation Award for 2003 to David Lloyd Leisure for the restoration of the pumping station and electric light works. This award was marked by the presentation of a plaque,²⁶ which is now displayed in the club.

Closure of Horton Mental Hospital and redevelopment of the site

Enoch Powell, when Minister of Health in 1961, announced that the great mental hospitals throughout the country were to be closed. No planning for such a move had taken place at that time, and it was 25 years before, in 1986, the first hospital closed at Banstead. Some of the patients there were sent to Horton, which delayed its



Fig.9 The building in 2003, restored and converted to a David Lloyd Leisure Club.

closure: but the run-down began and Horton was finally closed in 1996. Plans were agreed for the demolition of the greater part of the buildings, and for the construction of a housing estate within the 'footprint' of the main buildings. Difficulty in relocating a specialist unit that remained on the site delayed this redevelopment and demolition did not start until 2003. The buildings that remain comprise a few of the ward blocks and the administration block, to be converted into flats, and the water-tower as a landscape feature. The chapel also remains, perhaps to be converted for community use. Other houses and villas around the hospital, built in a 'Vicwardian' style, have also been retained.

The Long Grove and Manor hospitals have already been redeveloped for housing. Plans are being made for West Park, and some hospital services remain there, notably the New Cottage Hospital for Epsom. St Ebba's, originally the Epileptic Colony, will not be completely closed, but will otherwise be redeveloped for housing.

Notes

Much of the background information about the LCC Asylums is derived from Ruth Valentine, *Asylum, Hospital, Haven - A history of Horton Hospital* (Riverside Mental Health Trust, 1996), and from Lt Col J.R. Lord, *The Story of the Horton (County of London) War Hospital, Epsom*, (Heinemann, 1920). The minutes of the LCC committees are held in the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA).

1. Derived from Valentine, pp 15-17.
2. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/600, December 1936.
3. R.I. Essen, *Epsom's Hospital Railways*, 1991.
4. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/570.
5. Lt Col J. R. Lord, *The Story of the Horton (County of London) War Hospital*.
6. Malcolm Boyd, *Epsom Protection Society Newsletter*, 96, Summer 2003.
7. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, November 1899.
8. Peter Wakefield, 'Epsom Hospitals Water Pumping Station and Electric Light Works', *Surrey Industrial History Group Newsletter*, 100, November 1997.
9. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/ MIN/568, May 1898.
10. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, March 1900.
11. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, July 1900.
12. LCC Horton Building and Estates Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/1120, October 1901.
13. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, November 1900.
14. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/571, January 1904.
15. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, April and May 1900.
16. LCC Horton Building and Estates Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/1120, January 1902.
17. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/599, August and October 1935.
18. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/569, November 1900.
19. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/601, February 1937.
20. LCC Asylums Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/572, April 1905.
21. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/601, February 1937.
22. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/602, June 1938.
23. LCC Mental Hosp. Cttee, LMA LCC/MIN/604, December 1941.
24. Report by Mr Albert G. Tebbs, Workshop Manager, 1979, Surrey History Centre 6274/.
25. Interview with Mr Tebbs, 8 July 1993, Bourne Hall Museum, Ewell.
26. *SIHG Newsletter*, 135, September 2003.

SURREY HISTORY CENTRE
ACCESSIONS OF RECORDS AND CATALOGUING
PROJECTS IN 2003

Mike Page

During the course of 2003, Surrey History Centre received 266 accessions of records from a great variety of organisations and individuals. We are very grateful to all those who have assisted us by ensuring the preservation of so many facets of the county's past. What follows merely picks out a few of the most intriguing and highlights other ways we are improving access to our holdings. A full list of the year's accessions can be found on our website, <http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistoryservice>, under 'Search for Archives or Books'.

