

SURREY HISTORY



VOLUME XIII

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SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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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 Symposium on a local history theme and a half-day meeting on a more specialised subject. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time. See below for publications enquires.

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.

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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 HISTORY VOLUME XIII (2014)

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Front cover illustration: 26 High Street Ewell (see page 11)

Back cover illustration: 'The March of the Women' by Ethel Smyth (see page 58)

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JUST ENOUGH: PETTY CRIME AT QUARTER SESSIONS IN THREE SURREY PARISHES, 1780–1820

Jeremy Harte

When it comes to crime, does human nature ever change? Two centuries ago, the calendar of Epsom and Ewell offences contained much that could come from yesterday's paper. Mary Wilson went shoplifting in 1782 and was caught with a pair of green leather shoes. John Constable was in court for stealing the lead off the roof of Mr. MacDowel's house in 1792. And in 1804 William Hunt interrupted a service at St. Martin's by turning up drunk and had to be thrown out. *Plus ça change*, you might think.

But however familiar their offences might seem, these people were operating in a world very different from our own. It is not just that poverty existed in Napoleonic Surrey on a scale which we can hardly imagine. The unequal distribution of such property as there was moulded a society sharply graded by rank and wealth. In the absence of a police force, an independent legal service, or any kind of democracy, it was law that validated the authority held over the rest of the population by the minority who held property and power. This was a quite explicit ideology, heard without demur at Assize Sermons and charges to the Grand Jury. Local historians can take these formal promulgations for granted; the question is, how did it work out in practice?

The recent publication by the Surrey History Trust of abstracts from Quarter Sessions makes it possible for these questions of crime to be considered statistically rather than impressionistically.¹ To take one area as a sample, from 1780 to 1819 inclusive there were 235 occasions on which individuals were charged with a crime in the three contiguous parishes of Epsom, Ewell and Cuddington. The total number of charges enrolled in the court was a little higher than that, since one person might be presented twice for the same offence, but that was simply a legal device intended to make sure that one indictment stuck if another failed. And as far as law enforcement was concerned, this figure of 235 charges may over-represent wrongdoing, as it covers several occasions on which more than one person was involved in what was effectively the same crime – when two men went poaching together, or when a whole street set about the hapless village constable. If you were to count each of these occasions as a single offence, then the total would be smaller, with about 194 crimes. But adding up the number of charges is the easiest way to follow the consequences of crime, and so the calculations that follow will be based on that figure.

Epsom was the largest of the three parishes, and most of the offenders come from there: it is represented by 147 charges, as against 80 for Ewell. Cuddington

only accounted for 8. The proportions are pretty much what you would expect, given that Epsom was about twice the size of Ewell in population as well as acreage; in the 1801 census, it had 2404 inhabitants, and Ewell 1112.

Of the three parishes, Cuddington was effectively a non-place. Consisting of two gentleman's estates (Nonsuch and Worcester Parks) it was little more than a satellite of Ewell, its neighbour. Ewell itself had lost some of the pre-eminence that had marked it out in the Tudor period, when it hosted the regional market and fairs. It was an agricultural parish without a resident Lord of the Manor, in which most communal decisions were made by a caucus of local farmers. In Epsom, by contrast, civic life depended largely on the local gentry who had moved into the large houses built during the prosperous years of the Spa, from about 1680 to 1720. For the rest of the eighteenth century, it remained a village with some distinguished residents and a few crumbling public buildings left over from its days of grandeur. It was not until the 1820s that a group of enthusiasts nudged it into becoming a town.

The differences between levels of crime in the three settlements are therefore roughly what you would expect. It's when we look at the incidence of offences over time that the surprises begin. Crime – or, to put it more carefully, *recorded* crime – rose and fell dramatically as the years went by. Here are the totals of people charged over five-year periods:

1780–4	52
1785–9	56
1790–4	31
1795–9	11
1800–4	28
1805–9	21
1810–4	8
1815–9	28

If we can trust the records of Quarter Sessions, this means that local crime in the late 1780s was five times worse than it would be a decade later, and seven times worse than it would be in the early 1810s. And even this statistical drop disguises long periods in which nothing happened at all. From Easter 1794 to Easter 1796 – over nine successive meetings of the justices, covering a period of 2 years 3 months – there were no charges from this area at Quarter Sessions; during this period, if we can trust the legal evidence, Epsom and Ewell were crime-free societies. Later on, from Midsummer 1813 to Michaelmas 1814, there was another lengthy period of 1 year 6 months with no recorded crimes.

What could have been happening to cause such fluctuations in crime? The years 1780–1819 were certainly a dramatic period in English history. Between 1793 and 1815 (with a short break in 1802–3) Great Britain was at war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The outbreak of war should, in theory, have diminished the incidence of crime; young men are the social group most

likely to carry out violent and anti-social acts, but in years of war they are marched away to commit violence on each other instead of their neighbours. In contrast the return of peace, especially in a society which like eighteenth-century England made no provisions for demobilisation, would see the highways crowded with the same young men, now jobless, disillusioned, and trained in the use of firearms. That was certainly when contemporaries expected crime to go up again.²

Of course there were other motivations for crime, including the oldest one of all – hunger. Harvests failed in 1782–4, 1795–6, and 1800–1. In the last of these, dearth was combined with inflation as prices rocketed to an extent never known before. The social and economic structure of the country was robust enough to prevent starvation, but many people were made destitute. And that in itself must have been a powerful incentive to turn to crime.

Speculations like this do, to some extent, find support in the quinquennial figures for Epsom and Ewell crime. These certainly show higher levels of crime in the early 1780s – hungry years following demobilisation from the American war in 1782. There is a sharp drop in crime at the outbreak of war with the French, then a rise corresponding with the crisis of 1800–1 followed by a drop which comes to an end with Waterloo and the return of the disbanded soldiery.³

But these correlations, so evident on the national or county scale, become elusive as we descend to individual cases.⁴ It is not easy for the local historian to cite personal accounts in which hard times can be seen leading to a crime. Military discipline did not keep Thomas Holland, a sergeant in the 91st Regiment of Foot, or his companion-in-arms James MacDougal from mugging a lodger at the Bulls Head and taking his watch and shoe-buckles. Destitution seems inadequate to explain why John Beer should have turned on his mother-in-law in 1810, followed by an attack on his wife Sarah which in the opinion of two surgeons left her ‘not free from danger of her life’; and neither hunger or destitution provides an easy answer to why Sarah Bignell should have opened her master’s shop till during the summer of 1788 and removed two pairs of worsted stockings, two half crown pieces, and several yards of thread lace, handing her accomplice half a pound of tobacco and a tin kettle worth tenpence. Crimes of theft and violence, which in the aggregate seem to invite a social interpretation, give way on closer inspection to the irreducible complexity of the local.

And much of what came before Quarter Sessions was not crime as we would understand it. In the eighteenth century it was still routine to use actions at law for matters which would later fall into the province of local government, social services or the police. Jem Belcher and Tom Crib were both presented in February 1809 for ‘conspiracy’, but all they had conspired to do was fight a bare-knuckle match on Epsom Downs. The match had been widely advertised, and it was only after it had taken place that the two protagonists were charged with breaking the peace – although in the event the only thing broken was Belcher’s pride, together with most of his face, as his intended comeback match turned into a trouncing.⁵



Figure 1 The Bulls Head in a watercolour by F. Tyler Smith after the original by John Hassell, 1825 (SHC ref 6832/6/16/4)

Appearances at Quarter Sessions, like the more solemn trials at the Assizes, were an occasion to set down what was and was not allowed in society – a theatre of justice. The cases which came before the court might be more or less, depending on the incidence of crime, but the need for a public display of justice remained the same. And so magistrates and justices had a rough idea of people who ought to be convicted and punished at each sessions; not too many, and not too few. The system of discretionary justice, in which some but not all verdicts were overturned by carefully measured mercy, kept this expectation in step with the actual number of prosecutions.

