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SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE
SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Chairman: Janet Balchin, Hullbrook Cottage, Cranleigh Road, Ewhurst, Surrey, GU6 7RN

The Surrey Local History Committee, which is a committee of the Surrey Archaeological Society, exists to foster an interest in the history of Surrey. It does this by encouraging local history societies within the county, by the organisation of meetings, by publication and also by co-operation with other bodies, to discover the past and to maintain the heritage of Surrey, in history, architecture, landscape and archaeology.

The meetings organised by the Committee include a one-day autumn Symposium on a local history theme, a half-day spring meeting on one specialised topic and a summer visit to a particular village or town in Surrey. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time. See below for contact details for publication enquiries.

Membership of the Surrey Archaeological Society, our parent body, by local history societies, will help the Committee to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. Individuals and groups belonging to member societies may attend the Symposium and other meetings at a reduced fee and obtain publications at a special rate from the Hon. Secretary. Member societies may also exhibit at the Symposium and sell their publications there.

Members of the Surrey Archaeological Society receive *Surrey History* free as part of their membership entitlement. Alternatively, copies may be purchased from the Surrey History Centre in Woking. Membership enquiries for Surrey Archaeological Society should be made to the Hon. Secretary, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX.

Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intending authors are invited to consult the editor for advice before proceeding. Enquiries should be sent to the Hon. Editor, *Surrey History*, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.

Surrey Local History Committee's close association with Phillimore over many years has ended with changes in their organisation and a new format has been adopted with a change of printer. Instead of 5 annual issues to a volume there will now be one volume per year, starting with Volume VIII 2009.

// SURREY HISTORY
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Surrey Local History Committee desires it to be known that it does not necessarily concur with the statements or opinions expressed herein.

Front cover illustration: Painting of Rectory House, later Glyn House, Ewell (see page 49).
Back cover illustration: Self portrait of James Clarke Hook RA, reproduced by kind permission of Aberdeen Art Galleries and Museums (see page 19).

About the Authors

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Mary Day has a keen interest in the local history and buildings of the Dorking area, with particular reference to surviving documents. This led her to a degree course in Landscape Studies at Sussex as an 'extra mature student'! She is a Past-Chairman of Dorking Local History Group and has served on the Surrey Local History Committee and the committees of the Domestic Buildings Research Group and the Wealden Buildings Study Group.

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Anna Shepherd has recently completed her PhD on 19th century Brookwood Asylum and Holloway Sanatorium at Oxford Brookes University. After some years working at the Centre for Suicide Research in Oxford, she is now currently employed at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

The Will and Probate Inventory of William Jubb, 1697–1739, Papermaker of Ewell

Alan Crocker, Mary Day and Peggy Bedwell

Introduction

William Jubb, papermaker, made his will and died in 1739 and, because his heir was a minor, an inventory of the contents of his premises had to be made. These interesting documents survive and enable an analysis of his property to be carried out.[1] The first known specific references to William Jubb at Ewell provide dates in 1732 when he insured his paper mill and corn mill with the Sun Fire Company[2] and when he married Sarah Chelsome of Ewell.[3] It seems that Jubb had only recently arrived at Ewell from West Drayton in Middlesex where in 1726 he was the proprietor of a mill that made high quality white paper. However, his name was then recorded as William Tubb (sic).[4] In about 1737, because his paper was exceptionally good, it was selected for printing 'The Case of the Paper Makers Humbly Addressed to the Honourable the House of Commons'.[5] This petition concerned the opposition of the papermakers to the monopoly of making paper for Bank of England notes that had been awarded in 1724 to a Huguenot, Henry Portal of Laverstoke Mill near Whitchurch in Hampshire. The campaign was not successful and indeed Portals, now owned by De La Rue, still make paper for Bank of England notes at Overton, only 3km from Laverstoke.[6]

Jubb's mills at Ewell were on the Hogsmill River at the Lower Mill site (NGR TQ 218631), about 300m downstream from the Upper Mill, which was a corn mill. The Ewell gunpowder mills were spread along the Hogsmill starting about 1km downstream from the Lower Mill. The locations of these mills are marked on Rocque's map of Surrey published in 1768, the relevant section of which is reproduced in figure 1. Jubb insured his house and mills on 22 June 1738 with the Hand-in-Hand Company for £600.[7] Details, including dimensions of the mill buildings and some brief explanations of the descriptions used are given in Appendix 1. However, Jubb's time at Ewell was to be short; he died aged 42 in the summer of 1739. His will is dated 14 July and the probate inventory 27 August.[8] The will was proved on 14 April 1741.[9] These documents provide a fascinating and significant insight into his family and the contents of his house and mills. The main purpose of the present paper is to provide an analysis of this information.

The Will

In his will Jubb states that he wished to be buried near his son and daughter in the churchyard. This refers to St Mary's church (TQ 221628) that, apart from the

medieval tower, was demolished in 1847–8, when the new St Mary's was built (TQ 220629). Jubb's daughter Alice who was born in 1733 died in 1734, the year in which his twin sons William and John were born and also died.[10] The headstones of Jubb's tomb and those of some of his relatives are shown in figure 2 near the surviving medieval tower. Unfortunately his headstone was badly damaged by a bomb during the Second World War. There were three other children, William born in 1736, Mary in 1738 and John, after his father's death, in December 1739.[11]

Figure 1 The Ewell Paper Mill (Lower Mill), Corn Mill (Upper Mill) and Powder Mills as represented on a detail of Rocque's 1768 map of Surrey (x0.9). The area shown is 1.8km across. *(Courtesy Surrey Archaeological Society).*

Jubb left his property, including his paper mill, corn mill, dwelling house, mill bank house, two meadows and two gardens and all his goods to his infant son William. No plan of the property at that time has been discovered but the description in the will corresponds closely with the land associated with the mill in the Ewell Inclosure Award of 1803.[12] In this, the property is described as 'Late Jubb, William (his trustees)', which refers to Jubb's son who had died in 1796. The trustees held six plots, with a total area of 4 acres, 2 roods and 23 perches around the mill.[13] They also held a further seven plots totalling over 67 acres elsewhere in Ewell including over 41 acres on Ewell Common which was downstream on the Hogsmill, as indicated in figure 1. The plots around the mill are shown on the tracing of the relevant part of the Inclosure map of 1802 in figure 3 and the caption gives the descriptions from the Award.

Jubb's daughter Mary was to receive £100 at marriage or when she was 21 and his wife Sarah £10 per annum for life. If William died before he was 21, the estate was to be divided between Mary, the two children of his brother Richard, the two children of his late brother John and the children of his sister Elizabeth Round. In addition Richard was to receive £20, his executor John Coggs, a stationer of Bread Street, London, a guinea and seven friends who were trustees a guinea each. These were William Yates a fellmonger, Henry Kitchen a carpenter, John Chelsome an inn-holder (who was Jubb's father-in-law), John Benwell a farmer, Thomas Rand a baker, and Josiah Stanfield and Derek Bitters papermakers. The witnesses were Richard Christmas, Daniel Webb and James Heacock. Some notes on the people mentioned in the will are provided in Appendix 2.

The Inventory

Introduction

The inventory was prepared in four parts. First, Sarah Jubb, described as 'guardian', lists the contents of the house. A value is given for the permanent contents of each of six rooms and for clothes and other moveable items, totalling in all £48 8s 2d. Then, Josiah Stanfield and Derek Bitters, the two papermakers who were trustees, list Jubb's 'stock in trade', particularly rags for making paper and reams of finished paper, totalling £233 6s 6d. Next, Henry Whitens lists 'utensils in the yard and field', including papermaking and milling equipment, furniture, pasture, animals and hay, totalling £53 19s 0d. Finally £5 2s 0d of debts had been received, giving a grand total of £340 15s 8d. A further £25 2s 6d in debts was still owed.[14] These divisions of the inventory will now be examined in turn.

The house

The 1738 insurance policy, summarised in Appendix 1, states that the buildings were of timber and the dimensions of the main part of the house were 40ft by 19ft. Today a much larger mainly brick building occupies the site but a survey of this, carried out in 1975, revealed the remains of a timber-framed house dated to the early 17th century. It was aligned roughly north-west to south-east, had a central chimney and its dimensions match very accurately those in the policy.[15] Its position relative to the present building and plans of the two floors of this house

Figure 2 Photograph of William Jubb's tombstone near the surviving tower of the medieval St Mary's church at Ewell. The four tombs in the foreground are of members of the Jubb family. That of William Jubb, who died in 1739, is marked by the broken stone and its foot-stone. The tomb on the right is of Jubb's wife Sarah who died in 1760 after she had re-married and became Sarah Wells. The two on the left are much later and probably mark tombs of some of his grandchildren. The tomb of his son William is behind the camera to the left. *(Photograph by Glenys Crocker).*

deduced from the inventory, the insurance policy and the survey are given in figure 4. The building was oriented parallel to and about 30ft from the northeast bank of the Hogsmill. The inventory divides the contents of the six rooms in the following order: chambers 1, 2 and 3, the kitchen, the counting house and the washhouse. It is considered that chamber 1, which had three windows, would have served as the main reception room and been downstairs at the southeast end of the building. Chamber 2 would have been above this on the upper storey. The kitchen would have occupied the northwest end of the ground floor and chamber 3 and the counting house must have been above this. The washhouse was probably the 8ft by 8ft part of the house mentioned in the insurance policy. It was probably attached to the kitchen on the northeast side of the house and been completely destroyed by later building. The front door was probably on the southwest side of the house entering on to the chimney bay and facing the mills on the river. The back door would have been near the washhouse. This proposed arrangement of rooms is illustrated in figure 4.[16]

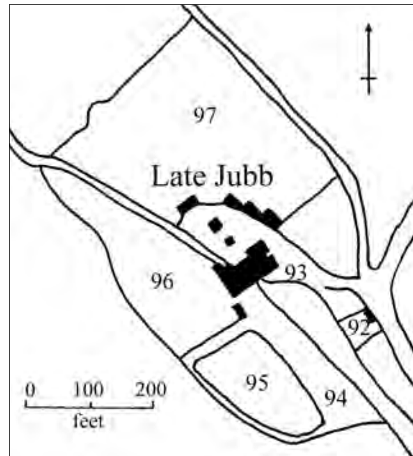

Figure 3 Tracing of the section of the 1802 Inclosure Map of Ewell showing the land associated with the Lower Mill. The area of this land is approximately 4.6 acres. In the Award the plots are labelled: 92. Two houses with yard; 93. Mill etc: 94. Garden; 95. Pond; 96. Meadow; 97. Meadow. The Hogsmill flows north-west from the bottom right corner and passes under the mill building. The Kingston Road is at first parallel to the Hogsmill but curves away to the northeast. The orientation of the mill is shown as in the original; it should be rotated approximately 25 degrees anticlockwise.

The contents of the *kitchen*, where no doubt most of the meals were consumed, were valued at £9 18s 3d, more than any other room. They included a total of 34 pewter, hard metal and common plates, a tea pot, 4 candle sticks and a candle box, a mortar and pestle, a pepper box, an alarm clock, 2 box irons, a large porage pot and 2 small ones, a coffee pot, 2 saucepans and a kettle, 2 pudding pans, a Windsor chair, table and stool, and a fire range with crane, hooks, shovel, tongs, bellows, poker and fender. Next came the *chamber 1* with contents valued at £8 14s 6d. These included a bedstead with green furniture, 3 pairs of window curtains, 6 chairs, 2 looking glasses, a fire hearth with shovel, tongs, brush and bellows, a chest of drawers, a tea table, a Dutch table and 3 table cloths, 6 shirts, 2 towels, and 2 brass locks with keys on the doors. The contents of the *wash house* were valued at £8 4s 11d and consisted of 2 coppers, 3 powdering tubs, 3 wash tubs, a frying pan, a corn bin, a bottle rack, a coverlet, 2 pairs of scales and 16 weights

ranging from 56lb to 7lb and other smaller ones. C*hamber 2* was valued at £5 2s 6d and had a bedstead, a featherbed, 2 pillows, a bolster, 2 blankets, a rug, a coverlet, a nest of drawers an elbow cane chair and a wind stove. *Chamber 3*, valued at £4 10s 6d, had a bedstead, 2 featherbeds and 2 bolsters. Finally the contents of the *counting house* were, surprisingly, valued at only £1 9s 6d. It had 2 pairs of window curtains, a table, 2 chairs and a wind stove with fire shovel, tongs, poker and fender. The house also had 5s of *ready money* and a *silver watch* valued at £3 3s. Finally a list of *wearing apparel* includes shoe buckles, knee buckles, spurs, 3 suits of clothes, 6 shirts, a pair of boots, 6 pairs of shoes, 6 pairs of stockings and 2 old hats, to a total value of £7.

This factual information on the contents of the house gives rise to many questions and possible interpretations. For example no parlour is mentioned, presumably because chamber 1 was used for this purpose. Also, no books (not even a bible) and no maps and pictures are listed, although it is assumed that the family was literate. Then only two rooms had window curtains, chamber 1 had three pairs and the counting house two; perhaps other rooms had shutters. The kitchen, naturally, had a fire range and chamber 1 a fire hearth. Also chamber 2 and the counting house had wind stoves. The meaning of this term and indeed the pronunciation of 'wind' are unknown but the one in the counting house had a fire shovel, tongs, poker and fender. So, it appears there were four fireplaces in the four rooms that backed on to the chimney and their locations are marked in figure 4. It is interesting that the counting house apparently had two windows and a fireplace but its contents had the lowest value of the six rooms. It is also striking that the washhouse, with its coppers, tubs and a frying pan, is not recorded to have had a fire. The only room with locks on the doors was chamber 1 so this must have been where the cash, silver watch, and perhaps the wearing apparel mentioned separately were kept. The six shirts recorded as being in this room could have been nightshirts.

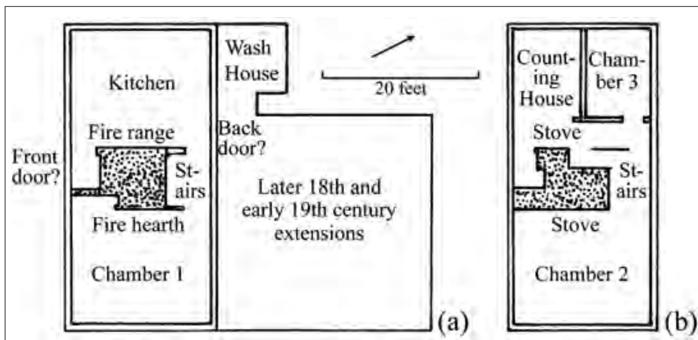

Figure 4 The location of William Jubb's house relative to the building shown in figure 6 is indicated in (a) and the positions of the rooms on the lower and upper floors, as deduced from the inventory, insurance policies and 1975 survey, are indicated in (a) and (b). The location of the central chimney is shown speckled.

The Stock in Trade

Although Josiah Stanfield and Derek Bitters, who valued the stock in trade, are described as papermakers, they are not otherwise known to paper historians.[17] Their list starts with four different qualities of rags, from which all commercial paper was made until about 1800, when experiments were carried out with alternative raw materials including wood and straw. There were 35cwt 2qrt 2lb of fine, 23cwt 2qrt of second, 8cwt 2qrt of third and 34cwt 2qrt of ordinary rags, valued at £34, £22 8s, £12 and £11 per ton respectively.[18] The total value was £110 12s 6d, the average value being about £20 per ton. Conveniently, this 1739 value falls between previously published figures of £9 for 1699 and £24. 10s for 1765.[19] The gradual increase in the price reflects the growing demand for books and other printed matter because of improving literacy.

The next item on the list is half stuff, the partially made pulp that required further beating before it could be used for making paper. Two batches are noted, 25cwt valued at £5 7s and 5¾cwt at £3 18s per ton. Then comes 8cwt of leather, valued at £10, to make glue for sizing the paper so that it became impervious to ink. A cauldron of coal, which would have been used for boiling the rags when making the pulp, was priced at £1 10s and 5 new presses, for squeezing water out of the wet sheets of paper and for helping to smooth the paper after it was dried, at £3. The total value of these items was £22 6s.

Finally the finished paper is listed. It came in two sizes: pot, which measured 12½ by 15½in and foolscap, either 13½ by 17in for printing paper or 13¼ by 16½in for writing paper. The names come from the watermark emblems originally used for these sizes but in England the pot or Sangreal and the fool's cap were replaced by other designs. In particular foolscap paper was watermarked with Britannia. Quantities of paper are given in reams of 480 sheets, but often 500 were provided to allow for waste. A total of 356 reams are noted, 163 of pot, 95 of foolscap and 98 of waste. The pot ranged in value from 5s to 6s per ream, depending on quality, but none of it was classed as 'fine'. The foolscap ranged from 6s 1d to 10s 6d, the most expensive being for 52 reams of 'fine'. The total value of the paper was £89 18s. It is striking that this is nearly twice as much as the total value of the contents of the house.