Surrey on the March: the records of the Queen's Royal Surrey Regiment

Our major accession of the year (reference 7502) arrived in November: the archives of The Queen's Royal Surrey Regiment which was established in 1959 when The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey), with its headquarters at Guildford, and The East Surrey Regiment, based in Kingston, were amalgamated. The new regiment was short-lived, being absorbed into a new home counties regiment, The Queen's Regiment, with a headquarters in Canterbury, in 1966: thereafter Surrey no longer provided a home for any of the regular infantry regiments of the British Army. The Regimental Museum at Clandon Park commemorates the proud history of the Surrey regiments, but the Regimental Association was concerned to find an appropriate permanent home for the records that had accumulated there.

The earliest records date from the late 17th century, when a regiment was formed to defend Tangier in Morocco, briefly a



Fig.1 Men of the 8th Battalion, The East Surrey Regiment, in a dugout in 'Jeffery Trench near Stirling Castle' [Western Front], August 1917 (ref. 7502/ES/44).

possession of the British Crown as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza who married King Charles II in 1662. This regiment became the 2nd Foot and, in 1881, The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment. In the same year The East Surrey Regiment was created when the 31st (Huntingdonshire) Regiment of Foot and the 70th (Surrey) Regiment of Foot were amalgamated. The 31st was originally formed in 1702 as Colonel George Villiers' Regiment of Marines and its 2nd Battalion was formed into the 70th Regiment in 1758.

The records, which span four centuries, are a wonderfully rich source for the lives and campaigns of those who served in the regiments, both with the regular battalions and in the militia, volunteer, territorial and conscript battalions. They bear witness to the military careers of thousands of Surrey men, careers which took them through Europe and far beyond. There are diaries and photographs of men serving in India and on the North West Frontier, against the Boers in South Africa, in the Far East, in the Crimea, and in northern Russia. There are the harrowing casualty returns and war diaries of battalions on the Western Front in the First World War, and first-hand accounts of Dunkirk and D-Day. The routines of daily life in peace time are reflected in the series of battalion orders, in letters home and in photographs of sporting competitions and hunting expeditions in India.

The voices that can be heard talking through the records are not just those of the officers but of the private infantrymen too. There are plenty of examples of unofficial battalion and company newsletters and magazines which, amidst the jokes that don't bear repeating, give some insight into how those units maintained their morale and spirit in the most appalling circumstances and contrast poignantly with the unemotive casualty reports and the private sentiments expressed in letters.

The jaunty tone of the report on the assault by the 7th Battalion, The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment, on the front at Montauban at the start of the Somme offensive on 1 July 1916 makes rather chilling reading: 'When the enemy was met man to man we showed complete superiority ... the battalion suffered



Fig.2 'Lunch on the veldt', 1901, during the Boer War, in which the 2nd Battalion of The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment served (ref. 7502/QR/68).

considerably from enemy in dugouts sniping and throwing bombs. Many surrendered after such acts, some falling to their knees in surrendering. Speaking generally, the enemy showed a very decided disinclination to fight hand to hand, and only did so when they could obtain an advantage by some unsportsmanlike act'. In fact, although the day's objective was reached, the battalion suffered appalling losses: 181 dead, 293 wounded, 58 missing.

Nearly thirty years later, battalions of the same regiment were forcing their way through Italy in the teeth of stubborn German resistance and in the face of more insidious weapons. One soldier preserved from the campaign a leaflet which asked him to consider the fate of many of his friends:

Some are dead. Others are wounded and unfit for further service. The remainder are accounted for in the three letters POW. They are comfortable and content, they have plenty of good food and cigarettes, and they have warm billets (where they sleep every night and all night). Yes, my comrade, these friends of yours are simply spending their time pleasantly until the war is over and they can return home immediately and safely.

From another donor, we also received four letters from Private Bert Bowerman of Worplesdon (reference 7361), serving with the 2nd Battalion, The Queen's, who enlisted in Guildford and was killed in Flanders on 12 May 1917:

... life here is something awfull [*sic*] mud up to one's neck and no place to sleep in, only what you see the gipsy put up under the hedges a piece of canvas over a pole hanging down both sides ... life here is horrible am writing this wet through & no chance of drying my things and to make matters worse they have taken our blanket and coats away leaving us with only a waterproof sheet to lie on ...