Then there were the crimes of omission as well as commission. Robert Dring, a shopkeeper by profession and apparently Epsom's constable by rota, was charged with not keeping a prisoner securely on his premises. Another shopkeeper, James Puttock, followed him at the sessions of midsummer 1789 for selling sugar on a Sunday. These were isolated charges but there were other issues to which the courts devoted much more time, such as the getting of

illegitimate babies. The failure of Thomas Hatfield, James Shephard and Luke James to do the decent thing and marry the pregnant Martha Harris, Susanah Snell and Arabella Hogar might, at a pinch, be thought to tell us something about crisis in the 1780s but even if economic stringency had influenced their decision not to become husbands and fathers, it was mediated through some very personal circumstances.

But if crime resulted from such incalculable factors, why did it show such marked fluctuations from year to year? The answers may lie, not in the incidence of actual offences, but in the social pathways through which they came to court. Until regular police forces were established – they began, as far as rural Surrey was concerned, with the inauguration of the Bow Street Horse Patrols in 1805 – the driving force behind law enforcement was not the state, but the individual. The prosecutor of a crime, who was usually the victim as well, needed to take their case before a magistrate, build up a body of evidence, and appear at sessions as a witness. None of this was free. A warrant cost 1s, and a bill of indictment 2s; witness expenses were 1s each. And to actual court fees must be added the opportunity costs involved in pressing a case – the day's walk to Kingston or Guildford or Reigate, and the time lost to employment or business while the prosecutor was away.⁶

All this might suggest that law was a rich man's business, but this was not the case. When James Foster had his shoes stolen in 1801, he took Elijah Oram to court, which found him guilty. Foster was a bricklayer, and the action probably cost him more than a new pair of shoes, but he wanted justice. Ann Elsey was a servant at the Goldsmith's farm in Ewell, but when she found her handkerchief missing from the wash, she had James Scott prosecuted for it. Neither William Harris and Thomas Spong can have been well-off, as they were fellow-lodgers at a house in Epsom. Harris took a coat, shirt, neckcloth, stockings, and handkerchief belonging to Spong, which he turned out to have hidden at his mother's house in Chessington. This discovery – Spong must have organised the house search, because no-one else had any motive for it – was enough to get Harris two weeks in jail.

The motivation that sent Foster and Elsey and Spong on their long trek through the courts was not just loss, but outrage. When the machinery of the law was invoked, it might be for seemingly petty reasons (there were four other occasions when nothing was taken but a handkerchief) but the response elicited by these thefts suggests that they were probably the latest in a series of petty depredations, and had finally convinced the neighbourhood that local and informal sanctions would not be enough to keep the offender's fingers off other people's goods.

So prosecutors may have felt that they were embodying the opinion of the community. Certainly they could not act on their own. To bring a case against someone, they had to get them committed by a magistrate, and this was another inbuilt constraint of the system, for magistrates were not always easy to find. About half of the committals at Quarter Sessions, mostly those for theft, are

attributed, and over the 40 years of the sample these name 19 magistrates. But that gives a misleading impression. Of those named, 8 were responsible for only one committal, 2 for two each, 3 for three, and 2 for four. Even this underestimates their level of commitment, because magistrates might team up to deal with an offender jointly, so that some of them never had sole responsibility for the legal process. Meanwhile the real enforcement of the law between 1780 and 1819, 80% of the attributed cases, was being handled by only four men: by Sir George Glyn in Ewell, and by Joseph Shaw, William Northey and the Revd. Martin Madan in Epsom.

The work of a magistrate, on which the whole edifice of eighteenth-century law came to rest, was essentially voluntary. And so, as often happens among volunteers, a disproportionate amount of the burden was being carried by a few committed individuals. The workload was not overwhelming – even factoring in the committals for which no magistrate is named, the busiest men cannot have been tackling more than 2 to 5 cases a year – but it was accompanied by other responsibilities in summary cases, Petty Sessions and work for the parish vestry.⁷

Motivation for acting as a magistrate came from a mixture of social position and personal history. William Northey II (to give him his place in the family tree) was a major landowner as well as being the grandson of an Attorney General, while Joseph Shaw came from what was almost a legal dynasty. Joseph Shaw I had published *The Practical Justice of the Peace* in 1728, around the time that he settled in Epsom. He died five years later, but the book was reissued five times in the life of his son Joseph II (died 1760), while our Joseph oversaw the seventh, eighth and ninth editions while he was a barrister at the Temple.

Martin Madan, on becoming a Methodist minister, had distinguished himself with proposals for social reform and at the outset of the 40-year sample he had just arrived in Epsom, keen to make a practical impact in his new home. In 1785 he published *Thoughts on Executive Justice, with Respect to our Criminal Laws*, advocating a zero-tolerance policy. All crimes should meet their statutory punishments, with none of the discretionary sentencing, fudged charges and verdicts, and pleas for mercy which made the system workable in practice. Madan had tried out his ideas at Epsom once, at the 1781 Derby, when he had ten of the more prominent inhabitants of the town charged for hosting illicit gamblers. The near-riot that ensued persuaded him to climb down from his doctrinaire position, and in the years that followed he took a more mainstream approach.⁸ Madan's social status insulated him from the kind of action which was taken against working-class Methodists, but there is little doubt that he was heartily disliked. The plural quality of politics in Epsom – a town with so many resident gentry that one could be enlisted to support almost any position – meant that groups like the local Vestry were able to circumvent his plans for social control without direct confrontation.

Meanwhile in the neighbouring village, Sir George Glyn was the nearest thing Ewell had to a squire – someone who took on a magistrate's work because it was part of the duties of his position as a landowner. His interpretation of the



Figure 2 Martin Madan from the engraving by Thomas Kitchin, c.1750

role seems to have been idiosyncratic, however, at least when we compare his activities to those of his colleagues. While the actions recorded for particular magistrates do not represent total figures for crime – there were many classes of offence for which the magistrate’s name was not recorded – the committals which are attributed to individuals present a fairly consistent pattern, with about 60% of them for property crime, 20% for violence, 10% for family offences and another 10% for the management of poverty, which meant principally vagrancy with a few cases of workhouse discipline. Things were different for Sir George Glyn. He devoted most of his magisterial duties to vagrants, who took up 56% of his time and left only 23% for property offences and 9% for crimes of violence. The campaign had reached a point of absurdity by 1787, when Joseph Cuswell was apprehended for ‘juggling and playing with cups and balls, and belt, &c. and imposing upon his Majesty’s subjects’. It is unlikely that Ewell was threatened with swarms of the juggling homeless when they caused no concern in Epsom, two miles down the road; more probable that Sir George, for personal reasons, had decided to conduct a one-man crusade against a problem to which others were indifferent.

In this way a system which depended on the enthusiasm of the few guaranteed inconsistencies in the policy they enforced. At the parish level it doesn’t seem possible to pursue a thorough-going statistical analysis of the different

kinds of crime – violence, theft, regulation and so on – which has been so profitable in discussions of counties or regions; there are different allocations of these in different communities, but they don't represent the propensities of local criminals so much as the prejudices of local magistrates.

There were also problems in ensuring continuity. Magistracy was something that men took up after reaching an established position, when they were sober, respectable – and getting older. Madan died in 1790, Shaw in 1805, and Northey in 1808. This meant that Epsom, which had been served by three committed magistrates in the ten years from 1780 to 1789, had only two in the fifteen years 1790 to 1804, and then a single one for part of the five-year period 1805–9. And referring back to the quinquennial figures for crime, what do we find? That they are highest in the 1780s, fall off in the next decade, and shrink rapidly after 1810. Crime, as we meet with it in the records, may reflect the presence of magistrates as much as that of villains.