Utensils in the yard and field

Henry Whitens lists a wide range of utensils but many of these would have been indoors in the mills, the mill-house and other buildings rather than outside in the yard or field. For example the following items appear to be associated with the paper mill: timber for a screw, presumably for a large press, two sizing tubs, an alum box, alum being used for smoothing paper, 4 hanging stools (for standing on to hang paper in the drying loft) and a cutting press etc. Again, for the corn mill there were 8 mill bills, for dressing millstones, a meal trough, a flour cart and shovel, two bushels and a little bin and a new gudgeon or pivot for the axle of a waterwheel. The mill-house had a table, form and dresser in the kitchen, a

dresser in the washhouse, a bacon rack, dressers and drawers in the second pantry etc. In all 50 items are listed the total value being £25 12s.

In addition to the above, the following animals were valued: a horse, £2 10s; 2 cows, £6 10s; a calf, £1 5s and 2 pigs, £2 2s. There was also a trough in the hog hutch, a rick of hay, an after pasture, and hops and hop poles, amounting to £14 12s. The valuations for animals are not dissimilar to those in an inventory, dated 1741/2, of the property of John Benwell, a farmer of Ewell who was one of the trustees in Jubb's will. Presumably therefore Jubb's animals were of a similar quality to Benwell's. However, 40 years later, in an inventory of William Woods a farmer of Capel, with no calves, the corresponding valuations were £8 12 6d, £5 8s 9d and £1 10s, on average just over twice as much as Jubb's.

Debts

The debts that had been received were £1 1s from William Holden of Mitcham and £4 1s, from Josiah Stanfield, one of the two papermakers who had prepared the Stock in Trade inventory. Other debts, 'sperate and desperate', were £7 5s 6d owed by Joseph Brooks, 19s by Derek Bitters, the other papermaker, £2 2s by Thomas Rand, since dead, £3 19s 6d by Joseph Peirce, £1 7s 6d by Mary Grice and £9 9s by Horsell van Booven. The last of these is interesting as it might suggest that Jubb was selling paper in Holland, although there were many Dutch people living in England.

Later history of the mills

Following the death of William Jubb in 1739 the Lower Mills continued to flourish. This is revealed by a remarkable series of Hand-in-Hand insurance policies, started by Jubb in 1738 and renewed every seven years.[20] Sarah, his widow, is named as the owner in 1745 but in 1752 and 1759 the owner was William Wells, papermaker, whose first wife had died in 1742 and whom Sarah had married. Sarah herself died at the age of 46 in 1760 and in 1766 her son William, aged 30, is named as the proprietor and papermaker and this continued until 1794. William Wells died in 1785 aged 72 and William Jubb junior in 1796.

The insurance policies also indicate developments in the buildings at the Lower Mill. In 1738 all the buildings were of timber and were insured for £600. By 1766 most of the buildings had been rebuilt and timber ones were insured for £1200 and brick ones for £100. In particular, whereas the paper and corn mills were separate in 1738 they were now under one roof, spanning the millstream, and brick, timber and tiled. John Rennie, an outstanding late 18th century millwright, carried out a survey at the paper mill in 1784 and from this the water power available has been estimated to be about 7hp.[21]

Tracings of five watermarks used by the Jubb family are illustrated in figure 5.[22] Three of these, numbered 1, 3 and 5, show a characteristic bell bearing the name Jubb and 3 has an additional 'S', indicating that the papermaker was Sarah. It is the only known English watermark with a female papermaker's name. Watermark 1, displaying a post horn, was used to indicate that the size of the

paper was ‘Post’, 14¼ by 19in. The Pro-Patria watermark 5 shows the Maid of Holland defending the boundary of the country. It tended to be used by English papermakers to indicate that their paper was equal in quality to the exceptionally good paper imported from Holland. Similarly, the lettering above the bell in watermark 3 is part of ‘LVG’, the initials of Lubertus van Gerrevink, a prominent Dutch papermaker. This use of watermarks of Dutch origin may also be an indication that the Jubbs were selling paper in Holland as suggested by the debt owed in 1739 by Horsell van Booven, as noted above. Many 18th century papermakers in England used the royal cypher ‘GR’, as in watermark 2.

In 1795 papermaking ceased but corn milling continued. A photograph of the interconnected mill and house in 1873 is shown as figure 6. At this time the mill had three pairs of stones. It was replaced by a much larger, steam-powered roller mill in 1896. This closed in 1929, became derelict, caught fire and was totally destroyed, but the mill house survived.[23]

Appendix 1. The Lower Mill buildings in 1738

The buildings at the Lower Mill that are mentioned in the 1738 Hand-in-Hand insurance policy, including their dimensions in feet, are: house 40 x 19 and 8 x 8; brewhouse 20 x 12; pantry 27 x 10; paper mills and rag house over the same 34 x 36; two water mills and mill house with store rooms over 24 x 12; corn mill with store rooms over 19 x 22; drying lofts 22 x 15; drying house and size house 129 x 15; finishing rooms 34 x 9. These dimensions enable the total floor area of all buildings, including both upstairs and downstairs, to be estimated as almost 8500ft^2. Of this roughly 31% was domestic, 59% paper mill and 10% corn mill.

Figure 5 Tracings of watermarks used by the Jubb family. Numbers 1 and 5 are of William Jubb junior, 2 and 4 could be either William Jubb senior or junior but, because of the initial ‘S’, 3 is of Sarah Jubb and is the only known watermark displaying the name of a female papermaker. All five watermarks are to the same scale and number 5 is 4.3in (110mm) wide.

The rag house was where the cotton and linen rags from which all paper was then made were sorted and stored. The drying lofts and drying house were where the damp sheets of hand-made paper were hung over ropes to dry. These were always the largest buildings at a paper mill. The size house was where the gum, used to prevent paper from being porous and therefore cause ink to blur, was made from animal skins and used in tanks in a fluid state to treat the sheets of paper. The finishing rooms (also known as *salles*, pronounced 'sols') were where the paper was dry-pressed, polished, inspected for flaws, counted into reams of 480 sheets (20 quires) and wrapped into parcels.

Appendix 2. People mentioned in the documents

Barnett, Joseph. Carman of St Luke, Middlesex, administration bond renounced.
Benwell, John. Farmer of Ewell, friend of Jubb and trustee of his estate, died in 1741.
Bitters, Derek. Papermaker of Ewell, prepared inventory of Jubb's stock in trade, trustee of his estate, debt of 19s owed, administration bond renounced.
Booven, Horsell van. Debtor owing £9 9s.
Brooks, Joseph. Debt of £7 5s 6d owed.
Chelsome, John. Inn holder, Jubb's father-in-law and trustee of his estate.
Christmas, Richard. Witness of Jubb's will.
Coggs, John. Stationer of Bread Street, London, and executor of Jubb's will.
Grice, Mary. Debt of £1 7s 6d owed.
Heacock, James. Witness of Jubb's will.
Holden, William. Of Mitcham who had repaid a debt of £1 1s.
Jubb, Alice. Jubb's daughter born in 1733 and died in 1734.

Figure 6 Photograph of the Lower Mill and the mill house in 1873. The timber building on the left was at that time a corn mill. It was replaced by a much larger brick building in 1896, which burned down after the mill ceased working in 1929. The house on the right has been rebuilt and extended several times since Jubb died but still contains features dating back to the early 17th century. *(Courtesy Bourne Hall Museum).*

Jubb, John. Jubb's brother who pre-deceased him.
Jubb, John. Jubb's son born in 1739, after his father's death.
Jubb, Mary. Jubb's daughter born in 1738.
Jubb, Richard. Jubb's brother.
Jubb, Sarah, (née Chelsome). Jubb's wife, prepared inventory of house, curator of William, infant and residuary legatee, administration bond renounced.
Jubb, William, Junior. Jubb's son, born in 1736 and died 1796.
Kitchen, Henry. Carpenter, friend of Jubb and trustee of his estate, who died aged 84 in 1787.
Peirce, Joseph. Debt of £3 19s 6d owed.
Rand, Thomas. Baker, friend of Jubb and trustee of his estate who had died owing £2 2s.
Round, Elizabeth. Jubb's sister.
Stanfield, Josiah. Papermaker, prepared inventory of Jubb's stock in trade, trustee of his estate, £4 1s debt received.
Webb, Daniel. Witness of Jubb's will.
Whitens, Henry. Prepared inventory of utensils in 'yard and field'.
Yates, William. Fellmonger, friend of Jubb and trustee of his estate, who died aged 58 in 1745.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

BAPH	British Association of Paper Historians
DBRG	Domestic Buildings Research Group (Surrey)
EEHAS	Epsom and Ewell History and Archaeology Society
HHIP	Hand-in-Hand Insurance Policies, Guildhall Library, London
SFIP	Sun Fire Insurance Policies, Guildhall Library, London
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking

NOTES

1. The documents are held at the London Metropolitan Archives. A full transcript of the will, the probate inventory (with some errors) and the statement of proof are contained in *Archdeaconry Court of Surrey Wills: 1740–1745*, SHC 346.054, Will 149, pp. 27–28. SHC also hold a microfilm of the will and proof but not of the inventory.
2. SFIP 58056 (7 June 1732); Shorter, A. H., *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England*, 1495–1800, (Paper Publications Society, Hilversum, 1957), p. 237.

3. Marriage settlement between William Jubb and Sarah Chelsome dated 21 July 1732, London Metropolitan Archives.
4. See Shorter, ref. 2, pp. 57, 214. Tubb is a far more common surname that Jubb and the handwritten 18th century capital letters could easily be confused. This is true in the document cited in ref. 3, where the initial characters used for 'Jubb' and 'July' are identical. It also happened later when Jubb's son insured the corn mill (SFIP 547753, 25 August 1788).
5. See Shorter, ref. 2, p. 65.
6. Crocker, A., and Franklin, G., 'Banknote Papermaking at Portal's Laverstoke Mill in 1854', *The Quarterly*, (Journal of BAPH), vol. 70 (April 2009), pp. 1–12.
7. HHIP MS 8674 (22 June 1738); Crocker, A., 'The Paper Mills of Surrey, Part 2', *Surrey History*, vol. 4(3), (1992), pp. 216–217.
8. A valuable introduction to probate inventories, albeit for an earlier period than the Jubb inventory discussed here, is provided in *Surrey Probate Inventories, 1558–1603*, (Surrey Record Society, 2005), which includes 445 inventories transcribed by Marion Herridge. See also Arkell, T., Evans, N., and Goose, N. (eds.), *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England,* (Leopard's Head Press, Oxford, 2000).
9. See ref. 1.
10. Ewell Parish Registers, 1723–1812, SHC 2347/1/2. Presumably both sons were buried together in the churchyard and the original will would have stated 'sons' but this was transcribed as 'son' in the will ledger.
11. Exwood, M., *Burials and their Monuments in the Old Churchyard of Ewell*, 2nd ed (Bourne Hall Museum, 1998); Abdy, C., *Ewell, the Development of a Surrey Village that Became a Town*, (Surrey Archaeological Society, 2004); also ref. 10.
12. *Copy Award of the Commissioners under the Ewell Inclosure Act, 13th April 1803*, SHC, 2585/1.
13. 40 perches = 1 rood; 4 roods = 1 acre; 2.47 acres = 1 hectare.
14. 12 pence (d) = 1 shilling (s); 20 shillings = £1. The total of £340 15s 8d is the sum of 73 valuations and has been checked thoroughly. However, it is 1s 9d less that the total quoted in the document, presumably because of transcription errors.
15. West, I. J., 'Ewell – Lower Millhouse, Kingston Road', DBRG Report No. 1179 (1975).
16. The suggestions for the locations of the six rooms in the house owe a great deal to an analysis carried by Brigid Fice of DBRG.
17. See Shorter, ref. 2, pp. 433–457; Information provided by Jean Stirk, BAPH.
18. 28 pounds (lb) = 1 quarter (qrt); 4qrt = 1 hundredweight (cwt); 20cwt = 1 ton = 1016.3kg. In the transcript of the inventory mentioned in ref. 1, the symbol used for cwt has mistakenly been transcribed as 'pounds'.
19. Balston, J. N., *The Elder James Whatman*, (The author, West Farleigh, Kent, 1992), vol. 1, p. 260.
20. HHIP, see ref. 6. Policies dated 22 June 1738, 1745, 1752, 1759, 1766, 1773, 1780, 1787 and 1794.
21. Hills, R., 'John Rennie: Mysterious Papermill Millwright', *The Quarterly* (Journal of BAPH), vol 42, (May 2002), pp. 15–21.
22. Crocker, A., 'Watermarks in Surrey Hand-Made Paper', *Surrey History*, vol. 3(1), 1984/85, pp. 2–16; Crocker, A., 'Surrey Watermarks', *The Quarterly* (Journal of BAPH), supplement to vol. 16 (Sept 1995), pp. 1–16.
23. See Abdy, ref 11, p. 11; Stidder, D., The Watermills of Surrey (Barracuda, Buckingham, 1990), p. 117.

James Clarke Hook RA
Letters from Churt

Juliet McMaster

'Silverbeck is such a Hooky place!' exclaimed the Scottish painter John Pettie in 1876, after a visit to his fellow academician, James Clarke Hook. 'You could imagine he had made the landscape himself! so fresh and pretty'.[1] Silverbeck may indeed have been as fresh as a 'Hookscape' (as his paintings were called), but Hook had created his beautiful property at Churt not with his brush but with spade and axe and hard physical labour – his own and his staff's – creating ponds from the 'silver beck' that runs through it, stocking them with trout, growing fruit, grafting trees, and nurturing a paradise of flowers. And he delighted in showing his visitors round it.

The Scottish painter George Reid provides a lively account of his visit to Silverbeck with Tom Taylor, the editor of *Punch*, in May of 1879. His letter is embellished with amusing sketches, including one of Donald, the deerhound that their common friend Alexander Macdonald had given Hook, demonstrating his affection (figure 1). And although it rained heavily during their visit, Hook would not spare them a tour of his demesne. 'Nothing would do but to have a brief survey so out we went in the rain covered up in all kinds of improvised wraps' (figure 2). Reid wrote his account and made his sketches that evening, 'after one of the pleasantest of days'.[2]

Figure 1 Sketch by George Reid of Hook and the deerhound Donald, reproduced by kind permission of Aberdeen City Archives.

Born in 1819 (the same year as Queen Victoria), the eldest of a large family, Hook had to win every advantage for himself, as his merchant father became a bankrupt, and had to recoup his reputation in Sierra Leone. By the time he bought Bull's Farm in Churt in 1865 (described as Bowls Farm on the Tithe Map) and developed it into Silverbeck, James Clarke Hook, RA, was established as one of the most sought-after painters of the Victorian period, in an era when Royal Academicians were the 'celebs' of the day. Figures like Millais and Leighton built themselves palatial houses with studios in

Figure 2 Sketch by George Reid of Hook conducting Reid and Tom Taylor through the grounds of Silverbeck, reproduced by kind permission of Aberdeen City Archives.

London. But Hook yearned for the country, and in the 1850s he took the risky professional step of moving to Hambledon in Surrey (Holman Hunt promptly rented his studio house in London), and subsequently to Witley, where he was followed by Birket Foster and other artists such as the *Punch* draughtsman Charles Keene; and finally he gravitated to Churt and stayed, making Silverbeck his own Hooky country paradise.

Hook had attended the Royal Academy Schools, and started his career as a painter of historical and literary subjects – history painting was still the most prestigious genre in the first half of the 19th century. His move to the country coincided with a change in subject matter: he took to painting contemporary rural and coastal scenes, peopling his canvases with the working people he admired. Instead of working from sketches and painting the large picture in his studio, Hook always worked on the final canvas at the site itself, thus achieving the freshness and 'smell of the briny' for which he became famous. And his letters are full of accounts of the buffeting wind and weather he faced, both at the coastal sites where he painted during the summer months and at his home territory in Churt. He even developed an easel that was adaptable to rough terrain, and marketed as the 'Hook easel'.

By the 1870s he and his wife Rosalie and sons Allan and Bryan – painters all – were firmly settled in Silverbeck, and there they often entertained their artist colleagues. Samuel Palmer called Silverbeck 'Elysium'.[3] Members of the

Etching Club, including Millais, Holman Hunt, and John Pettie, would frequently gather at Silverbeck for the celebratory season-end meeting.[4]

But despite his established status and the large prices he could command for his paintings, Hook never lost a boyish zest in all he undertook, whether it was perching on the side of a rocky cape in a gale 'with a flying jib of a canvas 5 x 3 feet', or 'gumping' for trout with a colleague who needed to paint one.[5] When George Reid, later president of the Royal Scottish Academy, hinted that at sixty-one Hook might be feeling his age, Hook offered to play leapfrog over him.[6]

It was for his coastal scenes, painted along the rugged coasts of Devon, Cornwall, or Banffshire, that Hook was famous. 'H is for HOOK, and the sea is his Line', ran a *Punch* alphabet of prominent Royal Academicians.[7] Nevertheless, unlike other sea painters such as William Wyllie, he chose to *live* in land-locked Surrey. He loved the sight of the sea, he told one interviewer who asked, but he didn't want the *sound* of it all year round. And after his sojourns among the tides and headlands and fisher folk, he saved time in the autumn for painting an inland scene close to home. "A Thorn," exhibited in 1871 and now in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, shows a shepherd removing a thorn from his collie's paw, beside a very recognizable Tilford Bridge. 'Fishing by Proxy' (1873), of Captain Salvin's cormorants catching fish for him, was again a local scene; so is 'Cow Tending' (1874), and 'The Stream' (1885), now in Tate Britain.