The Beauty of Holiness: Transforming Surrey's Churches

Church records, Anglican and non-conformist, always constitute a sizeable proportion of our accessions each year and 2003 was no exception. The records often provide valuable evidence of the transformation of the buildings, particularly in the second half of the 19th century when Victorian restorers swept away so much of the ancient fabric and the unfashionable 18th-century fittings. Evidence of the appearance of Surrey's churches before the restorers got to work is rare and we were delighted to add to our holdings of watercolours by the artists John and Edward Hassell who between them left a visual record of so many of the buildings of the county in the 1820s and 1830s: meticulous watercolours of All Saints Church, Witley (reference 7440) and the humble churches at Walton on the Hill and Woodmansterne (reference 7468) depict interiors filled with box pews, galleries and three-decker pulpits and rambling somewhat down-at-heel exteriors.

In some instances, the motivation to revamp Anglican churches came from clergymen influenced by the Anglo-Catholic Oxford movement which sought to restore a sense of mystery and transcendence to worship and found inspiration in Roman Catholic liturgy and ceremonial. However, the movement raised the hackles of many evangelical Protestants and led to vituperative clashes. Two accessions relate to a notorious clash at St Mary's, Thorpe,

in 1910, when the actions of the Rev. Samuel Lushington in introducing ritual, ornaments and vestments provoked orchestrated demonstrations led by the Wycliffe Preachers. A collection of glass slides found in a house in Sunbury (reference 7335) shows the crowds gathered at Thorpe bearing banners proclaiming 'Protestantism means no Mass' and 'No Protestant Confessional stands for an open Bible and Freedom'. A 'Protestant hymn for the men and women of Thorpe' by Samuel Levermore (reference 7439) attacks Lushington's innovations and praises his triumphant opponents.

Piano-makers to Royalty: The archive of John Broadwood and Sons and of the Broadwood family

Towards the end of 2002 we were successful in obtaining a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund to complete the conservation of important parts of the Broadwood business archive, including day books containing details of individual pianos manufactured and sold by the company between 1798 and 1958, number books listing all the serial numbers of the pianos made, a volume of price lists for c.1815-1920, and an office letter book of 1801 to 1810. The imminent completion of this conservation work has ensured the preservation of an archive of national importance. The detailed catalogue of the business records, running to some 287 pages, has also been completed during the course of this year and is now available on our website.

Many enquiries relating to the histories of individual pianos continue to be received. Ones of note during the last year include a grand piano for J. Rashleigh in 1859 at Menabilly, Cornwall, the house later occupied and made famous by the novelist Daphne Du Maurier; confirmation of the provenance of the instrument at the National Trust house at Standen, East Grinstead; an upright piano with a case designed by Arts and Crafts Movement artist Charles Ashbee, and the grand piano taken to Australia in 1809 by Lachlan Macquarie, governor of New South Wales from 1810 to 1821.

The cataloguing of the extensive collection of family papers originally deposited with the business archive has also been



Fig.3 'Messrs Broadwood's Piano Manufactory', in Horseferry Road, Westminster, rebuilt after the fire of 1856, from the *Illustrated London News*, 4 Dec 1858 (ref. 2185/JB/85/8)

continuing. The papers were in considerable disorder, but as they have been sorted the richness and diversity of the archive has been revealed. Much relates to the 19th- and 20th-century management of the vast estate that was built up, centred on the family seat at Lyne House, Capel, and including many farms in Capel and Newdigate in Surrey, and Rusper and Warnham in Sussex. The records include account books, rentals and estate correspondence, and there are also estate title deeds from the late 16th century. Further highlights from the archive include plans, accounts and correspondence relating to the rebuilding of Lyne House between 1865 and 1867, bundles of 19th-century household accounts and vouchers, papers relating to Henry Fowler Broadwood's shooting and fishing activities on the Lyne estate and at The Pavilion, Melrose, the house he rented in Scotland, and title deeds from 1673 of the Quaker burial ground in Capel. Many of the papers relate to the activities of Captain Evelyn Broadwood (1889-1975), including his military career in the First World War, during which he was awarded the Military Cross, and his later career as landowner,

County and District Councillor, and High Sheriff of Surrey. One of the most appealing figures from the family is probably James Shudi Broadwood (1772-1851), who originally purchased the Lyne estate in 1799. The notebook and diary he kept between 1795 and 1802 contains many humorous notes and verses, not least those compiled after a visit with his friends W. Stretton, A. Coni ['Tony Amoroso' in the verses], and Lambert Fowler to Margate in 1796, after which James wrote 'How come the girls to give an eye to lean-gut Tony when we are by!'