It's true that at a higher level of analysis, the details of crime did compose a more recognisable social pattern. Offences tried at the Assizes, carrying as they did the threat of capital punishment, must have entailed a bit more thought from the most feckless criminal; and yes, it turns out that overall in Surrey, Assize offences were more likely than those at Quarter Sessions to fall in good times and rise in bad.⁹ There are as yet no transcripts of cases from Epsom or Ewell which appeared before the Assizes between 1780 and 1820, but by extrapolation from the county total, they would have been low, with about 10 people sentenced to capital punishment, and 3 of them actually executed. Thus even if these figures were available to be factored into a statistical analysis of crime, they would be unlikely to make much difference to the results, although given the seriousness of anything taken before the Assizes, they might increase the proportion of reported violent crimes. Similarly, the provision of working magistrates must have been more equal over the whole of Surrey than it appears at the most local level. The law, though essentially a voluntary business, was never left with no-one to enforce it, because men would always sign up to enforce the values of their class and colleagues.

So it seems that there are patterns to crime; it's just that the view from parish level is too fine-grained to show them. But if the parish does not produce clear evidence for meaningful fluctuations in the crime rate, then what about ideology? Does the densely woven world of the local tell us more than general statistics ever will about the way that the rich mobilised their command of law to govern the indigent? Well, yes and no.

If, as a radical critique would suggest, the propertied classes had taken control of the law to enforce their hegemony over society, they didn't make a very good job of it.¹⁰ To start with, the majority of those who appeared before Quarter Sessions were not sentenced at all. Leaving aside a handful of indictments only described by the general terms 'felony' and 'misdemeanour', and a few trials for which the outcome is unknown, we have 220 charges from Epsom and Ewell for identifiable crimes where the judicial outcome is known. Out of

these 134, or 61% of the total, fizzled out in some way: there were 55 acquittals, 31 discharges, 29 rejections of the indictment and 8 legal objections to the case, along with 11 vagrants who were 'passed to their settlement' which meant in practice being turned back out on the road.

So as well as the long periods with no reported crime, we should make allowance for those when suspicions of crime ended with a failure to stand up in court. For instance, there is a gap of 3 years 9 months (from Midsummer 1812 to Epiphany 1816) when there are no recorded convictions. Not that this was necessarily satisfactory from the viewpoint of the accused. They had little chance of bail; if you were bound over when one meeting of Sessions had just finished, you could spend up to ten weeks in the county jail at Southwark while you waited for the next. Many prosecutors must have allowed for this effect, so that once the frighteners had been put on the person they mistrusted, they could withdraw their charge, leaving the accused to be discharged by proclamation.

Of those who came to court, 26, or 12% of the total, were punished by some kind of fine, or money to be given as a recognisance, or a wait in prison while sureties were found. The median figure for fines was 6s 8d although a few examples went much higher. John Willoughby was fined £20 for an assault on Hannah Morris in 1816; John Beer was fined £70 on two counts for putting his wife in threat of her life. Since both men were labourers, they had no chance of actually paying the fines, which seem to have been intended as a constructive way of getting them behind bars where they couldn't do any more harm to their loved ones.

31 people, 14% of the total, were sentenced to a whipping, or a brief term in prison, or both. The shortest term of imprisonment in this group was a week, the longest (and commonest) a month; one individual had his month in jail followed by a whipping there, and two faced a more humiliating public punishment. This was vindictive stuff, as the wording of the sentence indicated: in 1788 John Drewett was sentenced, after 6 months' imprisonment, 'to be publicly whipt at the carts tail til his back is bloody round the market place at Kingston and then discharged'. Drewett had betrayed his master's interest; he was a waggoner who had been persuaded to lose part of his load at the shop of William Carter. Evidently Carter was the mastermind, and he was sentenced to transportation for 14 years, the highest figure handed down by Quarter Sessions, and a term which in practice was longer than most of today's life sentences. Over 40 years, Quarter Sessions passed a sentence of imprisonment on 29 people, which is 13% of those who came before the court. 17 of them were imprisoned for between two and six months, with public whipping as well in five cases. 5 were imprisoned for a year, 1 for two years. There were 5 other transportations as well as that of Carter, all of them for seven years.

These, the most serious sentences, were always awarded for offences against property, which accounted for 42% of the total. Almost all of them were theft (77 charges) although there were also committals for fraud, breaches of the game laws, receiving stolen goods, and passing false coin. And some of these certainly

confirm the radical suspicion that the laws protecting property were there to hedge the property of rich men. In 1804 James Turner stole some firewood, property of Thomas Jeudwine esq. of the Old Warren, although the prosecution was abandoned. Seven years later Jacob Smith was collared by the bailiff of Luke Foreman for taking one wooden post and four rails, and he got two weeks' hard labour. But it was not the complaints of bailiffs that kept Quarter Sessions busy. The most typical thefts were those in which a servant or labourer filched goods of little value from their neighbours or from the shops and small businesses of their masters. If there was any legislation which was specifically class-based, it was the game laws, since rights in game were confined to freeholders with a property qualification of £100 p.a.¹¹ Three men went poaching together in 1793, and a further two in 1818, all in Epsom. The sentence in each case was three months, which was steep by the standards of other property offences; but the rarity of prosecutions suggests that Epsom was not in a state of permanent warfare over the lives of rabbits and hares.

There is no doubt that the main business of the law was the protection of property. Crimes of violence ranked a distant second in the priorities of the court, accounting for 28% of cases; they were predominantly assault (55 charges), with some cases of riot and domestic violence. Sentences could be up to 2 years' imprisonment, but the court was reluctant to award these, so that a custodial sentence was twice as likely for theft as for assault. No rioters were sentenced, but then riot was a catch-all term for anything that caused trouble in public. William Davis and James Edwards were 'rioting' in 1816 when they led the annual Shrove Tuesday football game in the streets of Ewell, breaking the windows of James Reeves. As Reeves ran the bakery at 26 High Street, looking onto the crossroads of the village, he was particularly liable to damage and seems to have been using the law as an instrument to persuade the village lads to be more careful.¹²

When it came to social control, people expected different courts to have different functions. The Assizes were not just a higher court than Quarter Sessions; they had a different part to play in society. In trials of felonies punishable by death, the aim was to purge the community of people who could be sent to eternity or Australia or some other distant location. By contrast, Quarter Sessions dealt with misdemeanours: disputes which, by and large, would end with the prosecutor and chastened defendant continuing to live as neighbours. This is a difference of kind, not just of ranking; perhaps we should be looking at misdemeanours as a category in themselves, and not just an arbitrary subdivision of 'crime'.

Certainly the people who came before Quarter Sessions were a cross-section of the local community, not members of a dedicated criminal underclass. Over the forty-year period, 91% of indictments relate to individuals who only appeared once before the court; that was 195 people, as against the 18 who appeared twice. The only character to be charged repeatedly was Joseph Prosser, and he seems to have been more of a social welfare case than a recidivist. In 1806 he is behaving



Figure 3 26 High Street Ewell, detail from a watercolour by Alice Taylor, c.1885 (SHC ref 6832/6/16/4)

riotously; next year, an assault; another one the year after that, accompanied by a note from the surgeon Edmund Pitts Gapper that he was absolutely insane and that it was a danger to the public leaving him at large. Ewell Vestry solved the problem in the traditional way by deciding he belonged to another parish, but in 1810 he'd wandered back again, so this time they had him charged with vagrancy.

Full-time vagrants were as near as the region came to professional breakers of the law, but in the very mixed bag of people apprehended by Sir George Glyn, it is difficult to tell who was a permanent nomad, and who was simply on the tramp looking for employment. Gypsies are not as frequent as you might expect, although Major and Hannah Eyres were committed in 1786 (Major is a family name among the Ayres) and the previous year had seen the scooping up of Hannah Scamp with her five children, along with Tabitha Clarke and her

family of four. It seems unlikely that either woman really was a single mother; more likely their menfolk made themselves scarce, having no great faith in the justice of the settled community.