Hook was well known and successful as a painter, not a writer, far less a letter-writer. His son and biographer, Allan J. Hook, explained in his biography of his father that 'we in the family did not preserve [Hook's letters], and I should be glad to think that other recipients took as little care in keeping them – or better, took care not to keep them'.[8] Tact was not the painter's strong suit; when his wife Rosalie read through his letters, she was often dismayed by what he slapped down on paper, sometimes requiring him to start again. But with a congenial correspondent Hook's letters could be vivid and crackling, and his personality comes to the fore. His patron and friend Alexander Macdonald of Kepplestone in Aberdeen found his letters to be 'as bright and good as his pictures'[9] – like Pettie, Macdonald thought of Hook in terms of his paintings. To those who encountered Hook, the man, his vivid letters, his beautiful estate, and his glowing pictures become a sort of continuum. Macdonald kept all Hook's letters, sometimes lending one as a treat to a different correspondent, but with strict injunctions to return it promptly. One Hook letter that he sent to Millais came back with the comment, 'Hook's letter has the sea breeze in it'.[10]

Alexander Macdonald (1857–1884) ran granite works in Aberdeen, and he loved pictures; but he loved not only the paintings but also the people who painted them. He made friends with the painters he patronised, had them to stay at Kepplestone, sent them generous hampers of fruit and dried fish, wine and spirits, and urged them to describe their current work and pass on information about that of others. And, starting with Millais and Hook, he began a long project of collecting 'portrait sketches' – small oval portraits in oils on a canvas he supplied (so that they would all match); for each of which he typically paid the

modest sum of £15. To begin with it was just his chosen artist friends. But then the collector in him became eager; and the artists who hadn't yet contributed self-portraits began to feel left out. After his death in 1884, his wife kept the collection going, and the self-portraits and portraits, finally numbering close to a hundred, are now in the Macdonald Collection at Aberdeen Art Gallery.

All of this activity with painters generated hundreds of letters and the portrait project had the great additional benefit of putting painters in fuller personal contact with each other. As the word spread, they painted each other, and the portraits multiplied. The letters have sat quietly in Aberdeen's archives for a hundred years or so, accessible only to the determined researcher who tracked them down. But relatively recently they have been fully catalogued and the catalogue made available on-line. Together, along with the portrait collection, they form their own neat microcosm of Victorian art.

Hook's letters to this congenial crony afford an incomparable insight into Hook's doings and opinions, for all their frequent political incorrectness. (He was definitely an anti-establishment man: he hoped that 'all your Establishments will go where the Establishers have gone a long time ago';[11] and he fulminated against the priesthood). He often wrote from the remote villages where he painted, with vivid notes of local people. From Portsoy in Banffshire, for instance, he quoted the warning he received from a fisherman about his risking wind and weather: 'If ye sit there much langer mon ye'll get that in yer banes ye'll no get rid of soon'.[12]

But the letters from Silverbeck have a particular interest, partly because they provide fascinating information on his extensive creativity on his grounds, really composing them like a picture. The Macdonalds, particularly Hope Macdonald, were keen gardeners; and Hook also made friends with their gardener, James Kerr, and delighted in receiving bundles of seedlings from him, and in describing their success. He aspired to 'a herbaceous border tell Mrs Macdonald which will make her jealous more than 200 yds long and 7 ft wide think o that all ye poor Aberdonians'.[13] In 1884, not satisfied with the beauty already achieved, he decided to transplant 20 trees, some of them already 20 feet tall. Rosalie reported, 'He has a band of true followers spade in hand – and an old cart horse to help pull, and he is moving trees to a new entrance drive ... which is to surprize you the next time we have the pleasure of welcoming you and dear Mrs Macdonald to Silerbeck'.[14]

More interesting still to me are his letters about his inland paintings, which are frequently passed over because of his greater fame as a coastal painter. Every autumn he came home to capture the rich effects of autumn and the fading summer suntan on country limbs. 'I wish to let 'em know that I can compass else than a salt breeze and brown fisher folk', he wrote.[15]

In September of 1874 the Hooks had returned from a painting sojourn in Muchalls in Aberdeenshire, and a happy visit afterwards to Kepplestone. Back at Silverbeck, he sent what he called a 'tumble up of a yarn' about his search along a stream for a site for his next landscape. To me it reads like his own prose

version of an ode 'To Autumn', to parallel Keats's. Keats invokes the 'Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness', Hook the Louise Bonne plums, 'juicy, full of flavour, ... ripe from Oct to the middle of Nov!' Keats's 'vines that round the thatch-eaves run' are matched by Hook's 'vine leaves and bunches of white grapes ... upon the yellow lichened roof'. Keats notes that 'gathering swallows twitter in the skies'; Hook, also alert to the warning signs of the departing summer, gives us 'sand martins practising for their Southern trip next month'. Whether or not Hook was conscious of these echoes – he was certainly well read in poetry, but more often quoted Tennyson than Keats – his earthy prose is alive with a sense of the beauty of the season around him. And he allows himself some glistening images, as he follows 'the little river brimming over and curling along, cutting your eye with its glassy lights'. This is a painter writing.

His account, more firmly rooted in diurnal reality than Keats's poem for all autumns, is topical too. His wife Rosalie, who spent many hours and days reading by his side as he painted, is deep in *Middlemarch*, which in 1874, two years after the completion of its serial run, was still *the* book to read. George Eliot too was born in 1819, and Hook's biographer, his son Allan J. Hook, makes a case for a deep affinity between Hook and Eliot.[16] The younger son, eighteen-year-old Bryan, who was at the time studying at the Royal Academy Schools, is conscientiously occupied, as in duty bound by the methods of the day, in 'drawing large hands and feet from some casts of the Antique'.

With fresh memories of the visit to Kepplestone, Hook writes with warm personal feeling. Having already extracted pieces from the September '74 letter, I let the second half of it speak for itself. We don't know if Hook scribbled while he tramped and sketched; but his prose has a sort of stream-of-consciousness immediacy to it.

> 'I am out all day when it is fine with my sketch book exploring a stream wh runs for many miles in this country winding in and out all sorts of land, wild and tame, wet and dry. Now and then through level rushy cow pasture where you have to jump endless drains half choked with rank growing burr reeds, mace rushes and lovely purple loosestrife, the little river brimming over and curling along, cutting your eye with its glassy lights and making you fancy that no end of chubb and trout are doing quadrills and ladies chains beneath.
>
> Then the stream winds suddenly between sand hills cutting a bigger bite from the one it flows straightest at and wearing a fifteen or twenty foot cliff wh is alive with sand martins practising for their Southern trip next month.
>
> Further on thro' turnips and stubbles where the rusty colored partridges rattle up as if they expect the cruel 'leaden hail' wh so often, for them, follows the tread of men. – And while I saunter on and sketch and enjoy the beauty along this Hampshire valley Mrs Hook is in the basket independency [?] reading 'Middle march' on the side of the Hill close

to the farm house where I left her more than an hour ago her pony is cropping the grass by the hedge. On the left is the little old fashioned weather tiled house with its dormer windows covered with vine leaves and bunches of white grapes peep out or rest upon the yellow lichened roof. Opposite on the right are large sheds with harvest carts and beyond, just before I reach the 'Missis' is an oast house and the air is full of the most refreshing smell of raw hops.

Home we start to dinner being already half an hour behind time and there are three miles of up and down to get over. Allan comes to the door, 'done dinner I suppose'. 'No waited for you' – the dinner all spoiled! Mutton done dry, Yorkshire pudding heavy, vegetables stewed to ruin, 'never mind, good beer, good claret, and good appetite!!' and now I'll say good night, after this tumble up of a yarn with our kindest regards to Mrs Macdonald from my dear Macdonald / Yrs sincerely Jas. C. Hook.'[17]

On this happy tramp along the stream, Hook was looking for a site for his inland painting for the next year's Royal Academy Exhibition. And he found it. The scene figures in 'Wise Saws', which shows, he wrote later, a raven on a rail preaching to a congregation of fowls, 'like an old black priest performing before his gullable [*sic*] audience'.[18] The title is a typical bit of word play, aligning the 'caws' of a raven with Shakespeare's pompous lawyer, 'Full of wise saws and modern instances' – from the 'All the world's a stage' speech in *As You Like It.* The original painting is lost to sight, alas; but in the following year Hook made an etching of it, which I reproduce, although it will give no idea of Hook's famously glowing colours (figure 3).

Figure 3 Etching by James Clarke Hook of 'Wise Saws', from the painting he exhibited in 1875.

Like the work of other Victorians, Hook's paintings are unashamedly narrative. And here, as often when he chose animal rather than human personnel, he enjoys the humour of anthropomorphism, as the cows solemnly listen to the raven's doctrine. Later in the 1870s Hook added some Highland cattle to his stock of Jersey cows. (He said he wanted to be 'a lowland Laird with a Highland hair̲d̲'[19]). And he wrote a delighted account of the arrival of the 'Scotch Kye'.

> 'You would have been amused to see the reception the Highland greys [?] met with here both by men and cows. – I must make a subject of it. [For Hook life was always matter for art.] The contrast between the delicate Jersey cows all form and sleekness like red deer, and the short faced and legged and shaggy coated Northerners, was delightful. – And they stared at each other with great curiosity the oldest Jersey of the seven after some minutes giving out a loud roar and set the men laughing.... Donald [the deerhound from Scotland] whose notions seem getting Southern bounded round in a challenging manner quite forgetting his ain country folk and evidently looking upon the newcomers as queer customers. How much comedy there is in Nature.'[20]

Hook did not make a 'subject' of this occasion. But a different picture of a local stream (figure 4) is a rich meadow scene ironically called 'Cow Tending'. The boy who is supposed to be tending the cows has instead abandoned his boots to raid a moorhen's nest on the other side of the stream; in the distance a cottager's

Figure 4 James Clarke Hook, 'Cow Tending', exhibited at the Royal Academy 1874, reproduced by kind permission of Christie's.

wife is shooing the cows from her cabbage patch. 'Some yellow autumn oaks make a glow of color through the picture', as Hook described it to Macdonald.[21]

It was part of his Methodist devotion to the detail of God's creation that in his painting Hook observed a principle of fidelity to the actual scene before him. In my research towards a biography of Hook, in a series I call 'Hookscapes Then and Now', I have been able to demonstrate this fidelity by aligning his painting with a modern photograph of the same scene.[22] In his coastal scenes you can readily identify not only large features like distant headlands, but even individual rocks in the foreground, and their exact relation to each other. The task of identifying the site is harder with inland pictures, since the vegetation changes so much more, and more quickly. But if any readers of this article are able to identify the site of "Wise Saws" for me, I shall be keen to hear.

'In the 19th century', writes Olivia Cotton in *Churt Remembered*, 'Churt villagers spoke of 'the County of Surrey and the County of Silverbeck'[23]. In the 21st century Silverbeck is still there, recently restored, with its beautiful ponds, woods, and gardens. Hook would have been pleased to know it is still an eminently animal-friendly place.

Despite Macdonald's urging, Hook delayed doing a self-portrait for his collection, saying that Reid's portrait of him, done at the outset along with one of Millais, would be enough. Macdonald's death in December of 1884 found the self-portrait still not done; but Hope Macdonald kept up the collection, and it seems she continued to urge Hook to do the long delayed portrait of himself. In October of 1892, nearly eight years after Macdonald's death, he wrote to the wife, 'I found the small canvas with the panel oval done drawn upon it. So I set up a double glass, got a bit of charcoal and began but the fellow in the glass looked such an ugly dog I could not go on with it. – But I'll have a stiff glass a' whiskey "tak off my dram" and try again some day'.[24] The dram must have done its work, because Hook's self-portrait, done at Silverbeck when he was seventy-three, heads the collection, alongside that of Millais (figure 5).

Figure 5 Self-portrait of James Clarke Hook, executed at 73 for Hope Macdonald; reproduced by kind permission of Aberdeen Art Galleries and Museums.

NOTES

1. John Pettie to Alexander Macdonald of Kepplestone, Aberdeen City Archives, DD391/13/15/26. The letter is dated only ‘Monday 19th’, but from the evidence of the paintings Pettie refers to, including Hook’s ‘Crabbers’, exhibited in 1876, it must be early 1876. Further quotations from this correspondence will be referenced by date and pressmark in the Aberdeen City Archives.
2. George Reid to Macdonald, 15 May 1879, DD391/13/5/60. Figures by kind permission of Aberdeen City Archives.
3. *The Letters of Samuel Palmer*, ed. Raymond Lister, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, II, p.802.
4. For instance, on 9 June 1869; and on 12 June 1877, when ‘The Club was specially invited by Hook to spend the day at Silverbeck.... The members present gave themselves up to thorough enjoyment of Hook’s hospitality and spent a most delightful day’. See *Minute Books of the Etching Club*, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, MSL/1912/1508–1524; 86.BB.57–59.
5. In his account of this occasion John Pettie called it ‘guddling’. Clearly he wasn’t up on what Hook considered ‘the manly sport of gumping (tickling trout)’. Hook to Macdonald, 25 November 1880, DD391/13/6/98.
6. George Reid to Macdonald, 3 April 1881, DD391/13/5/79.
7. *Punch*, 13 May 1865, p. 197.
8. Allan J. Hook, *Life of James Clarke Hook, RA*, 3 vols., privately printed, 1929–32, p. 199.
9. Alexander Macdonald of Kepplestone, ‘Catalogue and Particulars of Pictures at Kepplestone’, under ‘”Sea Earnings” by J. C. Hook’, Aberdeen City Archives DD391/13/1.
10. John Everett Millais to Macdonald, 24 July 1883, DD391/13/8/53.
11. Hook to Macdonald, 29 December 1880, DD291/13/6/99.
12. Hook to Macdonald, 2 September 1878, DD391/13/6/63
13. 27 November 1884, DD391/13/6/150.
14. Rosalie Hook to Macdonald, 7 October 1884, DD391/13/6/148
15. 14 October 1882, DD391/13/6/133.
16. Allan J. Hook, cited above, II, pp. 197–8.
17. Hook to Macdonald, 29 September 1874, DD391/13/6/32.
18. Hook to Macdonald, 29 December 1874, DD392/13/6/34.
19. 8 October 1879, DD391/13/6/78.
20. 22 December 1879, DD391/13/6/83.
21. Hook to Macdonald, 27 February 1874, DD391/13/6/22.
22. See the ‘Then and Now’ section of my web site at http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~JCHook/ for a range of examples of Hook’s paintings in relation to the scenes they depict.
23. Olivia Cotton *Churt Remembered* Churt; O.M.Cotton 2002, p24
24. Hook to Hope Macdonald, 21 October 1892, Aberdeen Archives DD391/13/23/4/10.

'A cheery hamlet of almshouses ...' Brookwood Asylum: An Early History

Anna Shepherd

On the 17th June 1867, Brookwood Asylum, Surrey's second county asylum, opened under the auspices of the Surrey Quarter Sessions. The intention was to relieve the over-burdened Springfield Asylum, Wandsworth, Surrey's first asylum which had opened in 1841 for some 299 patients, and which soon proved to be too small to accommodate the county's insane. Some expansion was attempted, but the relatively urban location necessarily restricted these efforts and – from 1854 – patients were regularly turned away.

Plans were soon underway for a second institution. A 150-acre rural site near Woking was selected that was still relatively accessible by road and by rail. Brookwood was initially designed to house 650 inmates, but the huge demand for accommodation meant that it was necessary to plan for expansion almost immediately after opening. Despite what today may be considered a forbidding appearance, Brookwood received considerable acclaim from contemporary observers; in 1875 the *Lancet* likened the asylum to 'a cheery hamlet of almshouses'.

In keeping with Poor Law dictates, Brookwood's plain and austere exterior belied the relative success of the asylum in caring for a large number of patients employing the best use of available resources, and (where affordable), the latest therapeutics. Behind the unadorned stone edifice of the isolated location, Brookwood was run by doctors and attendants who gave many years of faithful service. The patients were not necessarily subjected to such harsh conditions as one might first imagine. Alongside the daily therapeutic routines, the management strove to provide additional treatments and a selection of entertainments in spite of financial and practical constraints. This paper will explore the origins of Surrey's second county asylum and also provide a brief introduction to life at Brookwood during the first thirty years of operation.

The 19th century experienced an unprecedented level of institutionalisation of the insane, not only in England and Wales but also throughout the British Empire, Europe and the United States. In England and Wales, the provision of county asylums was not made mandatory until 1845, although a number of public asylums were established, supported by voluntary organisations, rates assistance or an amalgamation of the two. The voluntary hospitals of the late 18th century provided the foundations for the county asylum network and the 1808 County Asylums Act (Wynn's Act) provided the framework for later legislation whilst signalling the beginnings of state-funded welfare provision.