Last year we received a further deposit of Broadwood family papers and estate records (ref. 7481) which shed further light on the history of this remarkable family, their relations, and estates.

'The Beautiful Game': Surrey County Football Association

Although some sports, in particular cricket and horse racing, were reasonably well represented in our holdings, football was much less well covered until August 2003, when the archive of the Surrey County Football Association Ltd (reference 7446) became one of our largest sporting collections to date. Liaison between the SCFA and Surrey History Centre had been established for many months before the deposit and the SCFA, aware of the importance and research potential of their records, were keen that they be placed for posterity with the Centre.

Originally formed in 1877, the West Surrey Football Association organised meetings between the few existing football clubs in the county. In 1882, the Association decided to established the Surrey County Football Association (SCFA), whose role was actively to encourage the development of the sport within the county. A code of rules was introduced along with an annual Challenge Cup competition. Also introduced was the Duke of Connaught Charity Cup Competition, named after Queen Victoria's son Arthur, who was the first president of the Association, 1881-1898. He remained patron until his death in 1942. The organisation of the Association underwent several changes after the Second World War and, from 2001, the Association has functioned as a limited company.

The collection comprises a near complete series of minutes of Council and Annual General Meetings from 1882 onwards, as well as finance, benevolent fund, youth and cup competitions committees. Records of several Divisions and some now defunct leagues have also been deposited. After undergoing extensive cleaning and conservation treatment for insect infestation the records are now ready for consultation.

‘Surrey on film 1914-1953: a community in peace and war’

Moving film, both amateur and professional, is deposited with Surrey History Centre on a regular basis (nearly 300 items of film and related media since September 2000) but it is a fragile and vulnerable medium and its long-term preservation poses many problems. We now send all film passed to us to the South East



Fig.4 Children in the crowd: a still from the film ‘Walton’s March for Victory’, February 1941

Film and Video Archive (SEFVA) based in Brighton and Chichester which has the correct facilities to store, view and copy film. SEFVA preserves the original film but provides us with viewing copies on video which are available for consultation in our searchroom (see our website for a full list of the 40 films currently available: www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistoryservice, click on ‘Special Collections’, then ‘Film

at Surrey History Centre’). However, to widen access to some of these films, and to increase awareness of the importance of film as an historical source, we have also now collaborated with SEFVA to produce a compilation video: ‘Surrey on Film 1914-1953: A Community in Peace and War’.

The compilation, which took many months to research and produce, brings together 12 films shot in Surrey in the first half of the 20th century selected around the theme of community: they show towns, villages and families celebrating in times of

peace and coming together in response to the stress of two world wars. The films include footage of a parade through the centre of Godalming in 1911, providing what must surely be one of the earliest surviving moving images of a Surrey town. The original film was in a terrible state when passed to SEFVA and would soon have been beyond salvage. Peacetime in the county is also represented by film of the Reigate carnival in 1926, an Empire Day parade at the Southern Railway Servants Orphanage in Woking in 1933, a Silver Jubilee street party in Hersham in 1935 and the Horley Cricket Club coronation fête in 1953. The county's reaction to two world wars is portrayed in film of the presentation by the town of Godalming of a Red Cross ambulance for service on the Western Front; women war workers showing their newly-won farming skills at Shackleford in the First World War; a somewhat sombre parade through Walton on Thames in 1941 during 'War Weapons Week'; the Surrey Land Club responding positively to food and labour shortages; and a moving celebration by Leatherhead Urban District Council of the heroic labours of its civil defence units during the Second World War. The compilation also includes two films of individual families: the affluent Embertons of Chobham enjoy a seemingly serene existence in the late 1930s and the Gowlland family of Croydon respond to the demands of the war, the threat of air raids and, in 1945, the glorious news of victory.