The list of vagrants includes at least one Irish Traveller, Connor O'Hara in 1788. The same year saw the apprehension of Anthony Ferara with three others on the tramp, but it is not clear if he really was an Italian or whether he gave the name of the famous swordsmith as an alias. The nationality of Zulack Alonza, a labourer charged with theft in 1780, is not obvious; there is less doubt about Fergus McGlockling, convicted of the theft of a blue coat in 1792 and transported for seven years. This was a comparatively harsh sentence which may have been due to his being Irish and so lacking the community support which usually guaranteed a mitigated sentence.¹³

The late eighteenth century saw turnpike roads established through Ewell and Epsom, and the first runs of stagecoaches on the London-Brighton route. Whether this made any difference to the number of foot-passengers is not clear; certainly Epsom did not prosecute more vagrants than other Surrey parishes of a similar size. It was in the urban periphery around Southwark that vagrancy continued to be a real problem. Epsom and Ewell were both affected in this period by the growth of London – with tenants taking on new country villas, and tradesmen opening new shops to serve them – but the social structure of the two settlements remained traditional. There was no mass of urban poor, and the crime pattern was that of rural Surrey, not of Lambeth or Camberwell.¹⁴

Of those who appeared before the court, 169 were men and 45 were women. From the occasions where marital status is given for the women, it appears that about half were single (mostly spinsters) and half were married. Of the men, 67% feature as labourer, although this is simply the court's shorthand for 'working-class male'; even Belcher and Crib counted as labourers, although in fact each of them was making a good living running a pub with a sideline in teaching gentlemen how to use their fists.

A further 29% of those who came before Quarter Sessions were in trade. There was one case each of a blacksmith, miller, corn chandler, glazier, saddler, breeches-maker, linendraper, staymaker, tailor and pastrycook (the last being Mary Plummer, the only woman to be identified by her trade). The trades of shopkeeper, bricklayer, cordwainer and perukemaker were represented each by two men; yeomen, carpenters and gardeners accounted for three men each; and twelve suspects were victuallers and innkeepers. This distribution of occupations seems to be what you would expect from a random sample of the trades in Epsom and Ewell, with the exception of the victuallers. Clearly if there was anything criminal going on, there would be a pub where the landlord knew all about it. Two of the charges made against them were for receiving goods and two for keeping a disorderly house; a further five were for assault, which most likely meant violence against a potential informer. When the victualler John Dodd assaulted Joseph Reynolds and John Scott in 1788, it was because they were Officers of Excise.



Figure 4 Thomas Whateley (Bourne Hall Museum)

That leaves a final 4% of those indicted before Quarter Sessions, the gentlemen. Five of them, including the Revd. Joseph Whately of Nonsuch Park, were accused of assault. Not surprisingly, they all got off by one means or another, except Thomas Jeudwine (he of the jealously protected woodpile) who was fined a shilling. The sixth gentleman to be indicted was Joseph Shaw, the magistrate and mainstay of the law in Epsom, who was nevertheless presented on two counts of leaving rubbish in the highway.

That went some way to support the view, frequently made during after-dinner speeches in praise of English justice, that no-one was exempt from the law. Of course at one level this was hypocrisy. Gentlemen might be indicted for assault, but they were at no risk of being banged up in consequence for twelve months with the ordinary offenders. Nevertheless, the popular legitimacy of the law as administered in Quarter Sessions rested on the common perception that it applied to everyone, that it was fair, and behind the intricate rules of its discretionary sentencing, there was a clear moral foundation.

Epsom and Ewell do not necessarily represent England. The two parishes had a small-town market and a large gentry population in need of services, which must have mitigated the worst effects of unemployment. Captain Swing found no recruits here, and the Napoleonic crisis was less traumatic than it was for the London masses. While our communities enjoyed or tolerated gentry rule, fifteen

miles away William Blake was blistering the page with his denunciations of the system:

‘Every house a den, every man bound; the shadows are fill’d
With spectres, and the windows wove over with curses of iron:
Over the doors Thou shalt not; and over the chimneys Fear is written:
With bands of iron round their necks fasten’d into the walls
The citizens: in leaden gyves the inhabitants of suburbs
Walk heavy; soft and bent are the bones of villagers’.¹⁵

Meanwhile Epsom and Ewell continued to support the existing functional, hierarchical social order, without any visible effects on men’s souls. Rich and poor might be unequal but they were not in dispute over the principles of moral order. The cases which most often resulted in a heavy sentence were those thefts which had involved a breach of faith – whether between servant and master, labourer and landowner, or simply one tenant in poky lodgings and the occupant of the room next door. Prosecutors, who were often themselves poor men, were driven by outrage at the breaking of a bond of trust. In a society divided by rank, that trust was often something expected by the rich from those who served them. But the old-style justice of the magistrates was not just something invented to maintain an unequal society. Instead the structures of society, unequal as they were, were pressed into action as the best way to enforce the common, ethically accepted values of the law.

NOTES

1. Surrey History Trust, *Surrey Quarter Sessions 1780–1820: Name Index and Hearings Transcripts*. Issued as a CD, 2011.
2. Lawrence Stone, ed, *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (Routledge, 1994) p 109.
3. John Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660–1800* (Clarendon, Oxford, 1986) weighs the correlation of property crime at the Surrey Assizes with food prices (pp 202–12) and the aftermath of war (pp 213–35).
4. John Beattie, *Crime and the courts in Surrey 1736–1753*, pp 155–86 of James Cockburn, ed, *Crime in England 1550–1800* (Methuen, London, 1977) shows a clear connection between crime and social crises such as harvest failure (pp 158–61) but then goes on to discuss many factors – among them bills ‘not found’, character references, and partial verdicts – which break the causal chain between want, theft, prosecution and conviction.
5. Louis Golding, *The Bareknuckle Breed* (Hutchinson, 1952).
6. The costs of prosecution are discussed by Beattie, *Crime and the Courts* pp 41–6.
7. The minute book of the magistrates meeting from 1784 to 1793 at the Coffee House in Epsom (later the Albion) covers parish administration, alehouse licensing sessions, breaches of excise regulations, the collection of returns under Acts of Parliament and the receipt of petitions, as well as theft and assault: SHC: PS2/1/1.
8. The events of 1781 are described in *Epsom & Ewell Local & Family History Centre Newsletter* 31 (2012) pp 1–2.
9. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts* pp 235–7.
10. For opposing positions on the radical critique, see Douglas Hay *et al*, *Albion’s Fatal Tree* (Allen Lane, 1976) and John Langbein, ‘Albion’s fatal flaws’, *Past & Present* 98 (1983) pp 96–120.

11. Brian Harvey, Franklin Meisel, and Peter Cook, eds, *Property and Protection: Legal Rights and Restrictions* (Hart, 2000) p 112.
12. Reeves' occupancy is recorded in the Millennium Survey of the Epsom & Ewell History & Archaeology Society, <http://www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/MillenniumProject.pdf>. Other references to street football are given by Matthew Alexander in 'Shrove Tuesday football', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 77 (1986) pp 197–205.
13. McGlockling was transported to New South Wales on the Royal Admiral, 1st May 1792: <http://conviz.info/home/about>.
14. Beattie, *Crime and the courts* p 159 records much more dramatic fluctuations in the crime rate of urban Surrey, presumably because the cushioning effects of parish responsibility and patronage were absent there.
15. Quoted in David Erdman, *Blake, Prophet against Empire* (Courier Dover, 1977) p 221.

THE HISTORY OF A SURREY SMALLHOLDING NORMANDY HILL FARM AND QUINTA COTTAGE, NORMANDY

John Squier

Introduction

Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage are two unremarkable residential properties hidden away at the end of a cul-de-sac on Normandy Common, five miles west of Guildford. Nevertheless, their history can be traced back nearly 400 years through manorial documents and other sources. In this article their current names are used throughout for ease of reference, even though these only came into use in the 1920s.