At that time, Surrey was rapidly expanding, and the county experienced the twin problems of crowded urban settlements in London and a sprawling rural population. Admissions to Brookwood were high; even prior to the official opening, the management found themselves besieged by requests to accommodate large numbers of pauper lunatics from workhouses in south London. These included areas such as Rotherhithe, Bermondsey, and Southwark, with its dense industrial make-up and all the social problems associated with rapid migration, such as overcrowding, poor quality housing, poverty, crime and deprivation.

Planning the Second County Asylum

Negotiations for an asylum near Woking began in 1836, as cheap land and good rail communications meant that rural Surrey was attractive for building large institutions, and thus offered the potential to absorb the unfortunate victims of the rapidly expanding capital.

The site was purchased in 1860 from the London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company (owners of the nearby Brookwood Cemetery) for £10,500. This elevated plot offered the potential for a high degree of self-sufficiency and was suitably isolated so that the asylum could strive for cost effectiveness and a higher rate of patient curability. The sloping land offered extensive views of the surrounding countryside. At the 1862 Epiphany Quarter Sessions, the Committee of Visitors was instructed to confer with the Commissioners in Lunacy in order to appoint 'some competent architect'. This was Charles Henry Howell (1823–1905), Surrey's County Surveyor from 1860, and also architect to the Commissioners in Lunacy (he later designed Cane Hill Asylum, Caterham, 1883–4). Howell was instructed to visit other institutions for research and inspiration, and visited several asylums and licensed houses in England as well as in France.

Keenly aware of the problems that Wandsworth's spatial limitations had, the Committee was anxious to construct a cost-effective institution that would obviate the necessity for immediate expansion. The new asylum would be as self-sufficient as possible with its four-acre Home Farm. The farm also provided employment for refractory patients, and thereby conformed to contemporary notions of acceptable treatment.

The main building was constructed in stock brickwork, relieved by a few coloured brick dressings, and the main body of the asylum was built in the popular 'H' layout, with a three-storied block, with retreating wings to accommodate the sick and the newly admitted cases prior to assessment and categorisation (figure 1). The main block contained offices and patients' dormitories, and additional two-storey blocks were constructed to house a laundry, workshops, and accommodation for 'working' and convalescing patients. In common with other asylums and in keeping with notions of independence and economy, Brookwood had a highly productive farm, kitchen gardens, workshops, laundry (it also took in laundry from outside) gas works, and even its own fire brigade (figure 2).

Additional houses, such as the Superintendent's house and several cottages were built in the asylum grounds. These provided housing for key members of

Figure 1 Brookwood Asylum (SHC 3043/box4/20 p.13)

Figure 2 The Asylum Fire Brigade (SHC 3043/box4/20 p.27)

staff such as the gardener and the farm bailiff. Some staff cottages were constructed so as to be able to offer additional accommodation for up to twelve 'quiet' patients each. This allowed selected patients to form a semi-independent community under the supervision of the asylum regime, which enhanced Brookwood's therapeutic aspect and was relatively unusual under the Poor Law at that time. A self-contained cottage hospital was built, to treat infectious conditions which was vital as contagious diseases (occasionally imported from the workhouses) could have a catastrophic effect on both patients and staff. A chapel, for 343 worshippers, was built within 200 yards of the main building. The whole cost the not unreasonable sum of £61,900.

In his first annual report, the superintendent, Dr Brushfield, described Brookwood's patient accommodation as being both bright and cheerful, with rooms that 'command good views of the surrounding country.' Frivolous or superfluous decoration was avoided, in line with contemporary thinking on public asylum design, which determined that it must be plain and functional. Not only was this responsible use of public funds, but to be otherwise was thought to have the potential to over-stimulate and be detrimental to the patient's well being. Furniture was plain and simple and much of it was made in the asylum workshops over the years (figures 3 & 4).

The 19th-century psychiatric profession believed that the entire asylum environment contributed to the therapeutic effect and so – in addition to the actual building – the asylum grounds were important, in terms of exercise and patient employment. Asylum grounds were principally modelled on that of the aristocratic landscape park. Requiring an ornamental aspect, but with the addition of a functional, agricultural self-sufficiency and with necessary modifications such as the enclosed airing or exercise courts for ailing or untrustworthy patients. Brookwood's Head Gardener (for some thirty years), Robert Lloyd (1833–1900) designed the asylum grounds (he later worked closely with Howell, Brookwood's architect, on Cane Hill Asylum as well as several other asylum gardens). Lloyd and his wife also cared for a small number of patients in their cottage, a responsibility that was inherited by his son and daughter-in-law after his death.

Doctors and Attendants at Brookwood

As was usual, Brookwood operated under the auspices of a Medical Superintendant who oversaw all the medical and administrative functions of the asylum. The superintendent was the most important member of the asylum staff and his personal and professional style characterised the institution, albeit within the constraints of ever-increasing bureaucratic accountability and medical specialisation. Partially as a result of these limitations, it has been suggested that medical superintendents tended to run their asylums in a patriarchal manner, although they delegated to assistant doctors (or medical officers), who assumed the day-to-day responsibility for the patients' medical care.

Dr Thomas Nadauld Brushfield (1828–1910) ran Brookwood for seventeen years (figure 5). Prior to arriving at Brookwood, he was Medical Superintendent at

Figures 3 & 4 Male and Female Galleries (SHC 3043/box4/20 p.45 & 46)

Chester County Asylum for twelve years. At Brookwood, he was known for his caring and compassionate regard for both patients and staff, and for innovative aspects of moral treatment, emphasising occupation and entertainment that often engaged the local community. His 'intelligent application' of the principles of non-restraint was widely praised – not easy when faced with large numbers of unstable patients who could be dangerous or suicidal. He was physically attacked at least twice on his ward rounds, but it was declining health that eventually forced his retirement in 1882. His reports for the Commissioners in Lunacy openly acknowledged the difficulties of running a large institution, yet he was never pessimistic and remained up to date in his field.

An assistant medical officer was engaged by Dr Brushfield to help alleviate heavy clinical and administrative responsibilities, but the first of these, Francis Skae, only stayed nine months. His successor, Edward Swain, left after four years to become superintendent of Three Counties Asylum, Bedfordshire, in 1874. The next, James Barton, was promoted in 1882 to become Brookwood's second medical superintendent and provided continuity, with an impressive twenty-three years of service to the institution. From 1875, the large patient population necessitated the employment of a second assistant medical officer, a post briefly occupied firstly by William Thomson, who was succeeded by James Moody from St Luke's Hospital. He left Brookwood in 1882 and at the age of 29 became superintendent of the new Cane Hill Asylum, where he remained until his death, 33 years later, having been knighted in 1909 '... in recognition of the great advance which he initiated in the care and treatment of the insane.'

Asylum attendants were arguably more crucial to the smooth running of Brookwood; their abilities had to be matched by appropriate demeanour, behaviour and social skills, as all were perceived to have a profound influence on patients (figure 6). Accordingly, the asylum management sought high personal and moral standards in its staff and dealt with any transgressions firmly and quickly. Drunkenness or licentious behaviour was not tolerated by Dr Brushfield: 27 year old Joseph C. was employed at Brookwood in 1868, initially as Hall Porter but he

was soon promoted to First Class Attendant as he showed potential and had good credentials. In common with many attendants, he had served in the army, he sang and was a member of the choir, and he had worked under his father who was head attendant at the Littlemore Asylum in Oxford. However, he was unable to resist the charms of housemaid Annie T. and – upon discovery – both were immediately dismissed for improper conduct. Several attendants were sacked for intemperance, both on duty and off, (difficult to manage given that a beer allowance was part of an attendant's perks for many years) and for swearing or striking patients.

Figure 5 Dr Thomas Nadauld Brushfield, 1828–1910 (SHC 3043/107)

Attendants had to be physically strong. The recruitment of diligent, hard-working and moral staff was a challenge for all medical superintendents, although asylum nursing became increasingly popular. Brookwood's male attendants could expect to be paid £25 to £35 per annum and female attendants or nurses were paid £15 to £22, all with board and lodging. These were similar to wages paid at other asylums and comparable to the rate for domestic servants. Nevertheless, some found they were unsuited to the rigours of asylum work: in 1886, six months was sufficient time to convince Nurse Jane Fleetwood that she was unlikely to settle at Brookwood, and, in the same year, Ella Miller resigned after her one month's probation period as she disliked the work and was terrified of the patients. One laundry woman resigned after only three days because the patients made her nervous.

There were several married couples who worked at Brookwood. The Lloyds were one such example, but there were others such as the Robertsons who arrived in 1890 having worked previously at the nearby luxurious Holloway Sanatorium. He was initially employed as Head Male Attendant and was promoted to Steward, a post that he occupied for nearly ten years. His wife's role is unclear, but she was also employed within the asylum.

At Brookwood, the staff: patient ratios stood at 10.5 male patients and 12.6 female per attendant which equalled many other county asylums at the time and was better than some; at Exeter county asylum in 1870, for example, there were 18 male and 16.6 female patients to one attendant. Brookwood employed up to five special night attendants on the male side and seven on the female side, and, for many years, a patient assisted the night attendant in the infirmary ward. This

Figure 6 Female Attendants with the Asylum Cook (SHC 3043/box4/9/2)

was a common enough practice in the workhouse but it was frowned upon by the Commissioners in Lunacy and it eventually ceased in 1889.

The attendants' working day was 14 hours and a working week comprised six and a half days with one Sunday off per month. The work itself ranged from banal and dirty to dangerous. The potential for patient unpredictability was ever present and, with it, the threat of assaults from violent patients, both male and female. In 1885, the superintendent, Dr James Barton (he himself had also been attacked) reported:

> 'In January, a female patient threw a water-bottle at one of the charge nurses with such force that the bottle broke, and the nurse's face was much cut and disfigured, and she had a narrow escape of losing her eyesight. In April, a female patient, while at breakfast, threw a heavy delf (sic) cup at the senior charge nurse of F10, which struck her on the back of the head, producing concussion. This blow gave rise to grave mental symptoms, and the nurse was under medical treatment for a considerable time, but was eventually able to return to duty.'

Attendants were mostly young and single and came from a variety of backgrounds that included domestic service and skilled artisans. Those from the armed services were seen as able to administer and receive discipline, as well as to be in good physical shape. A former trade meant that the attendant could run a patient workshop and also assist in keeping maintenance costs down. At Brookwood, members of staff at all levels were not merely organisers but were frequently also active participants in the asylum's regular dances and sporting events. Musical and sporting skills were seen as important constituents of the potential attendant's personal attributes. The asylum boasted a brass band that played at local fêtes and events

(figure 7), and there were regular cricket and football fixtures where inmates and staff united to compete against other custodial institutions. Such events went some way to alleviating the tedium of life for attendants, who lived much of their time isolated in the asylum and were vulnerable to institutionalisation.

Brookwood's Patients

Demand led to Brookwood undertaking building work shortly after opening and then intermittently, from 1874 to 1938, in order to provide additional accommodation. By 1900, there were 1050 patients, and by 1938, Brookwood housed 1753 inmates. Over the years, the sheer volume of the admissions stretched administrative and medical resources to the utmost, and it was sometimes necessary for a small number of private institutions, inside and outside the county, to accommodate pauper lunatics until spaces became available. Roughly equal numbers of men and women were admitted to Brookwood, which reflected the proportions of females and males in the population as a whole. This refutes the widely held belief that women were disproportionately admitted into mental institutions. What has emerged is that some aspects of female and male incarceration remained unique to each sex. It is particularly notable that women accounted for a much larger proportion of the patients remaining in the asylum for an extended period, with some 58 per cent staying longer than their male counterparts. This may have more to do with the intent of admission than their gender or the nature of their illness. As in metropolitan workhouse infirmaries, males of working age were admitted in significant numbers, arguably with the intention of returning them to useful employment and supporting their families as soon as possible. Where women either did not have employment outside the home, or (as frequently happened throughout the period), outside employment was not noted, it might be argued that there was not the same urgency to return them to society. Equally, the nature of the mental illnesses of women patients might have required protracted treatment, with melancholia and depression demanding longer treatment and recovery periods than mania.

Women's natural longevity may have also played a part – many women patients became physically stronger, fed on a proper diet and relieved from the rigours of childbirth and domestic hardship. Brookwood also saw a higher male death rate during the first 30 years, much of which was attributed to General Paralysis of the Insane (GPI). Overall, the pattern for both sexes was that a sizeable number of patients were likely to be discharged within the first year of admission (45–50%) or else they would remain for a period of five years or more.

It would not be true to suggest that all patients were paupers. Nearly as many patients came to Brookwood from their homes (42%) as from the workhouses (45%). Many appear to have had an occupation prior to arrival, including labourers, waterside workers, clerks and domestic servants. But it was not unknown for farmers, army men, licensed victuallers, teachers and governesses to be admitted. Women were less likely to have an occupation assigned to them (50% did not). Slightly more married adults than single were admitted, but in the younger

age groups (16–35), single men dominated and the majority of these originated from the workhouses, predominantly those located in urban areas. Many new patients were described as dangerous and/or suicidal, and although many did indeed fall within these categories, it is very likely that this criterion was applied by the workhouse masters in order to get the more difficult and trying patients removed to the jurisdiction of the asylum.

It is worth mentioning that a small but regular number of children were admitted to Brookwood up to the late 1890s, some as young as four years of age. They were of great concern to the management and initially, they were placed in the female wards. This was not always successful as they were vulnerable to attack from unstable patients as well as subject to "inappropriate moral influences". Eventually, separate accommodation and facilities were provided for them.

As might be expected, many of the children admitted to 19th-century asylums (prior to the opening of more specialised institutions) suffered from mental retardation ('idiots'), but some were epileptic, psychotic, or just exhibited behavioural difficulties that their families could not manage. The diagnosis of moral insanity was equally likely to be applied to children as to adults, later adapted to 'moral imbecility', and in this guise was responsible over many years for the compulsory admission of children with a wide range of problems that ranged from retardation, or conduct disorders, to promiscuity or autism.

Annie S. was only ten when she arrived at Brookwood from Richmond Workhouse in 1893. Her congenital insanity was attributed to a fall, although the case notes acknowledge that it was likely to have been a birth defect coupled with hereditary influences (her father had committed suicide). That same year, she died from an epileptic fit. Annie was not the youngest admission; the parents of four-year-old Maxwell E. reported his constant and dangerous mobility, exacerbated by his epileptic fits and brought him to Brookwood in 1891, although his father successfully petitioned for his return to the family only a few months later. Five-year-old Albert H., described as a congenital and epileptic imbecile, was transferred from Kingston workhouse in January 1891 but he survived less than a year and died as a result of his fits. Some children spent several years at Brookwood; eleven year old Frederick B. suffered from imbecility and epilepsy, arrived in June 1867, having spent the previous four years at Wandsworth at the request of his mother, and he remained at Brookwood until his death in 1875.

Treating the Patients

Broadly speaking, on admission, patients were described as suffering from one of the three primary mental diseases: dementia (17%), mania (50%) and melancholia (33%). Over time, this initial diagnosis could be overturned or refined – for example, deterioration into dementia after years in residence. The diseases that formed part of the initial diagnosis could also be attended by other conditions: for example, by the mid 1870s, 25 per cent of all Brookwood patients originating from the workhouses were reportedly either epileptic or syphilitic. The causes for insanity were not always given; in 1870 this applied to two-thirds of

the patients, but by 1890 this was only the case for a quarter of new admissions. By this date, causes were broadly divided up into 'moral' or 'physical'. Prime moral causes for all patients, either 'predisposing or exciting' included domestic trouble, religious excitement, overwork, and 'love affairs, including seduction'. Alcoholic intemperance, bodily disease, previous attacks and hereditary insanity dominated physical causes, the latter particularly so towards the end of the century when eugenic principles became more influential.

Dr Brushfield believed that medical treatment for the insane did not exist in isolation, but encompassed every single aspect of their care and management; otherwise known as moral therapy. This included surroundings, daily regime, and diet, as well as any medication that was available. The superintendent and his staff were wholly responsible for the patient while they remained in their care. As one contemporary observer remarked, 'The policy has been to place the inmates of Brookwood asylum as nearly as may be amidst the surroundings of sane life, and then to treat them as children under a perpetual personal guardianship.' Patients required order and comfort with a manageable degree of stimulation – the ideal asylum was thus intended to provide a complete therapeutic environment.

The extent and impact of the use of specific treatments is difficult to assess given the nature of asylum sources and the often poor quality of recording information, particularly with regard to chronic cases. During their stay, patients were encouraged in self-control, and transgressions were dealt with by seclusion until this was regained. Seclusion (which involved a degree of physical coercion) was seen as necessary to protect patients and staff, but Dr Brushfield admitted that – in the early years – isolation could be due to lack of staff. This might explain why many of these were women suffering from puerperal insanity, but quarrelling or insubordination were also valid reasons. Dr Brushfield operated a 'softer' approach, which involved placing the patient in a room with several attendants, withdrawn one by one until the patient was eventually alone. The door was shut if the patient fell asleep but it was not locked. One female patient (at least) had her hair cut off in 1871 after her constant refusal to comply with asylum rules and expectations.