The video or DVD is available for viewing at SHC but can also be purchased (VHS £10.00 or DVD £15.00, plus £2 p&p).

Building Dreams: The Woodham Park Development Trust

The end of the Second World War left Britain with a chronic shortage of housing. One response to the crisis is represented by the archive of the Woodham Park Development Trust (ref.7499), which was formed in 1953 following the union of the Fieldway Building and Electra Self Build Associations. The objective of the members of the Trust, which was affiliated to the Self Build Advisory Service, was to construct their own houses, using their own labour in their spare time. The Electra Association had already identified a suitable site at Woodham Park Road, New

Haw, Addlestone, for its members' houses, but could not afford to acquire the land on its own, thus prompting the association with Fieldway. The site at Woodham was finally procured and work began in November 1953. Sixty-six members (33 from each of the Housing Associations) embarked on the project and all save one (who was replaced by another) completed the undertaking. The building programme consisted of 66 semi-detached three-bedroom houses of approximately one thousand square feet each. The building work was done at weekends and during annual leave, the men, and some wives, travelling down to the site from their homes in London. The first pair of houses were completed in June 1954, when the keys were handed to Ray Pryke and Jim Sprawson. From 26 June to 4 July 1954 the first pair were open to the trade and public, and were used by Aga as showhomes (one had an Aga boiler, the other an Aga stove). The final pair of houses were completed and occupied on 16 November 1956. The houses are situated in Queen Mary's Drive, Wendley Drive and Nursery Close, New Haw.

Records of the remarkable project have been collected together by members of the Trust and include minutes, photographs and publicity and a video entitled 'The Dream Builders: the Woodham Park Development Trust self-build scheme' to commemorate the 40th anniversary in 1993 of the Trust's foundation.

A Miscellany

Brief mentions of some other accessions will, at least, give an impression of the range of records we have taken in.

The records of Woking Chamber of Trade and Commerce (reference 7462) stretch back to the very first meeting in 1898, at which The Woking and District Tradesmen's Alliance was established. They provide a fascinating picture of the commercial development of the town over 100 years.

A small collection of papers and photographs relating to the Adley family (reference 7358) includes some splendid photographs of A.B. Burton's celebrated bronze statue foundry in Summer Road, Thames Ditton, where Alfred Hobson Adley worked. The foundry

made some famous public monuments, some of which are shown under construction. A works outing to the seaside in an open-top motor coach provided by Kingstonian Coaches is also depicted.

We bought from an antiquarian bookdealer the very detailed private account book (reference 7408) of George Carew Gibson (d.1860) who resided at Bradstone Brook House (alias Bradston Brook), Shalford, a property built by his grandfather Thomas Gibson, in 1791. The volume gives a fine impression of the life of a wealthy gentleman who was appointed High Sheriff of Sussex in 1855. Domestic purchases are detailed (such as a portrait of Gibson by the artist F.Y. Hurlstone and a Christmas tree for the children) and family outings mentioned including a trip to Lewes to see Russian prisoners (23 July 1853), a visit to Hampton Court Palace (August 1853), the Crystal Palace (June 1854), an 'Exhibition of monkeys' (November 1854), and a family holiday to Paris in September 1855. Gibson travelled regularly to London: on 27 July 1854, he records that 'no cabs were to be seen in Town this day as all the Drivers had struck for wages'.

We also received a group of deeds and papers relating to The Ministering Children's League (reference 7386), founded by Mary Jane Brabazon, Countess of Meath (d.1918), in 1885, to encourage children to help in charitable works, thus helping in the 'formation of unselfish character', and to maintain charitable institutions through an endowed trust, with the aid of members' subscriptions. By 1915, the Ministering League, for older children and adult members, had been incorporated into the society, and branches of the League had been established worldwide. The league supported institutions, for the most part for convalescents, and in England its activities were principally based at Ottershaw, near Chaworth House, a home of the Count and Countess of Meath, where three homes for destitute children, a sanatorium and an infant school were supported from 1887. The records include a charming illustrated promotional booklet produced in 1915 entitled 'Some Impressions of Happy English Homes at Ottershaw, Exmouth and Hayling Island connected with the Ministering Children's League'.