Early History

The properties were probably originally enclosed from the ‘waste’ or common land of the manor of Cleygate in two stages in the early 17th century when the area was known as Normandy Green. The manor of Cleygate encompassed most of the modern parish of Normandy as well as parts of Wood Street and Ash. One of the main routes through the area, described as the ‘King’s way from Guildford to Frimley’, followed the course of the present-day footpath from the Scout’s hut across the ford past Normandy Pond and directly in front of the properties.

The first enclosure was described in the manorial records as a copyhold barn and parcel of 7 rods of land to the same at Normandy Green, annual rent 4d, heriot 1s, fine 1s (payable to the lord of the manor when the property changed hands, either by sale or inheritance). The earliest reference to this piece of land is in the manorial court of 24 October 1664 conducted by Richard Symes, steward for George Woodroffe, lord of the manor, when the property was inherited by Robert Mitchener senior¹ (see Figure 1). In the 1664 hearth tax Robert Mitchener had one hearth, but it was not chargeable. In September 1681 Robert Mitchener sold the property to Henry Clifton, gentleman of Worplesdon, then in November 1682 Clifton sold it along with another property in Flexford, for £63 to Henry Peytoe, a yeoman of Haldash, Wonersh. Early in 1688 Peytoe sold it to Richard Lee, gentleman of Sutton juxta Woking then on 1 May 1688 Lee sold it to John Westbrook and Ann his wife. In 1716 John Westbrook died and was buried at the Friends’ (Quaker) burying ground in Worplesdon and bequeathed the property to his wife for her life then to his son John. In 1723 Ann Westbrook died and was buried in the Friends’ burying ground and it descended to their son and heir John Westbrook, a shoemaker of Ash.



Figure 1 Extract from manor of Cleygate court book for the court of 24 October 1664, where Robert Mitchener was granted the tenancy of the barn and parcel of land at Normandy Green. (The National Archive ref: TS19/25 sheet 22.)



Figure 2 Changes to the buildings. The detail from a c.1904 postcard on the left (Normandy Historians (NH) ref: P121) shows a triangular area of recent brickwork above the Quinta Cottage first-floor window, possibly indicating the position of a former grain hoist. The doorway in the end elevation is bricked up and has been replaced by a door in the near end of the front elevation. The photograph c.1916 on the right (NH ref: P46) shows that the doorway in the front elevation has now been converted to a window, and the gateway into the garden has been moved from the former position adjacent to the house to a new gate some way along the wall. The upper part of the end (west) elevation has been tile-hung. The Normandy Hill Farm farmhouse can be seen to the left and right behind Quinta Cottage.

Meanwhile the other enclosure was first described in the Cleygate manorial records in 1692 as copyhold 5 rods of ground enclosed from the waste at Normandy Green near a cottage of Robert Bicknell on the south, near copyhold land of Edward Jewer on the north and near copyhold land of John Westbrook, rent 1s, heriot 5s, fine 5s, for a release 1s. At the court of 8 April 1692 Robert Bicknell or Bignold was admitted as tenant.² By 1700 Robert Bicknell died and it descended to his son Robert, then in 1736 or 37 Robert Bicknell of Inner Temple, London, died and it descended in turn to his eldest son Robert Bicknell. On 15 August 1740 Robert Bicknell sold it to John Westbrook and the two copyhold properties were united. The two pieces of land, 12 rods (actually roods) in total, are 3 acres in size, or about 120 by 120 yards.

By 1768 John Westbrook owned an 18-acre farm made up of several separate plots scattered around Normandy Green, known as Westbrook's Farm and subsequently Pink's Farm.

The buildings

The holding's farmhouse was the building at Normandy Hill Farm which had originally been built around 1600 as an open hall house³ and by 1768 the farmyard outbuildings included the Quinta Cottage building which appears to be shown on Rocque's map of Surrey. The oldest part of Quinta Cottage, nearest to the lane, may originally have been a grain store over a cart shed. There is evidence of two earlier doors in it, now bricked up, and there was a first floor window on the north side apparently filled prior to the addition of the chimney stack, perhaps when the building was converted to a dwelling, possibly early in the 19th Century.⁴ An early photograph appears to show a newly-bricked up triangular area above the first-floor window on the west side over the lane, which might possibly have held a hoist for grain bags⁵ (see Figure 2).

The 1870 25-inch Ordnance Survey (O.S.) map (see Figure 3 below) appears to show only the oldest (red-brick) part of Quinta Cottage, plus an extension to the Normandy Hill Farm side which is now gone. Between 1870 and 1895 the first extension to Quinta Cottage was built of yellow (London) stock brickwork (this is now the middle section with the front door) and the outbuildings in the Quinta Cottage grounds disappeared. There is no separation between the grounds of the two properties shown on the maps.

The earliest O.S. map (below) also shows some separate outbuildings on the common the other side of the path, exactly opposite the entrance to Normandy Hill farmyard. By the 1895 survey they had disappeared but in an estate sale of 1895 they were still included with the property and described as 'a detached site of former erections on the common'. Today there is no sign of them and they do not seem to be part of the property any more.

The earliest photographs of the properties in the first decade of the 20th century show that the end door in the western elevation of Quinta Cottage is bricked up but there are two doors in the south elevation, one of which has long since been converted to a window and the other forms the present front

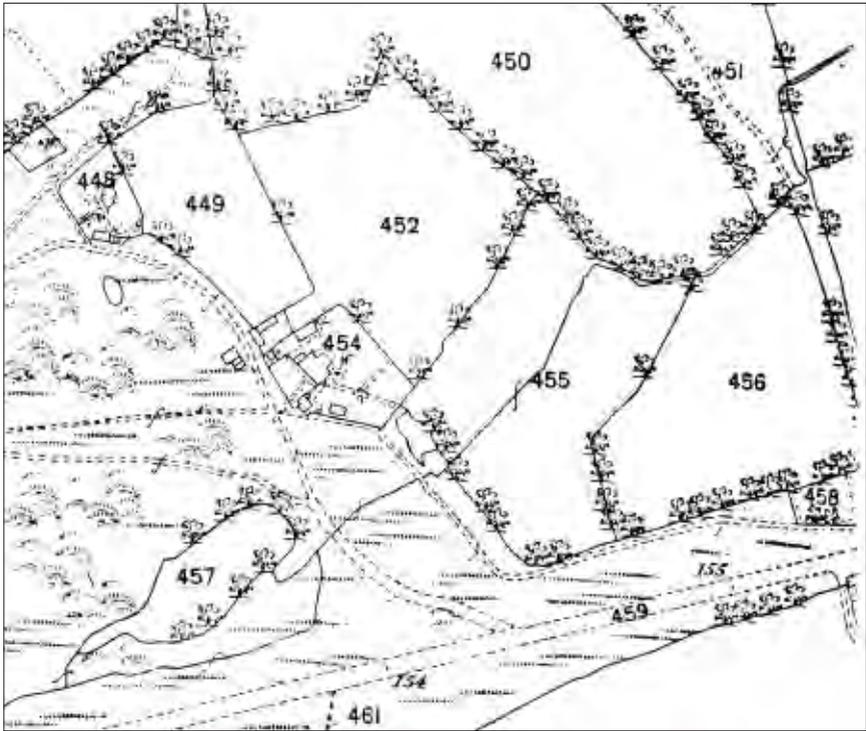


Figure 3 Excerpt from the 1870 O.S. 25-inch map. The smallholding comprises plots 452 and 454.

door. There are no tiles hung on the west elevation and there are signs of recent changes to the brickwork over the upstairs window. There is luxuriant ivy on the far end gable. The building of Normandy Hill Farm appears very similar to the present day, although the front gates of both properties are in different positions.⁶