Shower baths were occasionally recorded to calm maniacal patients and blisters applied to the body to relieve 'irritation' or 'erotic tendencies'. The first reference traced at Brookwood of electric therapy is in 1893, when galvanisation, in conjunction with morphine and quinine, was applied to a thirty-year old female patient diagnosed with uterine-induced mania.

By the mid 19th century, with principles of non-restraint enshrined in law, asylum superintendents felt obliged to consider other methods of management and treatment, particularly when it came to dealing with excitable patients who failed to respond to the asylum routine. Comparatively little was spent on drugs, and most patients were not treated chemically unless severe symptoms and subsequent manageability made medication unavoidable. Although pharmacopeia was sometimes employed for suicidally inclined patients, the main weapon of defence was

intense surveillance and, in this, Brookwood was more successful in preventing completed suicides than at its neighbour, Holloway Sanatorium.

Narcotics such as chloral, opium, potassium bromide, hyoscyamus or digitalis were sometimes used at Brookwood during alleged periods of mental excitement to conserve the patient's strength, and there is some evidence of these being used for disruptive cases and on former criminals. Children were not exempt, but medication was suspended if favourable results were not produced quickly, as seen with Elizabeth K. who was first admitted in 1867 aged ten. During this and her many re-admissions, she was subjected to a wide-ranging (and seemingly random), array of treatments: morphine, potassium bromide, cold water and periods of solitary confinement. Her dietary additions of eggs and brandy and all medication were withdrawn when it was observed that they merely '… made her stronger to do evil.'

Unusually for a public asylum, Brookwood made forays into the world of medical experimentation when in 1891, Dr Gayton assisted by Dr Barton, performed '... the operation of trepanning...' on a 39 year-old woman from Dorking who had been diagnosed with mania together with suspected symptoms of general paralysis. She was described as being delusional, generally incoherent and having exalted ideas. The operation was initially pronounced a success by doctors and her husband, and she was discharged as recovered in June 1891.This case caused a subsequent amount of interest in the medical profession, as indicated by coverage in the *Lancet* and by the correspondence between Dr Barton and other medical superintendents. (Sadly, in August 1892, she was admitted to Wandsworth suffering from epilepsy where she died later that year.)

Brookwood's staff sought ways of distracting and occupying patients whilst helping them assume a diligent, responsible work ethic that would stand them in good stead once discharged. Dr Brushfield firmly advocated that outdoor occupation was the best substitute for seclusion and Brookwood's grounds offered many opportunities for agricultural pursuits, particularly for the men. By 1875, large areas of Brookwood's land was cultivated by the patients, with large potato and vegetable fields, kitchen and flower gardens, strawberry beds and orchards full of many types of fruit trees. Patients also worked in the farm or in one of the several workshops, assisting the joiner, the upholsterer, the baker or the bricklayer. Clearly, self-sufficiency was financially beneficial for the asylum, but the work was largely seen as therapeutic. As asylums were based primarily on a domestic ideal, work was segregated by gender, with female patients chiefly employed in the kitchen, the laundry and the sewing room where they made and repaired patients' clothing, stockings and bed linen (figure 8). Both sexes worked in the wards. Evidence suggests that approximately two-thirds of the patients were employed around the asylum and its grounds. Work was also regarded as a method of measuring a patient's progress; the harder working they were, the more mental improvement had occurred.

To relieve the monotony, and as part of the therapy, a weekly entertainment was organised, initially of a homegrown nature prior to the construction of a large,

purpose-built recreational hall. After its inauguration, professional entertainers were engaged and provided '… readings, concerts, Christy minstrels, the marionettes, conjuring entertainments, dissolving views, dialogues, extravaganzas, plays and pantomimes.' On alternate weeks a ball was held for all patients; the first was held on September 19th 1867 and was attended by over three-quarters of the patients. In addition, there were annual fancy-dress balls which warranted press attention and which were seen as further evidence of Dr. Brushfield's '… high reputation in the practice of psychological medical treatment.' Over four hundred costumed patients and staff began the festivities at 7.30pm with music provided by the sixteen-piece Asylum Band in the Recreation Hall that was '… beautifully decorated with exotic plants, flags, wreaths, statuettes, mirrors, and Chinese lanterns.' After two hours, the 18th Royal Irish Regiment began to play, heralding the arrival of a further 200 visitors. After midnight refreshments, the patients were removed, leaving the local dignitaries to frolic for several more hours.

Over the years, as the numbers of inmates grew, entertainments were restricted, but walks for the patients became a regular feature. Occasionally these took place beyond the grounds for some well-behaved patients but often as many as 25 per cent of male patients were restricted to exercising only within the airing courts. As already mentioned, sporting activities for the patients were also strongly encouraged for those that were able.

On a smaller scale and for every-day use, cards and games such as draughts and dominoes were supplied for all wards. A year after opening, the Committee of Visitors was pleased to report that efforts were made to enliven the environment and that suitable reading material was made easily available and that '…objects of interests such as framed pictures, birds, etc. are gradually being added. The cheaper forms of illustrated periodicals are regularly circulated, and a library is being instituted. A brass band is being formed'.

Figure 7 The Asylum Brass Band (3043/box4/20 p.38)

Figure 8 The Laundry in 1906 (SHC 3043/118)

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century public lunatic asylums have not enjoyed a good reputation, although revisionist histories have gone some way to question this. My own research on Brookwood Asylum, to which this is a mere introduction, has shown that, despite the huge numbers of admissions, the burden of bureaucratic and financial accountability and the poor mental and physical condition of many incoming patients, this institution offered a relatively good standard of care with many patients leaving the asylum in better condition than when they arrived. Brookwood's management successfully kept many dangerous and suicidal patients safe, and attempted the latest therapeutic techniques as soon as was possible given the financial constraints. The recruitment of reliable, efficient staff, with the right personal qualities, was essential for Brookwood's success in managing huge numbers of patients from across the county as Brookwood aspired to be more than merely a custodial institution as directed by the Poor Law legislation.

The photographs have been reproduced with the kind permission of Surrey History Centre. My thanks to Julian Pooley and his team for all their assistance.

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NONCONFORMITY IN EARLY VICTORIAN DORKING

Allan Brigham

This paper explores the ministry of Richard Connebee at Dorking Independent Chapel (now the United Reformed Church) between 1836 and 1846. Church records are used to examine the internal organisation of the Chapel, which culminated in Connebee's resignation and subsequent emigration to Australia. The career of the Rev. Abel Richard Philps is used to illuminate this period.

Dorking 1851 – *'An Odious Crime'*

Amongst the court cases recorded by the *Surrey Standard* on 18 October 1851 was a claim by Mr Sadler, attorney of Dorking, for unpaid expenses of £37-5-0 from William Miller. A minor and seemingly uninteresting case, it led to the heart of the local nonconformist community, much anguish, and eventually to Australia.

Five years earlier Miller's name had headed the names of a large committee from The Independent Chapel in West Street, Dorking. The Committee had petitioned the Secretary of State for permission for Sadler to visit Dover gaol so that he could speak with an imprisoned member of their congregation.[1]

Miller denied being aware that he had also signed a retainer to Mr Sadler. He claimed that he had only added his name to the petition as a favour to his neighbours because he knew the local Whig MP, William Denison, whose influence was being sought on the application. But the proceedings concluded with Miller being firmly put in his place by the judge. He was told to read things before signing them, and made liable for the costs. However far more intriguing is the disclosure that the imprisoned member of Dorking Independent Chapel was the Minister, The Rev Richard Connebee.

There is no more information in the newspaper report apart from a tantalisingly note that Connebee was incarcerated for *'an odious crime'*. Trying to unravel what had happened provides a glimpse of Dorking and of Nonconformity in Surrey during the first decade of Victoria's reign.

'Beware of the carpet!'

'Beware of the carpet!' Richard Connebee (1810–1883) was warned at his ordination in 1836.[2] His warm reception as the new minister at the Independent Church in Dorking (figure 1) was tempered with this stern reminder not to pander to the wealthy at the expense of the poor in the congregation. It was a reminder of how very different the Dissenting tradition was from that of the Church of England with its deference to the rich and powerful.

Figure 1 Dorking Independent (United Reformed) Chapel where the Rev. Richard Connebee preached to packed congregations in the 1830s. The Philps family were leading members of the congregation (photograph by the author).

Nonconformity had a long history in the town, and the history of the Independent Chapel was conscientiously recorded in their Minute Book. The original, with its record of births, deaths and marriages, was sent to London in 1837 when civil registration began. But before it was despatched a duplicate was made, and this laboriously handwritten copy was continued into the 1840s. It survives, and was a starting point in trying to discover more about the *'odious crime'*.

The Minutes start with 'The Church Covenant', which begins:

'The members of this church, anxious to preserve among themselves, as a society, the purity and order of the gospel, do approve and adopt as an expression of their sentiments and as a declaration of their purposes and sincere intentions, the following memorial: engaging to consider themselves solemnly bound to observe it in every particular, and to submit to such sentence as a majority of their fellow members, at a church meeting duly convened, shall see fit to pass upon them, in case of any deviation there from, in principle or in practise'.

This is followed by a dedication to the service of God. It recognises that through his son Jesus Christ he has given sinners (*'by nature and by practice'*) the hope of immortality, and continues with a vow *to 'unite ourselves together in the bonds of Christian fellowship, recognising in Christ the sole Head of the Church – our judge, our lawgiver and our King'* following the models in the New Testament.

Accepting the Covenant was a sign of an individual choice. The language – '*membership', 'society'* – implied a rejection of the values of the Anglican Church, with its all-embracing claim to be '**the'** Church of England', and, by implication, of all Englishmen.

The Independents acknowledged no secular authority standing between man and his God. Although they had elected leaders, they rejected the concept of an appointed hierarchy of bishops, or of the monarch as head of the church. They were voluntarily uniting in a community bonded by shared values and only subject to the discipline of their own church meeting.

In the pages following the Covenant the Minute Book lists how members were disciplined for failure to maintain the standards that were expected of them.

In extreme cases their membership could be withdrawn, a reminder that by rejecting the values of the chapel they excluded themselves from the means of grace. Lapses recorded include *'Excessive drink', 'indecent liberties with female children', 'non-attendance', 'and neglect of the means of grace'*. In the process they shed a little personal light on past inhabitants of Dorking.

By the early 1830s the congregation was wealthy and self confident enough to build a handsome new Meeting House to replace the one they had used since 1719. This building still stands today.[3] No longer hidden in a back street like its predecessor, it fronted the main thoroughfare into the town and displayed a confidence that was already spurring the worried Anglicans into rebuilding the Parish Church.

The Congregation

Connebee inherited this new chapel. It had an annual endowment income of £76, with the promise that the previous minister also received another £130.[4] There was a congregation of nearly ninety full members, the majority living in Dorking but some living in the surrounding villages.[5] Women made up two thirds of the membership and were involved in running the Sunday school and visiting members at home,[6] but it was the men who had sat on the building committee for the new chapel and appeared to dominate formal proceedings.

The occupations of only a quarter of the members during Connebee's ministry can be identified, but these give an indication of the social composition of the church. Over half of those identified were women (36/63). Nearly all these are recorded in relation to the occupation of the male head of the household where they lived – 'Drapers daughter' or 'Drapers wife'. But some have an occupation in their own right – Ann Kitchen was a Chandler, Miss Blackburn and Miss Puzey Linen Drapers, Elizabeth Bird a Miller.

Although three of the women were female servants, and there was one (male) labourer, most of those with identifiable occupations (male or female), are artisans – Blacksmith, Carpenter, Cordwainer, Plumber, Upholsterer – or shopkeepers – Bookseller, Draper, Music Seller, Seedsman, Tea Dealer. The few who are described as 'Independent' appear to be retired tradesmen rather than professionals. These were part of *'the 67% of society who fitted between the professional classes and the unskilled: the artisans, the good poor who might become the better rich in an expanding society'*.[7] This included all the church leaders in Dorking, tradesmen like William Miller, auctioneer, or George Eives, tallow chandler, who also often owned small portions of property in the town.[8]

Connebee was popular and successful. Within seventeen months of being ordained he had married Caroline Skipper,[9] a member of the church, and the young couple moved into the recently built Gothic Cottage[10] owned by a leading lay member of the congregation, engineer Richard Philps, who had been a member of the building committee for the new chapel.

Philps lived nearby, next to the waterworks that he owned, on the edge of the town (figure 2). His initials can still be seen on the boundary stones set into the

old wall that surrounded his property and now borders the High Street car park. Beyond the waterworks and the adjacent Pippbrook, the fields stretched towards the slopes of the North Downs, crested by 'Denbies', the mansion of the local landowner and London banker William Denison (figure 3).

Denison was the local Whig MP, and his father had been a member of the West Street Chapel. Like those of the congregation who could vote (very few, despite the 1832 Reform Act), Connebee supported Denison and his fellow Whig candidate in the 1837 general election.[11] Few of Dorking's tradesmen voted Tory, and none of the members of the Independent Chapel. This was the party they associated with the pernicious taxes that they were forced to pay for the maintenance of a Parish Church, which they did not attend. Feelings on this issue ran so high that during the election year the chapel paid for a delegation to travel to London with a contribution to the Anti-Church Rate Fund. It was here, and on issues of education, rather than social reform, that the nonconformist's principles led them to become politically engaged.[12]

Connebee's focus was on the church and the saving of souls. While he reached out to the poor of Dorking, his message reflected the respectable values of his congregation. Their politics were probably defined by their name – The Independents. They were not Tories, but they were not revolutionaries either. Most could probably remember the cautionary incident in 1830 when cavalry and underemployed labourers from the surrounding countryside clashed on the High Street while the magistrates were besieged in The Red Lion. When violence threatened again with the reported Chartist uprising in Newport in 1839 Connebee's response was a sermon to a crowded congregation extolling the virtues of obedience to the civil government. He urged moderation to those who sought 'increased privileges' and the use of reason and truth, not revolution, as the way forward.[13]

Figure 2 Dorking: The Waterworks House. AR and AD Philps grew up here in the shadow of Denbies on the nearby North Downs (photograph by the author).

Figure 3 The Denbies Mansion of WJ Denison, local Whig MP and banker. This house and its successor no longer survive but the estate is now the largest vinyard in the UK.

Connebee's ministry provided a real challenge to the struggling Anglicans. He drew such large crowds that members of the congregation had to sit on the pulpit stairs.[14] He encouraged the Sunday School, which was recorded as being the most popular amongst the poor of the town, with regular attendance of 100, and 300 children attending the Sunday School Treat in 1839. He also helped to establish evening classes where more than 100 young men and women could learn to read and write.[15] Connebee himself claimed to have drawn over 200 people to God during his ministry in Dorking[16] and he was afterwards remembered as '*a born preacher with a remarkable flow of beautiful language*', and his ministry as '*brilliant'*.[17]

But 10 years after his ordination Connebee suddenly vanishes from Dorking. In March 1846 his only surviving child, John, died aged four.[18] Two months later, in July '*unhappy circumstances occurred in connection with the pastor Mr Connebee which rendered necessary the formation of a committee to manage the affairs of the church'*.[19] Then, on 29 Sept, the chapel Minute Books record that the following resolution was unanimously adopted: '*Out of respect for Mr Connebee for former services the church wishes to give him the opportunity of resigning forthwith.*'

Malicious Men and Dark Surmises

Connebee had vowed to '*devote my time, my talents, my influence, my all, to that great cause with which you are so intimately connected'*. What had gone so terribly wrong that his outraged flock had been forced to conclude that '*under all the existing circumstances connected with their pastor it is become necessary for the church to express its decided opinion that the Pastor cannot maintain his office'*?

Today it would imply serious financial or sexual impropriety. It was probably not so serious. But it mattered at the time to the members of the Dorking Chapel. They glued together the pages of the Chapel Minute Book to hide the disgrace, and the pages still remain pasted together today.

The last glimpse of Connebee in the Dorking Chapel Minute Book is his resignation letter, dated London, 26 Oct. 1846. He had wanted to come to Dorking in person, but was persuaded not to do so. Addressed to *'My beloved Christian Friends'*, it was written in '*the first hour of mental calmness with which I have recently been favoured'*. He wrote: '*I have no wish to refer to the event which it has rendered it necessary that a separation should take place, except to express my deep regret that I should have been the cause of it, the recollection of which must ever fill my mind with the bitterest anguish.'*

Pushing aside the *'dark surmises which malicious and cruel men have uttered'*, with implications of strong feelings within the congregation, Connebee stated that *'the slightest taint of criminality has never stained my heart'* and denied that he had ever *'cherished unholy thoughts and desires within'*. But he did admit that '*I have fallen through self-confidence; by imagining that my principles had become so strong that no temptation would prove too strong for me.'*

Australia & New Zealand

Trying to discover what Connebee had done, and what befell him after his disgrace, eventually led across the world.