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This Index was accidentally omitted from Volume VI, no. 5 where it should have appeared. The Editor apologises for any inconvenience.

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PUBLICATIONS

The Surrey Local History Council produced *Surrey History* for many years and the majority of the back numbers are still available. In addition the following extra publications are in print:

Pastors, Parishes and People in Surrey
by David Robinson
1989 £2.95

Views of Surrey Churches
by C.T. Cracklow
(reprint of 1826 views)
1979 £7.50 (hardback)

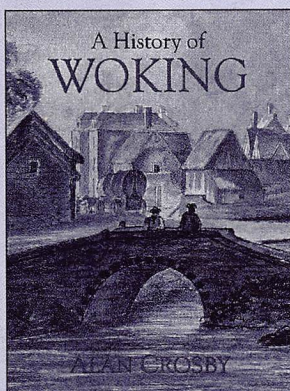
Old Surrey Receipts and Food for Thought
compiled by Daphne Grimm
1991 £3.95

The Sheriffs of Surrey
by David Burns
1992 £4.95
(Published jointly with the Under Sheriff of Surrey)

Two Hundred Years of Aeronautics & Aviation in Surrey 1785-1985
by Sir Peter Masefield
1993 £3.95

The Churches of Surrey
by Mervyn Blatch
1997 £30.00 (hardback)

These books are published for the Surrey Local History Council by Phillimore & Co. Ltd of Chichester. They are available from many bookshops in the county. Members are invited to obtain their copies from the Hon. Secretary, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.



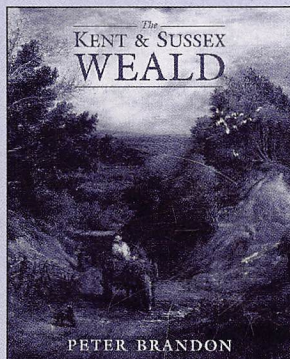
A History of Woking

Alan Crosby

£20.00

Woking, though the largest town in Surrey, is known to many only as a railway junction and might seem to be the archetype of suburban dormitories with no past or any interest. However, this first comprehensive account of its origins and growth shows that Woking, with its associated villages of Byfleet, Horsell and Pyrford, can trace its varied history back over fourteen centuries. Inevitably, the book concentrates on the period since 1800, during which the present town has evolved. The landscape and character of the area at the end of the 18th century are described as a prelude to a fascinating account of the unique new town of the 1870s and its bizarre origin as the speculation of a cemetery company. The author paints a vivid and detailed picture of the conditions that prevailed, often primitive and even squalid, during the vigorous expansion of the late 19th century. A series of institutions, prominent in the development

of Woking included Britain's largest cemetery and oldest crematorium, the first mosque in Western Europe and an abortive university. All are given full attention in the author's compelling narrative.



The Kent & Sussex Weald

Peter Brandon

£25.00

The Wealds of Kent, Surrey and Sussex had detractors over almost all their history but are now regarded as embodying England at its most characteristically delightful. The author explores how places such as Ashdown Forest and wooded west Kent, which were long disliked and even feared, have come to be perceived as jewels of landscape for leisure and recreation. He also traces the unremitting labour of generations of the region's small farmers to clear and settle a great expanse of wild country that has resulted in one of the most notable pieces of man's handiwork in Europe, and which has persisted to an astonishing degree relatively unchanged over a course of some eight centuries or more. This human story began as a saga of man against forest and continued as one of the interaction of man with trees - cared for to provide shipbuilding timber

and fuel; to sustain the region's handicrafts; saved from the forester's axe to provide sporting pleasures and planted in pineta, arboreta and 'wild gardens' by Victorian and Edwardian 'nouveau riches'. This book will enrich the enjoyment of those who reside in the Weald or live in sight of it and is essential reading for those whose interest in it is as landowner, farmer, ecologist, planner, conservationist, councillor or local historian.

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