In the 1913 O.S. map the buildings appear the same as in 1895 but Quinta Cottage grounds are now separate from Normandy Hill Farm grounds, although the Lipscombe family claimed that up to 1935, when they finally left Normandy Hill Farm, there was no clear separation between the properties. The former well is now not shown on the map but the Lipscombes remember that it was still in use until they left. There was still no mains electricity at that time.⁷

Part of an 18-acre small farm, 1760s to 1862

As well as the Normandy Hill Farm/Quinta Cottage plot the 18-acre farm comprised two fields totalling 5 acres enclosed from the 'waste' outside Manor Farm alongside Glaziers Lane, originally copyhold but enfranchised by John

Westbrook in 1712, another three fields totalling 6 acres, originally three separate freehold tenements south of the Anchor beer house and an adjacent 3-acre freehold meadow.⁸

In 1770 John Westbrook of Normandy died in Pirbright and was buried at the Friends' burial ground in Godalming. He bequeathed his property to his nieces Ann, the wife of Benjamin Kidd and Mary, the wife of Edward Pritchard. Between 1775–82 Mary Pritchard died and her will bequeathed her share to Benjamin Kidd, a mealman of Godalming. In 1797 or 98 Ann Kidd died and her share descended to her eldest son Richard Kidd, mealman of Godalming. On 22 February 1799 Benjamin and Richard Kidd, both mealmen of Godalming, jointly sold the property to George Pannell, yeoman of Ash.

Evidently the Kidds did not live at the property and from 1781–99 the farm was occupied by James Freakes then Mrs Mary Freakes.⁹ As a right based on one of the two copyhold properties, James Freakes was entitled to cut six loads of peat from Cleygate peat moor. During George Pannell's ownership the farm was occupied by John Pannell then George West. On 7 December 1812 George Pannell of Ash sold the farm to Thomas Pink, yeoman of Worplesdon (the part comprising the barn and land and the 5 rods, for £100). Up to 1815 it continued to be occupied by George West, then from 1816 it was occupied jointly by Thomas Pink and various others. At different times in its history the Normandy Hill Farm building was divided into two separate cottages and this apparently occurred at this period of multiple occupancy.

James Horne was a Wesleyan Methodist who originally came from Buckingham. He married Mary Chitty of Poyle and they moved to Flexford to be near her parents, then in 1822 the 18-acre farm was to let and he took the lease. They apparently lived in the Normandy Hill Farm house and because there was no Wesleyan chapel in the area, in 1826 he opened his own house for Wesleyan services, Sunday school and prayer meetings and for more than 20 years it was his home and preaching place.¹⁰ In the 1830s the holding is described as including a barn, stable, cowstall and hayloft. William Cobbett the MP and author who lived nearby at what is now the Manor House from 1832 to 1835 was described as on very friendly terms with Mr. Horne. In the 1830s the occupant of Pink's Farm was entitled to use part of the left pew, row 6 in St Peter's Church, Ash, but it is unlikely that James Horne as a Wesleyan would have taken advantage of this right. By 1859 the new church of St Mark's Wyke had been built and the pew at Ash had apparently been re-allocated to another property.¹¹

In the 1841 census Normandy Hill Farm was occupied by James Horne, farmer age 42, with his wife Mary, four sons and four daughters. Quinta Cottage was probably occupied by John Deadman, sawyer age 32, with wife Sarah, two sons and two daughters. The 1844 tithe map and apportionment of Normandy shows that the 18-acre farm was occupied by James Horne, and the three acres of Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage was made up of two plots: Plot 537: Homestead, cottage and garden of 2 roods, 16 perches and Plot 536: Hart's meadow, area 2 acres, 1 rood, 6 perches.

By 1840 the owner Thomas Pink had died. His will, proved at PCC 18 March 1840, bequeathed his estates in Worplesdon and Normandy Green to the Rev. William Henry Parson, cleric of Send, and Thomas Collins, gentleman of Brixton Rise, for the benefit of his wife Anna Maria Pink during her life then to them absolutely. Some time later Thomas Collins died and in the 1844 tithe apportionment the farm was owned solely by the Rev. William Parson or Parsons.

About 1848 James Horne's lease of the farm expired and the new landlord, apparently the Rev. Parsons, refused to renew it and he was forced to move out.¹² In September 1847 James Horne purchased land near what is now Normandy crossroads and built a chapel and cottages there.

The farm was then described in the manorial records as 'late in occupation of James Horne then John Robinson' and the 1851 and 1861 censuses show that Normandy Hill Farm was apparently occupied by John Robinson, age 55/65 respectively, farmer of 18 acres, with his wife, two sons and a daughter. By 1861 he also had a grandson and two servants present. In 1861 Quinta Cottage was possibly occupied by William Stevens, agricultural labourer age 39, with his wife Elizabeth.

On 5 October 1861, the Rev. William Henry Parsons, clerk now of Lynchmere Sussex, sold the 18-acre farm to John Balchin, yeoman of Normandy, for £960 (the Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage part for £30). In the 1861 census John Balchin, a cattle dealer age 36, lived next to the Anchor beer house in Normandy Village.

In 1862 Charles Edward Mangles, lord of the manor of Cleygate, enfranchised the farm to John Balchin for £90; now freed and discharged from all manorial heriots, rents, fines, suits and services, and thus converted from copyhold to freehold. It was described as comprising a messuage, cottage, buildings and 18 acres of land.

On 29 September 1862, John Whitborn (described as the vendor) and John Balchin, cattle dealer (described as mortgagee) sold the farm to John Parrott and John Peter Parrott, who were owners of Normandy Manor Farm.¹³ Normandy Manor Farm, with its farmhouse at 'the Manor House' on Normandy Green, had been owned by the Woodroffes of Poyle, lords of Cleygate Manor, up to 1862 when it was purchased by John Parrott who also bought other parts of the Poyle estate, including Cleygate farm. The 18-acre farm was merged with Normandy Manor Farm and Cleygate Farm to make a 260-acre holding.

Part of the Normandy Manor estate, a 3-acre smallholding with three cottages owned by the Parrott family, 1862–1895

Normandy Hill Farm was apparently still occupied by the Robinsons until John Robinson of Normandy, age 70, was buried at Wyke on 11 September 1866. On 15 October 1868, Mrs John Robinson 'who is giving up housekeeping and leaving the house' sold all the household furniture and effects by auction.¹⁴ The Normandy Hill Farm house was again divided into two residences and in the 1871 census the three cottages at Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage were

occupied by James Alderton, agricultural labourer age 36, with wife, two sons and two daughters, Joseph Ives, shepherd age 49, with wife and daughter age 3, and Peter Slaughter, Wesleyan Home Missionary age 37, with wife, four sons, three daughters and his father in law.

In the earliest surviving Ash rate book of 1874, they were three cottages each with 16 perches of land, owned by John Parrott and occupied by James Alderton, William Law and George Law.

In the 1881 census the three cottages were occupied by Joseph Ives, shepherd age 56, with wife, daughter and a lodger, William Goddard, agricultural labourer age 40, with son, three daughters and his mother in law, and William Marshall, carter age 28, with his wife. In the 1884 rate book they were three cottages with 17, 17 and 18 perches of land, owned by William Parrott and still occupied by William Marshall, William Goddard and Joseph Hives (*sic*).

In the 1891 census two of the tenant families had changed and the cottages were occupied by James Hounson, farm servant and carter age 36, with wife and four children, occupying four rooms, Edward Baker, farm servant age 38, with wife, daughter and one boarder (occupying five or more rooms), and William Marshall, estate labourer age 72, with his son, daughter in law and granddaughter, occupying four rooms. Over the four years to 1894 two of the cottages remained occupied by Baker and Hounson, but the third was occupied successively by William Marshall, Shepherd and F Trussler.