How long he spent in Dover Gaol is unknown, but it cannot have been long as he had written to the Dorking congregation from London, and in the same year he is recorded joining the Esher Street Congregational Chapel in Kennington.[20] Four years later he received a presentation Bible from the local Minister prior to emigrating to Australia in December 1850. There he became a bookseller in Melbourne. Then, in 1857, Connebee is recorded in Kew, Victoria, as the new Congregational Minister of the recently built chapel.

Although Connebee left for a ministry in Dunedin, New Zealand in 1863, he returned to the Kew church in 1868 following the death of his wife Caroline, who had followed him from Dorking across the oceans. He died in Kew a revered local citizen in 1883, 37 years after his expulsion from Dorking. Despite the *'dark surmises*', whatever he had done in England appears not to have blighted the respect with which he came to be held in his new home.

AR Philps & AD Philps

During Connebee's absence from Kew his replacement was recorded as 'AR Phelps' (1866–1868). Alfred Downing Philps, the son of Richard Philps, the waterworks proprietor in Dorking, had entered the Congregational Church and spent most of his life a minister in Essex. Perhaps AR Phelps was a misprint for AD Philps, and maybe as a young man he had travelled briefly to Australia? If so it would prove that contact had been maintained between Dorking and

Connebee. And that would show that whatever the scandal, it cannot have been serious enough to destroy his friendship with one of the leading families in the Chapel back in Surrey.

A closer look at the Chapel records in Dorking revealed that Richard Philps (the waterworks' owner) had been married twice. One son survived from each marriage, and **both** had entered the Congregational Ministry. **Both** had the initials 'AP'. *Alfred Downing Philps,* the minister from Essex, who never did go to Australia and his elder half brother, *Abel Richard Philps.* The spelling of the surname in the Australian records was wrong, but the initials 'AR' were correct. This wasn't the anticipated member of the 'Philps' family, but it did establish the continued connection between the families across continents and despite whatever had been said by '*malicious and cruel men'* in the Dorking congregation.

It was the eldest brother, Abel Richard, who had carefully copied the original Dorking Chapel Minute Book in Dec 1836, two months before it was forwarded by the Rev Connebee to the Registration Commissioners in London. It must have been a labour of love for an 18 year old – a sign of education and of religious commitment. This commitment led him a year later to Yeovil, where he began to prepare to enter the Ministry under the local minister.

From Yeovil he applied in 1838 for a place at Highbury Theological College. Supporting his application was a letter from his old Minister in Dorking, Richard Connebee. He was advised to study further, and moved to a church in Poplar, London, and then to Blakeney in Gloucestershire.[21]

At 23 Philps married, and in 1843 at the age of 24 he was finally ordained. It was a long apprenticeship – 6 years after leaving Dorking. He remained in Gloucestershire another 5 years. Then in 1848 he moved to Burwell in Cambridgeshire. The Burwell chapel Minutes survive, and there, for the years 1848 to 1853, was the same handwriting that had copied out the Minute Books of the Dorking Chapel, signed 'AR Philps'.

Philps's notes revealed the reality of earning a living as a nonconformist minister. Overlying his entries is the need to support his family on a precarious income and a sense of frustration with his congregation. When he moved he had four children. While he was in Cambridgeshire he had a fifth child. All survived. It was a lot of mouths to feed on a Minister's income. After five years Philps called a special Church meeting to announce, with much regret, his resignation 'd*eeming it expedient and necessary, in order to promote the welfare of his family, to emigrate to the United States of America'* (figure 4).

And then at the end of his entries in the Burwell Minute Book a note in the familiar handwriting states: *'Mr Philps's destination was subsequently changed. His attention having been directed, by many persons simultaneously, to the Colonies, he consented to go to South Australia as an Agent of the Colonial Missionary Society, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called him to preach there.'*

the Rev. Abel Richard Philps, deeming it expedi-
ent & necessary, in order to promote the welfare of his
family, to emigrate to the United States of America,
– and having long made it a matter of serious
& prayerful consideration, – announced his resigna-
tion of the Pastorate, at a special Church-meeting,
convened March 23rd., 1853.

Mr. Philps closed his public ministry
in Burwell, on Lord's Day, May 29th. /53.

Mr. Philps's destination was subsequently
changed. His attention having been directed
by many persons simultaneously to the Colonies,
he consented to go to South Australia as an
Agent of the Colonial Missionary Society; assu-
redly gathering, from a variety of circumstances,
that the Lord had called him to preach the Gospel
there". A.R.P.

Figure 4 'To promote the welfare of his family': AR Philps records his decision to emigrate to America in March 1853 in the Burwell church records. (From the minutes of Burwell Independent Chapel reproduced by kind permission of Cambridgeshire Record Office).

'Denbies'

Philps did go to Australia, and did end up briefly in Kew, where his name appears in the church records during Connebee's absence.

The Philps family (figures 5 & 6) docked at Port Adelaide, New South Wales, in January 1854. The journey had taken over three months. Undertaking it must have been an act of faith, going into the unknown with all the children under 11. Landfall was probably welcome, but the area was known as 'Port Misery' because of the mud, mangroves and mosquitoes. After a month they moved inland and found a deserted cottage in an abandoned copper mine. Towards the end of their first year Abel bought a plot of land nearby. On the plot he built a house, and he called it 'Denbies'. It is still there.

The Philps descendants in Australia had no idea that the house was named after the mansion on the North Downs above Dorking. Nothing could have been further from the lush green scenery of Surrey. Or from the fens of Burwell. Forced to leave England to support his family, Abel took his faith with him to a new continent, and memories of the town where he had been brought-up at the Waterworks.

Figures 5 & 6 Abel Richard Philps, born in Dorking in Surrey in 1818 and died in Truro, South Australia in 1876. Hannah Philps, 1817–1895 (source: Malcolm Philps).

Abel Richard Philps spent the remaining 23 years of his life in Australia, never returning to England. Although he was asked to lead the Congregational Chapel where he had settled, there were not enough members to support his young family, just as at Burwell. He moved to the State of Victoria, which included the year he spent in Kew in 1866, and he died aged 58 in 1876, still working (figure 7).

It had been a long life spent in commitment to spreading the Christian message through the Congregational Church. It was very different from his father's life, spent in one town in Southern England, close to childhood acquaintances and family.

Yet the fact that two sons from the household of Richard Philps, Waterworks Proprietor of Dorking, entered the Ministry, tells us a lot about that household and the Church where they worshipped. It also tells us something about the spirit of the times. The Philps family had been recorded as respectable tradesmen in Dorking since the 17th century, and in these same early Victorian years one of the family was churchwarden at the Parish Church. But inspired by their non-conformist Congregational faith, this branch of the Philps family took a completely different path.

The scandal

The cause of Richard Connebee's fall remains a mystery.

But perhaps that doesn't matter. The story of his expulsion illustrates just how different the organisation of the Congregational Church was from that of the Anglicans. The Church – not a landed proprietor – chose the Minister. And the Church could dismiss him. The Dorking Church continued to thrive under Connebee's successor, so it was not weakened.[22] And whatever the 'odious crime'

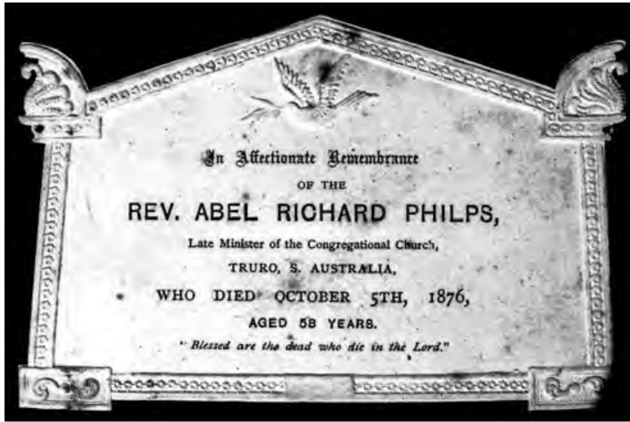

Figure 7 Memorial recording the death of the Rev.Abel Richard Philps in Truro, South Australia.

Connebee was not disbarred from returning to the Ministry. When he died in Kew, Victoria, in 1883, it was recorded: '*He was a tender-hearted and devoted Christian minister, greatly beloved by his church. During his pastorate of 21 years the Church greatly increased in numbers, and became a power for good in the community.*'

In his resignation letter in 1846 Connebee had talked about *'the dark surmises which malicious and cruel men have uttered'* about him. Time seemed to have healed this bitterness, and when he returned to England twenty years later seeking treatment for his wife's health he preached again in his old chapel in Dorking and gave a lecture on New Zealand.[23] In the same year, 1866, Abel Philps was minister in Kew, and it cannot have been coincidence that both men from Dorking served this same Church in Australia. Contact must have been maintained between the two over the years. And that implies that Connebee's influence as a young minister outweighed, at least with the eldest Philps boy, whatever it was that had led to his later dismissal from the Dorking Church.

If the mystery of Connebee's disgrace still lies behind the pasted pages of the Chapel Minute Book, a plaque on the wall of today's church commemorating his dead son is a reminder of his ministry.

But AR Philps's name never recurs in Dorking. If the search for Connebee hadn't led to Australia, then the fate of the boy who so diligently copied the Dorking Chapel Minute Book would have remained forgotten. It was not an easy life that he committed himself to. The Burwell Chapel records illustrate the frustrations of trying to hold the congregation together, and to support a family. Driven to join 800,000 other migrants who went to Australia in the 1850s, they were just one family amongst four million emigrants who left Britain between 1840 and 1860, one sixth of the population.

As congregations shrink and chapels are demolished it is easy to dismiss the nonconformist fervour that was a characteristic of Victorian England, while the language of the Covenant in the Dorking Chapel Minutes resonates with few today. But the words that Abel Philps copied out in 1836 had meaning for him, and for all those others who belonged to the West Street Chapel. That Connebee and Abel Philps are linked in Australia is a reminder of the bonds forged in that church.

Making Connections

This story warns of some of the dangers of local history. Don't believe something just because it is in print. Especially the spelling of names. Ph***e***lps was Ph***i***lps. Without knowing that there was an 'A Philps' in the ministry I would never have questioned that spelling, or begun to look for connections. And I still came to the wrong conclusion. I thought that Alfred Philps, Minister from Essex, might have visited Australia. I never guessed that there were two brothers with the same first initial both in the Ministry. Always query your assumptions.

But the search for the Rev Connebee is also a reminder not to compartmentalise 'history'. Local historians and family historians still fail to connect, while both ignore academic research. But it took contributions from all three to piece together these journeys from Surrey to Australia.

Local histories focus on locality, and the family names that recur through the decades. Too often these are just the poor or the propertied. Family historians get obsessed with chasing bloodlines around the country, ignoring the impact of place on their ancestors. While academic research that could help both lies locked in university libraries.

But those who 'pass-through' have an influence on the locality too – especially a minister. And locality has an influence on *them*. Abel Philps and Richard Connebee were both shaped by events in Dorking although they are only fleetingly recorded there. And both took their experiences with them across the world. Without Dorking, 'Phelps' and 'Connebee' in Kew are just names in an ancient list of long dead ministers. And the house named 'Denbies' in New South Wales is just another name with no meaning.

The last connection

Walking around the old waterworks site in Dorking I recently saw in the winter sunshine the initials 'ARP 183-' scratched into the red brick of the boundary wall. I'd seen the scratches many times before, but never looked closely at them. Now I know about Abel Richard Philps. Is this he as the young man who attended The Independent Chapel? Maybe.

NOTES

1. Today the Independent Chapel is the United Reformed Church, earlier the Congregational Church
2. T Grantham. *Dorking Congregationalism* (1913) p.24

3. The Congregational church in Dorking claimed to trace its history back to 1662. The foundation stone for the new chapel was laid in 1834 (T.Grantham). The church Minutes record that the builder as Sherbourne (Wm Sherborn, Carpenter, Architect, Surveyor: Pigot's Directory 1832), Hopperton as the architect.
4. Presumably the £130 came from pew rents, which also now had to pay the interest on debts of £800 (Chapel Minutes p 244). Endowment income was to rise to £106 on the death of an aged annuitant.
5. There were 91 members when a new list was drawn up in Dec 1834. Members came from Abinger, Brockham, Broadmore, Charlwood, Gadbrook, and West Humble. Ewhurst & Gomshall had their own chapels: 1821. Felday: 1825).
6. In the new membership list of 1834 there are 61 women identified, to 27 men.
7. C. Binfield. *So Down to Prayers* (1977*)*. P.9, quoting Dr A Gilbert. *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1790–1850* (1976). Between 1834 and the end of Connebee's ministry in 1846 238 members are listed in the Minutes. The occupations of 63 can be identified from the census (1841, 1851) or Trade Directories.
8. Church leaders included the following (occupations from 1841 census & Trade Directories).
   a. 1834 Building Committee:
   George Eives: Tallow Chandler. J Howell. Samuel Jackson. Peter Kent. William Miller: Auctioneer. Richard Philps: Engineer & Waterworks proprietor. Thomas Spokes: Linen Draper. Thomas Stent.
   b. 1846 The first Committee after Connebee's departure:
   W Clark: Printer. F Dewey. George Eives: Tallow Chandler. J Hubbard: Linendraper. Thomas Spokes: Linen Draper.
   c. 1847 The second Committee after Connebee's departure:
   George Eives: Tallow Chandler. W Hollier: Grocer. J Hubbard: Linendraper. Charles Rose: Draper. R Uwins Jnr: Music Seller.
9. 12.9.1837
10. 1841 census
11. Information from Poll Books: Surrey History Centre
12. See: E Sykes: *Do better still (19*89).
13. Surrey Agricultural Express (SAE). 2.1.1840
14. T Grantham. *Dorking Congregationalism*.
15. SAE: 7.9.1839. Sunday School treat. SAE: 4.7.1840 reports regular attendance of 100. SAE. 7.12.1839: Adult School. Tues & Thurs; 7–9. Men at British School room, women at vestry in West St Chapel.
16. Chapel Minutes (p 263). Letter of Resignation: 26.10.1846.
17. T Grantham. *Dorking Congregationalism: p.25.*
18. John Benson Connebee died: March 31st 1846. R Connebee's mother in law Elizabeth Skipper had died the previous year: Aug 1845.
19. Chapel Minutes: March 31st 1846.
20. Information of Connebee 1846–1856 from Gwen Clark, archivist Dorking URC.
21. Details from Dr Williams Library
22. The Religious Census of 30.3.1851 reports 217 attended the morning service.
23. Connebee returned to England in1866. Grantham (p 25) records him preaching in Dorking. Surrey Advertiser: 27.10.1866 Lecture on New Zealand.

ACCESSIONS OF RECORDS IN SURREY HISTORY CENTRE, 2009

edited by Michael Page

In 2009 Surrey History Centre received 333 accessions of original and copy records (excluding transfers from County Council departments). These records came from a great variety of organisations and individuals and we are, as ever, most grateful to all our depositors for making sure that the records are preserved and made available for research. A brief list of all 2009 accessions can be found on our website http://www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistorycentre, under 'Search for Archives or Books'. What follows is a selection of some of the highlights.

More from Loseley

In addition to receiving and cataloguing new collections to the History Centre, we have continued to work to improve accessibility to our foremost family and estate archive, the Loseley Manuscripts, both in an ongoing conservation programme supported by the Loseley Estate trustees, and in detailed cataloguing of records dating from the 15th to the 19th centuries previously described as 'bills and accounts' and 'miscellaneous', and 17th to early 18th century letters.

The cataloguing has revealed a great variety of records of personal, local and national interest, which hitherto have almost certainly escaped the notice of researchers. Daily life of the More family in the 16th century is suggested by the catering expenses of the steward of Sir William More (1520–1600) at his London house at Blackfriars, individually detailing lunch and supper fare during the 1580s (mutton and rabbit feature largely), fragments of household expenses listing 'those that are daily fed in my house', and accounts of expenses for an important funeral, possibly that of Margaret More, Sir William's wife (d.1587). Papers relating to Sir George More (1553–1632), son of Sir William, considerably add to our picture of the man, whose industrious pursuit of the business of Surrey local government seems to have matched that of his father, yet who ended his life bitterly disappointed by the failure of his career in national affairs and his lack of recognition by King James I and his son Charles I. Drafts of George More's political writings on the uniting of England and Scotland, allegiance, Crown taxation and monarchy are here, as well as drafts of his published religious work, *A demonstration of God in his works..* (1597). Accounts possibly relating to George's re-building of Baynards, Ewhurst, in the 1590s show expenditure on large quantities of glass and suggest a building of considerable grandeur, perhaps intended to match or surpass Loseley itself. In addition we have what appears to be a very rare contemporary copy of the autopsy report on the body of Henry, Prince of Wales (d. 6 Nov 1612),

patron of George, whose sudden death of typhoid ruined George's hopes of a long-lasting role close to the throne. Later records provide clues to the early 18th century revisions to Loseley house and gardens and problems in maintaining the mansion (Thomas Molyneux, who married into the family in 1689, is recorded undertaking new landscaping in the park, but by 1776, it is stated that 'the mansion house of Loseley is a large and ancient building now in want of considerable repair and which will cost £500 or upwards').

Further records of the Mores' role in the enforcement of law and order and the edicts of Tudor government in Surrey include evidence in a case of witchcraft ('conjuration') and complaint of the people of Farnham against standards of food and drink supplied at William Cortness's alehouse, of which they say they are loath to provide further evidence to bring the case to trial, as they no longer wish to 'suffer our tastes to taste of his ale nor to see the size of his bread'. Records relating to associates of the Mores, whose papers they also hoarded, include accounts (1527–1548) for the re-building of Byfleet Lodge by Sir Anthony Browne, and a letter advising on improved defences of Boulogneberg near Boulogne (taken by the English in 1544), probably once among the papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden of Bletchingley who led a contingent of Bletchingley and Nonsuch men on the 1544 campaign.

The Loseley correspondence, a sequence covering the 16th to early 19th century, remains partially catalogued, but has been enhanced by ongoing calendaring of the Gresham letters (many of which may now be searched on the Loseley Letters Database), which provide a vivid and intimate portrait of the family of James Gresham, husband of Anne More, around the period of the English Civil War – a time when 'there is no place of safety for honest people…[in London] it is daily expected that we shall cut one another's throats'.

The Glyn Family of Ewell

This year has seen the transfer of the final documents and completion of the new catalogue of the Glyn papers (SHC ref 6832) which were deposited at Surrey History Centre by Ewell Library and Bourne Hall Museum between 2000 and 2009. The collection not only contains a fine collection of deeds relating to the Ewell area from the 15th to 19th centuries but also provides a fascinating insight into life in Ewell in the 19th century.

The Glyn family became landowners in Ewell in 1736 when Richard Glyn, a prominent drysalter or oilman in Hatton Garden, married Susannah Lewen, heiress to lands in Ewell, including the rectory with the advowson. Richard was a man of substance and standing in the City. He was knighted in 1752 and was a founding partner of the Vere, Glyn and Hallifax Bank, which opened in 1754. The Glyn properties descended through Richard's and Susannah's son George to his eldest son, Sir Lewen Powell Glyn, 3rd Bart (d.1840), and then to his second son, the Rev Sir George Lewen Glyn, 4th Bart (1804–1885), vicar of Ewell, 1831–1882 (figure 1). The Glyn Estate was liquidated on the death of Sir Arthur Glyn, 7th Bart, in 1942, and the properties sold by Barclays Bank as executors of his will.

Figure 1 Photograph of the Glyn family taken in June 1868, including the Rev Sir George Lewen Glyn and, seated, his second wife Henrietta Amelia Carr Glyn (SHC ref 6832/6/16/3)

The majority of the documents in the collection relate to Glyn family property in Ewell but some also deal with estates in London, Dorset and Glamorgan. One of the most significant items is a 16th century copy of a survey and rental of the manor of Ewell, 1408. Since the Glyn family were rectors of Ewell and Sir George was vicar for a considerable time, much of the collection relates to parish matters, such as the erection of Rectory House in the 1830s, later Glyn House (figure 2), and the rebuilding of the parish church in 1846–1847, for which the architect was Henry Clutton of London (sometimes known as Henry Clutton of Hartswood). Sir George's long incumbency was sometimes stormy as he waged battle with local landowners and lukewarm parishioners. His account of the rebuilding of the church is entitled 'Grateful Memorials of Providential Leadings in the Rebuilding of Ewell Parish Church' as he relates how he overcame fierce opposition through God's intervention, as he interpreted it. Both he and his wife recorded their encounters with some of the more wayward members of their flock. Lady Glyn documented in a notebook her often-disappointing visits to the sick between 1841–2: 'Visited those who are ill in Ewell. They are much as usual – would be glad to see them more in earnest. I hope the Lord will give us happy Deaths as witnesses for him' and 'This poor woman is much as usual. Tried to bring before her mind the number of sins we commit in seventy years'. Sir George's notebook records his encounter with a farmer, J Waghorn, in 1843, who told him ruefully that 'he approved of the best way, but loved the worst'. Glyn's attempt to lead Mr Waghorn back to the light failed but the rector had the consolation of updating his entry with the words 'He died one day suddenly'.

Figure 2 Painting of Rectory House (later Glyn House) done in 1860 (SHC ref 6832/6/16/5)

In 1859 he also recorded how he had resumed visiting the poor in their homes, having for several years left this to his curate, Glyn only visiting 'the Upper and Middle Classes', which had clearly provoked adverse comment and which Glyn acknowledged to be 'a great mistake'. In April 1863 he records the terrible explosion at the Ewell Powder Mills, which killed three men and 'instantaneously scattered their bodies in mangled pieces over the adjoining fields'. The rector held an open air service near the site of the explosion and a subscription was raised to support the widow and children of one of the victims, although Glyn's account of the event lays more stress on his hope that it may thwart the plans of a Mr Sharpe, a member of the Free Church of Scotland and an opponent of church rates, who was proposing to open a chapel in Ewell and generally causing trouble. The papers also reflect the battle for the soul of the Church of England, which had been growing in intensity since the Tractarian movement in the 1830s and 1840s. In April 1868 Glyn received a petition signed by 60 members of his congregation objecting to the 'partially choral performance' that had been introduced into Ewell church services, at a time when 'all persons opposed to ritualism are particularly alive to any variation from the simple manner in which our excellent Church Service has been conducted for the last 300 years, and with which we are perfectly satisfied'.

The records also include delightful travel diaries kept by various members of the Glyn family of their travels in Britain and abroad in the 19th century, including a collection of descriptive letters written by Anna S Glyn on a ten-week

holiday tour to the Mediterranean and Middle East in 1892. There are also 5 albums of paintings by various members of the family, which include paintings of the Ewell area and Rectory House. 20th century papers include many relating to the opposition to the Ewell by-pass road (A240), a campaign that was spear-headed by Margaret Glyn.

The Glyn papers were originally purchased by Epsom and Ewell Borough Council in three portions: part from Leigh Vaughan Henry, inheritor of the wealth of Margaret Glyn, in 1958, after he had sold much of the collection; part in 1962 from Mr W R Hipwell, a former neighbour of Leigh Henry; and part from a Surbiton antiques dealer to whom the documents had been sold for making lamp-shades from the parchment! More were acquired through gift from local historians and benefactors.

The new catalogue, which runs to 126 pages, is based on a card catalogue compiled from extracts made by museum and library volunteers, Phyllis Davies, Mabel Dexter and Nita Yardley. The documents had been numbered by library staff in the order in which they had been received, with no attempt to group items in any way. This led to items relating to the same event or legal transaction being scattered throughout the collection. The new list is an attempt to arrange the catalogue by subject and/or type of record and date and therefore make the collection much more accessible to researchers.

Health in Surrey

We were very pleased to augment our holdings relating to Rowley Bristow Hospital in Pyrford with a significant deposit of records relating to the hospital school (SHC ref CC1179). The hospital was established by The Church of England Incorporated Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays, later known as the Church of England Children's Society, which was founded in 1881. In 1907, the Society opened St Nicholas' Home for Crippled Girls at Pyrford and in 1916 St Martin's Home for Crippled Boys was moved from Surbiton. The log books of the schools associated with each home begin in 1914 and 1917 respectively. In October 1924, the two adjacent establishments were merged to form the St Nicholas' and St Martin's Home, later Orthopaedic Hospital.

After the First World War, Walter Rowley Bristow, an orthopaedic surgeon at St Thomas's Hospital in London, became connected with the work of the hospital and under his leadership and surgical skill, the character of the institution changed rapidly from homes to a hospital, and adults were admitted as well. Facilities provided included open-air wards, open on one side, for the treatment of surgical tuberculosis, and many children were successfully treated. Between 1920 and 1937 there were further additions including an operating theatre, heated swimming baths, and the establishment of Special School status for the education of long stay children. Lessons frequently took place out of doors, the beds being wheeled out of the ward, and special equipment allowed children to write while lying prone. In 1946, the school log book reflects the territorial conflicts between medical and teaching staff: on 25th March the headmistress wrote that

'when [she] arrived on the ward for the afternoon session she found half the senior children outside and half in the ward. The nurse in charge decided the children ought to be out and school started. After 10 minutes, the Sister came on duty and ordered the children to be brought in as she considered the sun too hot. Twenty-five minutes of the school period were lost but the Sister would not consent to school ending later than the usual time'. Two months later, the headmistress lamented 'School is not of secondary importance even, it has no reasonable place at all'.

Following the death of Rowley Bristow in November 1947, the hospital was renamed the Rowley Bristow Orthopaedic Hospital in his honour, and The Church of England Children's Society arranged for it to be transferred to the National Health Service with effect from 1 April 1950. At its prime it was considered a centre of excellence, with an international reputation (figure 3), but declined from a peak of 250 beds in 1948 to just 41 shortly before it finally closed in 1992. Before that date however, the children's ward, Beatrix Ward, had closed in 1987, the children being transferred to St Peter's Hospital, Chertsey. The school, however, was re-established as St Peter's Teaching Centre, which opened in 1992.

A fascinating group of papers relate to the pioneering work of a local chemist in spreading the benefits of the 'wonderful new drug' penicillin (SHC ref 8468). Penicillin had been discovered in 1928 but was not exploited until 1939 with the work of Howard Florey and Ernst Chain. The production of penicillin became a wartime priority and pharmaceutical factories in the USA, United Kingdom and

Figure 3 Photograph of a music lesson at Rowley Bristow Hospital School, 1950s (SHC ref CC1179/4/1)

Figure 4 Photograph of Kennith White's pharmacy, Ripley (SHC ref 8468/4/6)

Russia manufactured large quantities of the drug, which was used to save the lives of wounded soldiers. None, however, was available to the civilian population. In April 1944, a young chemist Kenneth White, in his pharmacy at Ripley (figure 4) which he had bought in 1943, used culture flasks and an ice-cream refrigerator borrowed from a local shop, to become the first civilian chemist to manufacture penicillin filtrate. The early penicillin was not suitable for injecting so White made it into a cream and gave it away to local doctors and hospitals, writing up case studies for publication in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*. One case was of a 23 year old air raid casualty whose fractured femur had left her with 'exposed muscle and profuse discharge of pus'. The 'cavity' was packed with penicillin cream on gauze and after 5 weeks it was reported that the wound was healing.

His efforts met with considerable opposition and bureaucratic inertia from the Ministry of Health and Directorate of Medical Supplies who queried where he had got his original supply of 'pure culture penicillium notatum'. White persisted but in a letter to the *Pharmaceutical Journal* gave vent to his frustration, saying that if the treatment he had received was indicative 'of the bureaucratic efficiency that will govern the pending state medical service, we had better give up the idea of the slogan of "health for all" and change the name of the intended service'. Others were more receptive to his efforts and in June 1944, the Pioneer Scientific Development and Research Society wrote to commend him for 'your courageous efforts in the producing of penicillin, under adverse circumstances and official apathy'. White battled on and by September 1946 he had acquired a TSA licence to dispense penicillin injections and supplies

were made for doctors, hospitals, nursing homes, veterinary surgeons and pharmacists in the local area.

We have also taken in a fine series of maternity registers for Epsom District Hospital covering the period 1941–1992; registers of home births in the area between 1966 and 1975, and records of the nursing school at the Hospital (SHC ref 8628). The maternity unit at Epsom District Hospital opened on 8 September 1941 and the maternity registers include name and address of mother, dates of admission, birth and discharge, sex and weight of baby, whether full term or premature, and notes relating to the delivery and any treatment given. From 1975 onwards, the registers include details of home births at the back, which before that date are recorded in a series of midwives' registers for the areas of Ashtead, Bookham, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Epsom and Ewell. In 1941, a school for the training of midwives was established at the Hospital and the registers of trainee midwives include name and address, date of birth or age, previous nursing training, dates started and left, details of training and remarks. Those for 1983 and 1990 give details of the coursework undertaken.

Surrey at Work

Surrey History Centre recently acquired via The Lightbox a small collection of records relating to Robinsons Department Store of Woking (SHC ref 8522). Robinsons began as a drapery business in Chertsey Road, Woking, in 1934. The site, nos.15 & 17 Chertsey Road, had been a drapery shop for some years, the business being known as Tibbenham Brothers, then Archibald's, then Fairhurst Brothers, then Alfred Wyles Ltd. By 1944 Robinsons had millinery, coat, haberdashery, lace, underclothes, baby, hosiery, glove, linen and silk departments. By this time, too, the Robinson family were running another store at 6–7 High Street, Woking, known as PM Edwards Ltd, advertised as 'The Fashion and Fabric Store'. A lease on the shop and shares in the business had been acquired in 1937 and a letterhead of 1943 indicates that the proprietors were WH Robinson, JD Robinson and A Wyles. It appears that by the 1960s Robinsons had also acquired an interest in a further shop in Woking, Owens, at 47–49 Commercial Road, which sold fashions, wools and hosiery. Robinsons eventually occupied nos. 9–17 Chertsey Road, redeveloping the site in 1964. The store moved to Commercial Way in the 1980s and finally closed in the 1990s.

The records in the collection comprise mainly financial records of Robinson (Woking) Ltd and PM Edwards Ltd. Although not extensive, the records are an important addition to our holdings as Robinsons was something of a household name in Woking for many years.

We also purchased at auction a small collection of papers relating to Ashtead Potters Ltd (SHC ref 8480), an interesting, if relatively short-lived, venture founded in 1923 by Sir Lawrence Weaver and Lady Kathleen Weaver to provide permanent employment for disabled ex-servicemen. A 21-year lease was taken on Victoria Works, Ashtead, and housing provided for the employees. The business ran until 1935, making pottery and tiles, and the papers acquired include

correspondence between the chairman Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (1889–1952), later Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Attlee government, and Cecil Harmsworth (1869–1948), the Liberal politician, concerning funds and support for the business in the early 1930s, a statement by the manager A T Moore giving the history of the company and a note by Harmsworth describing his involvement, written in 1942 after the Pottery had closed.

Surrey Charities

We have taken in some significant archives from local charities, whose records illuminate the role of the charitable sector in the 20th century and its interaction with the State.

Woking Charity Organisation (SHC ref 8621) was founded in 1905, but grew out of an earlier Charitable Society for the parish of Christ Church, founded in 1896. Its stated objective was to bring 'the needy and "helpable" into communication with the people best able to help them'. Although it did itself distribute some relief, much of its work was focussed on putting those in need in touch with other charities and bodies which could assist them and it also liaised with the applicant's family to ensure that charity began at home. From the beginning it insisted that recipients of its aid should be 'helpable', and it sought to establish for every applicant 'whether the assistance asked for, if granted, will have the effect of improving the position of the applicant in any permanent way'. It was very concerned that its actions should not erode self-reliance and independence, nor 'upset the very delicate equilibrium of the labour market', and it stridently asserted that 'It WILL NOT encourage thoughtlessness and improvidence', nor 'help those who will not help themselves'.

The Organisation's early annual reports provide a fascinating glimpse of the array of local charitable provision which supplemented the Poor Law, and the reported cases reflect the hardships faced by Woking people in a period when social welfare provision by the State was in its infancy. In 1907, among the 52 cases assisted, 8 were found employment; 2 were helped to emigrate; 17 were given help with medical treatment or convalescence; 2 'superior old women' were given pensions, one of whom was stated to be a 'most respectable widow .... much above the level of the Poor Law'; 5 were sent to Homes; 19 given loans; and one helped to obtain an apprenticeship. Some decisions appear somewhat heartless: a widower with a large family was helped to provide for three of them at home, but one child was placed in a Training Home for service, one put in an orphanage and one boarded out.

The charity became Woking Guild of Social Service after the First World War, Woking Council of Social Service in around 1968 and finally Woking Association of Voluntary Service in 1973, which title it has retained to this day. During this period, it has been responsible for many important initiatives, including a Citizens Advice and Volunteer Bureau, a Community Transport Service, English teaching and other assistance to ethnic communities, a Community Furniture Fund and a cleaning service for the elderly, all indicative of the changing nature of the

challenges it has had to confront. At times it has questioned whether a role remained for it in an era of a cradle to grave welfare state. In 1945 it answered this question with a resounding affirmative: 'There will always be the "hard cases" which no Act can ever completely cover. More than this, there will always be the very human factor of personal, sympathetic approach. This, the Guild of Social Service can and will continue to offer'.

A complementary deposit of records of a much younger organisation is that of the Sheerwater/Maybury Partnership (SHC ref 8583), established in 1997. Poverty is not a term generally associated with modern Surrey, but within the county are several pockets of deprivation, one of which is the area stretching from Woking town centre, north eastwards to the Sheerwater Estate, established by London County Council after the Second World War. In recent years considerable efforts have been made by the Partnership to alleviate the problems of the area, which has brought together local authorities, other local agencies and representatives of the local communities, including the large local Asian community, and whose work was part funded by a £3.4 million injection of government money under the Single Regeneration Budget programme. The Partnership's stated aim was to 'bring about a visible and very real change to Sheerwater/ Maybury and to improve the quality of life of individuals by tackling the root causes of disadvantage and providing opportunities previously unavailable to local people'. It focussed its efforts on education, health, housing, employment, the local environment and on community cohesion and among its projects were the establishment of an Asian Health Care Worker, Community Workers, an Asian Home/School Liaison Officer and bilingual nursery assistants, as well as the provision of advice and training, youth facilities and an overhaul of the existing housing stock. With the end of the Single Regeneration Budget funding after six years, the Partnership reinvented itself as a charity and its work continues. Its copious records include minutes, reports, newsletters and photographs, 1996–2007, and a comparison of these records with those of the early years of the Woking Charity Organisation, 100 years ago, is instructive, both in terms of problems faced and solutions proposed, but also in terms of philosophy and vocabulary.