In the late 19th century the depression in farming made it difficult to maintain large farms and estates and during the 1880s the Parrotts were forced to raise mortgages on the Normandy Manor estate. Finally, like the owners of other large estates in the district, they took the decision to sell and the Normandy Manor estate was put up for auction in multiple lots in June 1895. Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage comprised Lot 2 in the estate sale, described as: Farm house and two brick and tiled tenements held by James Houmsom, Edward Baker and James Philp with stable, sheds, piggeries, etc. and a good well of water and also a detached site of former erections on the common. The map accompanying the catalogue is similar to the 1870 O.S. and the schedule reads: Harts meadow and gardens -2 acres 3 roods 28 perches of rich herby meadow land.¹⁵ Not all of the lots were sold in the first auction and it was repeated several times over the next two years, but Lot 2 was sold in the first sale. The deeds record that on 28 September 1895, John Peter Parrott of West Turville, farmer, and William Parrott of Normandy, farmer, tenants in common in equal shares, sold the freehold to Henry Joseph Tenison Halsey of Henley Park.

Part of the Henley Park estate owned by Henry JT Halsey, 1895–1922

Henley Park, the historic mansion and estate four miles north-west of Guildford, had been owned by the Halsey family throughout the 19th century. Having made a fortune in India in the 18th century, Henry Halsey and his son spent a considerable amount of their fortune expanding their estates in Surrey, so that by the 1850s the Henley Park estate comprised over 2,000 acres in Normandy,

Pirbright, Worplesdon and Woking. By the end of the century Henry's great grandson Henry JT Halsey was also suffering from the effects of the agricultural depression, but he and the estate's trustees took the opportunity offered by the Normandy Manor sale to acquire some small additional properties adjacent to their main estate.¹⁶

In 1895 the rate book shows that the two Normandy Hill Farm cottages were occupied by Edward Baker and Hounson while Quinta Cottage was occupied by Henry Horn. In the 1901 census they were occupied respectively by Henry Lipscombe, wood dealer age 43 with wife and six children, Alfred Sims, driver for wholesale oil company age 30 with wife and two children and Alfred Marshall, domestic gardener age 39 with wife and two children. In 1904 two of the cottages were occupied by the Lipscombe family and the other still by Alfred Sims.

In the valuation survey of the early 1910s they were three old brick and tile cottages with almost three acres of land, with a gross value of £478, total annual rent of £25 and rateable value of £3. One cottage had seven rooms occupied by Mr Lipscombe, one had four rooms sublet to Mr Chapman (these two probably Normandy Hill Farm) and one four rooms and a pantry sublet to Mrs Allen (probably Quinta Cottage).¹⁷

By 1914 Normandy Hill Farm was apparently one property again, or at least occupied by one family, the Lipscombes, who remained there until 1935. Local residents remember that Bob Lipscombe was a woodman and was in the church choir.

From 1914–18 Quinta Cottage was occupied by J Jackson and from 1918–21 probably occupied by Allen. At this time it was confusingly called 'Halsey's Cottage', not to be confused with the present-day Halsey Cottage in Glazier's Lane.¹⁸

By the First World War the Halseys of Henley Park were also losing the struggle to maintain a large country estate and after selling many of their farms in Pirbright, in 1922 they took the momentous decision to put the whole of the rest of their estate up for auction. By this time it had shrunk to 1,335 acres, but it was still one of the largest property sales in the district for some time. Normandy Hill Farm and Quinta Cottage were Lot 5 in the sale, described as a small holding of 2 acres, 3 roods, 29 perches comprising 3 cottages: a double-tenement gabled cottage, one tenement containing 6 rooms the other 4 rooms, with outbuildings including cart shed, stable and piggery; and a detached brick and tile cottage containing sitting room, kitchen, pantry with three bedrooms over. Each cottage has a good garden. The property was let to Mr Lipscombe on a yearly tenancy at a rental of £25 and was free from land tax. Apportioned tithe 7s 7d. The map in the catalogue appears similar to the 1913 O.S. map.¹⁹

The property was apparently sold at the auction and on 7 November 1922, HJT Halsey of Jermyn Street, Middlesex sold to Onyx Property Investment Co. of London: Land at Normandy Hill with 3 messuages or tenements, barns, outbuildings, gardens, orchards and meadowland which was in occupation of Lipscombe,

Normandy Hill Farm for £500 and The Quinta for £350. This appears to be the first use of the modern names in the deed of sale, although they were still referred to as 'Halsey's cottages' in the electoral registers.



Figure 4 Normandy Hill Farm in the 1920s. The house looks very similar today, but the front gate in line with the front door has been bricked up and replaced with an entrance into the garden from the side. (NH ref: P025.)



Figure 5 Members of the Lipscombe family. Louisa with young John and Kenneth feeding chickens in the farmyard on the western side of Normandy Hill farmhouse in 1923. (NH ref: P096.)

Apparently owned by a property developer/investor, 1922–26

During this period both properties were owned by Humphrey Quin, presumably representing Onyx Property. Normandy Hill Farm (extent 2–3–29) was occupied by Henry Lipscombe and Samuel Lipscombe (see Figure 5).

In the autumn 1921 electoral register there is no reference to Allen or Baker at Halsey's Cottages. From 1922–24 no. 3 Halsey's Cottages, Normandy Hill was occupied by Louisa Baker then in 1925 'La Quinta' was occupied by Mrs L Baker. Mrs Baker is believed to have spent much of her time in Madeira. 'Quinta' is of Portuguese/Spanish origin, meaning a country house with a vineyard, the rent of which was one-fifth (quinta parte) of the produce. She may have named it because of the grapevine which local residents say has been growing against the front of the house since at least that time.

On 9th August 1926, Onyx Property sold The Quinta to Alec James Colbourne and Alfred Henry Patrick Colbourne, farmers, architects and builders for £750. The plan in the deeds shows buildings as in the O.S. map of 1913.

Two separate properties, 1926 to date

A local resident described Quinta Cottage as a "tumbledown shack" when the Colbournes bought it. In 1927 it was occupied by Walter Colbourne Junior, architect and from 1927–30 'The Quinta', Normandy Hill, was owned and occupied by Mrs Colbourne, rateable value £11. From 1932–38 it was owned and occupied by the brothers AJ and AHP Colbourne, builders and in the early 1930s Quinta Cottage was known locally as "Colbourne's house".

About 1932 the next extension was built to the east: the chimney was removed from the middle (19th century) section and an internal staircase which still rests on the former fireplace replaced the earlier external one. Possibly at this time the long 'middle' bedroom upstairs was created out of the previous two small bedrooms in the 18th and 19th century sections. In 1933 the rateable value jumped from £11 to £22. Photos of the Lipscombe family at Normandy Hill Farm in the early 1930s²⁰ show that prior to 1932 the north end of The Quinta was very overgrown with ivy and the chimney was still in the 1880s section. One photo shows that the farm buildings on the common ('detached site of former erections') had completely disappeared.

About 1938 The Quinta was empty and local residents who were children at the time admit to breaking the windows with stones! In 1939 The Quinta did not appear in the electoral register then on 4 July 1939, AJ and AHP Colbourne sold Quinta Cottage, formerly The Quinta, to sisters Miss Dorothy Marten and Mrs Mary Moor Head in equal shares.

These ladies were said to have been very set in their 'Victorian' ways. Upstairs they had two bed-sitting rooms which were their own private spaces. They each had a prie-dieu (kneeling prayer-chair) in their bedroom. There were no wardrobes, the ladies had lowboys to lay their clothes flat (they always wore long dresses). The only hanging space was under the stairs. Miss Marten had the

present utility room built over the path against the north wall for her brother to live in when he came to stay.