Governing Surrey

As usual, we have taken in a significant quantity of records from the district and borough councils within Surrey, documenting both their own activities and those of their predecessor authorities. The following paragraphs describe some of those accessions which may be of interest to local and family historians.

Under the Burial Acts of 1852 and 1853 local burial boards were created to establish new burial grounds and relieve the pressure on overfull churchyards. To meet the needs of the growing population, Reigate Burial Board purchased land in 1855 to add a cemetery to the churchyard of St Mary Magdalene in Chart Lane. The first burial took place in January 1857. The Victorian chapel and the original public mortuary still survive and the cemetery contains the graves of two

celebrated artists, the watercolourist John Linnell (1792–1882) and his son-in-law Samuel Palmer (1805–1881), who spent his later years in Furze Hill House, Redhill. Although the cemetery is now officially closed and grave rights can no longer be purchased, it is still possible to have burials in existing pre-purchased graves. The first eight registers of the cemetery have now been deposited with us (SHC ref 8605), spanning the years 1857–1951. Separate registers of stillborn burials, 1927–33, and war service burials, 1939–46, have also been deposited. In Redhill, with no land available for purchase near to St John's church, a cemetery was built at Philanthropic Road and Redstone Cemetery opened in 1932. The first 10 burial registers covering the years 1932–95, together with two registers for stillborn burials, 1934–95, have now been deposited under the same reference.

We have also taken in some major deposits of records relating to the responsibility of local councils to approve new buildings and alterations to existing buildings to ensure the work complied with building regulations, drawn up under the 1875 Public Health Act and subsequent legislation. These records include a fine series of building plan registers from the predecessor authorities to Reigate and Banstead Borough Council (SHC ref 8441). The registers compiled for Epsom Rural District Council Eastern District cover the years 1900–1933 and relate to Tadworth, Banstead, Woodmansterne, Ewell, Cuddington, Cheam and Worcester Park. Each register records the date the plan of a proposed building (over 7000 in total) was received by the Council, the registered number of the plan, the name and address of the submitter of the plan, the proposed builder (from November 1913), the description and situation of premises and the action taken (whether the plan was approved or disapproved, with date). Unfortunately very few actual plans have survived for Epsom Rural District but despite this the registers are an invaluable source for studying the work of builders and architects and for the development of an area and the history of individual buildings. The registers of Reigate Rural District Council cover the years 1903–33 and relate to Betchworth, Burstow, Buckland, Charlwood, Chipstead, Chaldon, Gatton, Horley, Kingswood, Leigh, Merstham, Nutfield and Walton on the Hill, although again few of the original plans have survived and the same holds true for Banstead Urban District, for which the registers cover the years 1934–1949. However for Dorking and Horley Rural District (Abinger, Betchworth, Buckland, Capel, Charlwood, Headley, Holmwood, Horley, Leigh, Newdigate, Ockley, Wotton), the registers held here complement a series of the submitted building plans covering the years 1951–66 which were deposited by Mole Valley District Council (SHC ref 8552), which we took in at the same time as a fine series of plans relating to Dorking Urban District, 1937–1967.

The extraordinary outpouring of public grief that attended the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, on 31 August 1997, was a phenomenon that caused many cultural commentators to question whether they were witnessing an irreversible shift in British attitudes towards its monarchy and whether the British 'national character', generally associated with reserve and understatement, had been transformed. Perhaps now the long term consequences of the event do not seem so

significant, but its remarkable impact in the late summer of 1997 is memorialised in a series of five books of condolence which Waverley Borough Council opened in the days after the Princess's death for members of the public to record their messages (SHC ref 8585) and which have now been deposited with us. The depth of feeling and emotion still has the capacity to surprise.

Teaching Surrey

One noteworthy accession was the additional records of the Surrey Division of the National Union of Teachers, formerly Surrey County Teachers' Association (SCTA), 1891–2006 (SHC ref 8567). The NUT was established in 1870, although local teachers' associations had been established before this date. The then SCTA was set up in 1903 to deal directly with Surrey County Council (which had taken over responsibility for schooling in the county the previous year). The later renamed Surrey Division was made up of a number of local associations and this structure remained in place until the beginning of 2007. Since then, the Surrey Division has been a Single Association Division. Former Secretaries of the Surrey Division include James Chuter-Ede, former Home Secretary and a driving force behind the 1944 Education Act, and Sir Edward Britton, former General Secretary of the NUT.

We already hold a number of deposits of records relating to the history of the Surrey Division but this accession was particularly important as it includes good runs of AGM and meeting minutes for various local associations. For example, the minutes of Mole Valley Teachers' Association, formerly Redhill and District and Dorking and District, cover the period 1891–2006, and throw an interesting light on education since the end of the 19th century. For instance, in 1891, when the Free Education Act was passed introducing state payment of school fees up to ten shillings per week, the minutes of the then Redhill and District Teachers' Association show irregularity of school attendance as being a major topic of concern alongside more familiar union matters such as superannuation and legal defence.

During the First World War, the minutes frequently note the impact that the war was having on education and the teachers themselves. For example, on 2 October 1915, several of the Dorking and District teachers were unable to attend the meeting as they were engaged in trench work with the Volunteer Training Corps at Merstham; and on 20 May 1916, the Association received a letter from the local secretary of the Herb Growing Association asking teachers to assist in the collection by children of wild flowers and herbs for medicinal purposes. In September 1916, discussions took place regarding a war bonus for teachers, school supplies during wartime, education after the war and employment of children of school age. The minutes of a meeting on 30 November 1918 also note that a message of sympathy was sent to a member whose husband had been killed in France.

The enormous challenges of life during the Second World War are also referred to in the minutes, the Association President, during the 1944 annual meeting, paying 'very high tribute to the conscientious women folk who are carrying

on in the absence of men on war service'. During this period, teachers were also faced with huge change with the passing of the new Education Act 1944, which defined the modern split between primary education and secondary education at age 11, and provided for the raising of the school leaving age to 15. The Act also established the 'Tripartite System' of grammar schools, technical schools and secondary modern schools. A member of the NUT Executive refers to these massive changes at a meeting on 13 May 1944, expressing confidence in the future of education with secondary schools for all children over 11 and nursery schools or classes for the 2–5 age group. He also expresses his gladness at the ending of the marriage ban on women teachers.

The progress of the new Act was reviewed at a meeting on 3 July 1944, the President of the SCTA analysing its importance and pointing out that 'to give a child an education according to his age, ability and aptitude, a teacher must know not only his subject but also the child'. He argued that this could not be done adequately without smaller classes. During a meeting on 5 February 1945, the impact of the new Act is almost palpable with the new Association President pleading for 'professional unity, promotion of unity of purpose in obtaining the educational goal and co-operation between the different types of schools'.

Reflecting an earlier age, when attendance at school could still be viewed as optional, is a circular notice to parents and guardians of children at West End School, Chobham, 1886 (SHC ref 8458). The handwritten notice notifies them of bye laws made by Chertsey Local Government Board, which require all children under 13 years of age to attend school unless they have a certificate of attainment of Fifth Standard in all three subjects and to attend full time unless they have attained the Fourth Standard. The school managers urge compliance with the law, arguing that it is to the advantage of the child, as 'irregular children are always backward children'; and that such children 'injure their neighbours' by wasting teachers' time; they 'injure the parish … because they drive out of it the money which the government offers for good attendance'; and they 'injure themselves' and cost their parents money by taking longer to acquire the Standard. The notice suggests that 'it might be convenient to keep this half-sheet for your future guidance'.

Three Surrey Individuals

Among the many personal papers we have taken in over the course of the year, those of three contrasting individuals perhaps stand out.

Charles Mayes (1899–c.1984) joined Surrey Constabulary in 1924 and served in the county until retirement in 1950. We were very fortunate this year in receiving from his daughter a much-treasured collection of archives relating to his police career, including a good series of official police diaries, 1925–1937, relating principally to Woking and Salfords (SHC ref 8537). Mayes evidently distinguished himself as a constable, being made the only plain clothes officer in the Woking force, with responsibility for detective work in the days before a CID. The diaries, although extremely brief on detail, provide a fascinating glimpse of

life in the town and the role of the police in the community: Mayes's work included delivery of affiliation orders in bastardy cases, attending the scene of accidents, investigation of nuisance dogs and diseased animals, visiting unoccupied houses, 'observations' of suspected persons, and routine visits to pawnbrokers' shops, as well as the more sensational cases, such as the exhumation of the body of Hilary Rougier in the Byfleet poisoning case of 1928. Work at Salfords included the removal of illegal gypsy encampments and the policing of race meetings at Lingfield Park. Mayes's meticulous notes of a training course on 'Practical Hints and Advice to Detective Officers' record how 'in Surrey one must admit, we have very difficult people to handle, and it is for the Police to be impregnable'. Mayes became a sergeant in 1937, serving at Weybridge, then Cranleigh during the early years of the Second World War, before settling at Fetcham in 1941. Preserved among Mayes's papers is documentation of 'Exercise Luck' carried out 15–16 May 1943 in Leatherhead and Fetcham, in which an enemy invasion of the Mole Valley was simulated, with 'our own troops' wearing steel helmets while those enacting the enemy role would appear in 'caps, berets or cap comforters'. 80 'refugees' from Leatherhead were received on the first day, reported as 'happy, only anxious to be released to be back at school by 6 o'clock'. The archive also includes photographs and collected reminiscences of Mayes and life in the Surrey police (figure 5).

Figure 5 Photograph of a mock arrest, probably taken at Woking police station during the 1920s, found among papers of Charles Mayes (SHC ref 8537/3/1)

Bertram Charles Gillham was born in 1894, the son of a Gloucestershire stationer. He enlisted in the 9th London (Queen Victoria Rifles) in September 1914, but his tour of duty on the Western Front was curtailed when he caught gastritis and was invalided out to a hospital in India and a convalescent home in Croydon. He was then commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 6th Battalion, the East Surrey Regiment, married Ethel Nicklen, and in January 1917, began the voyage via Sierra Leone and Cape Town to India. From India he sailed to Mesopotamia (now Iraq) in April 1918, advancing up the River Tigris, until he was wounded on 22 October 1918, '1 week before Turks Armistice' as he ruefully recalls. He was sent back to India, rejoining the 6th East Surreys in December 1918. After a bout of sandfly fever he sailed for home from Bombay in October 1919 and was demobilised on 12th November. As a record of his service, which, one imagines, took him to places he would otherwise never have dreamt of visiting, he put together two albums or scrapbooks, which have now been deposited with us by a descendant (SHC ref ESR/25/-). Alongside photographs of his companions and of the places in which he was stationed, he also pasted photographs, menus, telegrams and other ephemera, including paper flags on pins, given to donors to various good causes – 'Help Russia' and 'French Flag Day', for example. On one page a blue jay's feather is stuck, the colour still brilliant after over 90 years. After the note of his final demobilisation at the end of 1919, is a photograph of his baby daughter Joan whom he had just seen 'for first time aged 2 years, 7 months'.

Roberta Nora Shuttleworth (b.1896), whose papers were accessioned as SHC ref 8565, grew up in Yardley, Warwickshire, the daughter of a maltster, Joseph Robert Shuttleworth, and Fanny Sarah Shuttleworth (née Wade). Her father died in 1897. Her relationship with her mother was one of great closeness, described in a poem 'Lines written for my mother's birthday' as near to 'divine love'. She was educated at Cheltenham Ladies College and the Ecole Vinet, Lausanne. She gained a Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music Elocution Diploma and established herself as a verse speaker and speech trainer. Her mother had moved to 20 Litchfield Way, Onslow Village, Guildford, by 1935 and she appears to have lived there with her mother, and inherited the property on her mother's death in 1946. A companion Florence E Coker, known as Eva, referred to briefly in letters, resided with her until some time between October 1963 and October 1964 when they no longer occupied the Litchfield Way address.

During the 1940s and early 1950s Shuttleworth was writing poetry and lecturing and was an active member of the Poetry Society, organising meetings at the Guildford Centre and participating at other venues. In 1942 her only book of verse *In Many Moods* was published. Various poems were additionally published in magazines, including the 'Diamond Sonnets' published in the *Poetry Review* in 1947, which appears to have been among the best received of her work. Most of Shuttleworth's poetry is informed by her Christian convictions, although her most studied verse and writing on the art of poetry is notable for her interest in the material properties of objects and the phenomenon of light (her analyses of her

writing frequently refer to her interest in scientific advances which would enable heightened perceptions of the world, comparable to those achieved through poetry). Much of her writing was composed during and after the Second World War. Some expressed her hopes for a new world order based on Christian fellowship: in an unfinished statement on 'my politics', she wrote that it was 'clear from my poems. I believe that Britain's destiny in co-op with America is that of the servant Nation to bring the whole world under the just law of God as a commonwealth of Free Nations or a National Company of Nations under one King and law. I believe that to be the real issue of the war…the present crises are the result of the evil use of Free Will'. Of Germany she wrote 'perhaps the nearest approach to a world without poetry would be Nazi world where there could be no individuality no freedom of thought…'. She retained her hope in Britain's destiny in the post-war order, writing that the Festival of Britain in 1951 was, celebrating 'not the disruption of Empire but its enfranchisement as a great Brotherhood' and expressing her belief that 'in material poverty Britain may be reaching her finest hour spiritually'.

Surrey Depicted

It has been a significant year for additions to our already large holdings of images of the county, whether drawings, paintings or photographs. The father and son artists, John (1767–1825) and Edward Hassell (1811–1852), were, as is well-known, prolific watercolourists, the bulk of whose output was topographical views of Surrey and its buildings. We have an ongoing project, in conjunction with Surrey Record Society, to digitise paintings by the pair of which we hold several hundred. However we were delighted to take in watercolours of the south front of Ottershaw Park, Chertsey, painted by John Hassell in 1824 (SHC ref 8597) and a series of paintings of Horne parsonage and the interior and exterior of St Mary's church before restoration, painted between 1822 and 1825 (SHC ref 8596).

Thomas Allom (1804–1872) was a noted watercolourist and illustrator, architect and topographical draughtsman. His picturesque views of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire produced for Robert Walsh's book *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (1838) gained him considerable fame, but he also produced engraved illustrations for travel books on England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Austria and China. He was commissioned to produce the illustrations for Edward Wedlake Brayley's *A Topographical History of Surrey*, published in five volumes, 1841–1848, and we have purchased a set of drawings and preliminary rough drafts for a number of these illustrations (SHC ref 8582). Some are no more than sketches, but other drawings contain more detail and are inscribed with the location and occasionally a date on which the drawing was made. A number have had wash applied. At least two drawings are by other artists and do not appear in Brayley's work: a view of the interior of Dorking church, signed T R Thompson, and an Italianate barn in Putney, signed 'ARW'.

Two accessions have also added to our extensive collection of postcards of the county. In April 2009, Cliff Webb very kindly donated to us his own collection of

nearly 6000 postcards of Surrey views, which he had built up over a number of years (SHC ref 8511). Although, inevitably, there was some overlap with the cards we already held, there was a remarkable number of new images which we are now cataloguing. The following month we also purchased a set of glass plate negatives and other photographs of Kingswood by Alfred Varney (SHC ref 8516). Varney opened a confectioner's shop in the Brighton Road, Lower Kingswood, in 1922 and in the same year took over as sub-postmaster, a position he held until 1945. His shop was famous for the ice cream he produced but he also took local views to be made into postcards and sold in the shop. Among the images are views of the Brighton Road (A217) before it became a dual carriageway.

Also accessioned in 2009, was a set of glass slides, chiefly of Godalming and its environs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (SHC ref 8550). Many of the slides clearly formed part of the Photographic Survey and Record of Surrey but appear to have been extracted and assembled to illustrate a lecture or series of lectures. Some include the name of the photographer but most are anonymous and they include among them some delightful local scenes such as Farncombe Band at Sun Corner on Peace Sunday at the end of the Boer War and an unimpressed woman on a river launch at Molesey (figure 6). A proportion of the slides have been beautifully hand coloured, giving them great immediacy, and these are often of less obvious views: a series showing dustbin men and road menders in Croft Road, Godalming, in the 1930s is particularly memorable.

Figure 6 A launch on the Thames at Molesey, thought to be early 20th century (SHC ref 8550/29)

PUBLICATIONS

The former 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:

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

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

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 were published for the Surrey Local History Council by Phillimore & Co. Ltd. They are available from the Surrey History Centre, 130 Goldsworth Road, Woking, GU21 1ND. Tel: 01483 518740. Members of the Society are invited to obtain their copies from the Hon. Secretary, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454. A Registered Charity No. 272098.

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