During the war Miss Marten and Mrs Head moved to Budleigh Salterton and let Quinta Cottage to the Army. The tenants from July 1958 to the end of 1959 were Mr and Mrs Norman Nichols. They remembered that there was a really ancient electric stove in the kitchen and the only heating was coal fires downstairs. There was an airing cupboard in the upstairs east bedroom, probably heated by a back boiler from the fire. The dining room was extremely damp and the books in the bookshelves were all decaying badly. Miss Marten was a formidable lady who did all the negotiations; the other lady was more of a shadowy figure in the background. When Miss Marten gave notice that she wanted to return in 1959 the Nichols had to move out.²¹ In 1959 Mary Moor Head's part of the property passed to Miss Marten by her will. On 30 October 1974 Miss Marten sold Quinta Cottage to John and Sheila Squier.

Meanwhile Normandy Hill Farm briefly continued to be two dwellings occupied by Henry and Samuel Lipscombe. From 1932–33 one was occupied by H Lipscombe, rateable value £8, while the other was occupied by the Colbournes, rateable value £4, possibly to live in while they built the extension to The Quinta. In 1934 Normandy Hill Farm was occupied by the executors of H Lipscombe, then it was empty in 1935 and on 28 May 1938 Mrs MC Turner occupied Normandy Hill Farm and the rateable value jumped from £8 to £44. She owned and occupied it until 1947, then from 1949 to 1956 it was owned and occupied by Geoffrey Collins. From 7 September 1956 to 1963 Robert L Schuster, deputy head master at Aldro school, was the owner and occupier.

Today both homes are lovingly cared for by their owners and the gardens that once formed part of the agricultural smallholding are opened to the public from time to time to support the Normandy village Gardens Open Day charitable event.

NOTES

1. Manor of Cleygate court book, The National Archive (TNA) ref. TS19/25 sheet 22.
2. *Ibid* ref. TS19/26. Other information on ownership up to the 1860s is from the Cleygate court records.
3. Normandy Hill Farm Domestic Buildings Research Group (DBRG) report.
4. Quinta Cottage DBRG report.
5. Normandy Historians' (NH) collection ref. P121.
6. NH refs. P121 and P45.
7. Conversation with Mr and Mrs Lipscombe of Basing, May 1989, NH ref. MSS6(20).
8. Tithe map and apportionment of Normandy c.1844 at Surrey History Centre, Woking (SHC) and Manor of Cleygate records TNA ref. TS19/26.
9. Information on occupancy up to 1831 is from the Land Tax at SHC.
10. *The Church in the Wilderness, memorials of James Horne....* by WW Pocock & HJ Sykes. Printed by W Matthews, Guildford, 1871. NH ref. PW27.
11. SHC ref. AS/15/6–7.
12. *The Church in the Wilderness, ibid.*
13. Title deeds of Quinta Cottage in possession of the author.
14. Sale catalogue, Guildford Museum ref. G9416.

15. Sale catalogue, SHC ref. SP/206.
16. *Henley Park in Surrey, the History of a Royal Manor* by John Squier, Normandy Historians 2012.
17. TNA ref. IR58/34084 no 542.
18. Occupancy from 1913 to 1960 from rate books and electoral registers at SHC.
19. Sale catalogue, SHC ref. SP/368.
20. NH ref. P62.
21. Conversation with Mr and Mrs Nichols of Farnham, February 2003, NH ref. MSS6(54).

PUERPERAL INSANITY IN BROOKWOOD ASYLUM 1867–1900

Helen Gristwood

Case histories of women admitted to Brookwood Asylum with puerperal mania paint a vivid picture of the range of symptoms of the insanity. Mary Ann J was brought in from Rotherhithe in 1869.¹ The Relieving Officer described her as *'a danger to others, raving and incoherent, using bad language, spitting, trying to bite and violent in manner'*. The Statement on Admission described her as *'incoherent, not answering questions rationally. Her hair was dishevelled and she was very untidy in her person. Her look was fierce and she shouted, danced and laughed'*. Physically she was described as being *'very thin, and with the appearance of one suffering from want of food. Her pulse was weak and fast, and her head hot. Her breasts were hard and full, her baby being a few months old'*.



Figure 1 General view of the rear of Brookwood c. 1868 (SHC ref 3043/-)

Charlotte S, aged 24, a labourer's wife from Bermondsey, was admitted in March 1881 with puerperal mania.² She was admitted in a straightjacket with a deep wound in her arm where she had put it through a window. The Relieving Officer reported that she '*shouts, howls, weeps, laughs, talks incoherently, uses obscene language and barks like a dog*'. Apart from the wound, she was described as being in a '*poor physical condition with painful breasts, head pains, her bowels confined and her tongue flabby and dyspeptic*'. She was described as '*troublesome, noisy and delusional*'.

Although mania associated with childbirth had been recognised and documented for hundreds of years, the term 'puerperal insanity' was first noted in the Victorian era when, with the arrival of the county asylums for the poor, medical officers needed a cause of insanity for the records. Irvine Loudon describes puerperal insanity as '*a fashionable diagnosis as the doctor in charge of the admissions had to find a cause for the insanity in the appropriate column of the admissions register*'.³ Prior to 1834 the parish midwife delivered babies at home, and mania, in all of its forms, was usually dealt with either at home or in a private madhouse. The system was formalised with the arrival of the workhouse, the workhouse infirmary and the asylum. Any woman suffering from a perceived insanity related to childbirth could be referred to the Union medical officer and he had the power to refer her to a county asylum.

Admissions of women with puerperal insanity reached their height at the end of the 1870's and beginning of the 1880's at Brookwood. Statistics from the years 1879–1889 show that between 10–12% of the female admissions were categorised as suffering from some form of puerperal insanity. This was higher than the national average of 7.5% as, until 1889, Brookwood admitted women from some of the poorest areas in London including the boroughs of Bermondsey, Southwark, Camberwell, Rotherhithe and Lambeth. Thomas Brushfield, Brookwood Asylum Superintendent from 1867–1882, when speaking of the early years of the asylum, mentioned '*the character of certain cases*' he had to deal with, specifically '*36 of 49 instances of puerperal insanity, one of which is the worst I have ever seen*'.⁴ The rate declined gradually in the 1890's after the London County Council was formed in 1889 and admissions from the poorest areas of London ceased.

Medical superintendents recognised that puerperal insanity came in three distinct forms that were used as causes of mania in the admission registers. Pregnancy mania could appear at any time during pregnancy and usually disappeared after the child was born. Puerperal mania generally came on several days after delivery and could last for a few weeks or months, or lead to long term insanity. Lactation mania and melancholia came on as a result of a continual cycle of pregnancy and lactation, often coupled with insufficient diet and a life of poverty.

Puerperal insanity was a temporary condition and the majority of women would be cured if they were allowed to remain in the asylum for a sufficient length of time. The asylum therefore, was seen as a place of refuge rather than

a long-term necessity. Apart from the 'insanity' and the poverty in which they lived, a large number of women were in an appalling state of health on admission. Many were suffering from undiagnosed infections as a result of childbirth, others had long-term health problems such as anaemia, venereal disease, vitamin deficiency and phthisis (consumption). Most were thin, weak and undernourished, many were dirty and covered with pediculae (lice and vermin).

In order for a woman to be admitted to the asylum, the medical officer of the Union had to supply a reason for the admission in writing. This was frequently accompanied by a deposition written either by the woman's husband or a close relative describing the symptoms of her 'insanity'. The admission procedure required an assessment of symptoms and a physical examination to be made. Notes of all of these had to be entered into the casebooks and a cause of mania assigned. Entries into the casebooks give a good idea of the diversity of symptoms of this insanity. Women suffering from puerperal insanity were described as 'apathetic, dangerous, delusional, destructive, dirty, dirty in habits, disgusting, dull, foul, incoherent, indecent, intemperate, lost, maniacal, mischievous, noisy, obscene, out of control, rambling, restless, sleepless, spiteful, strange, stupid, suicidal, sullen, tearful, troublesome, vacant, violent, weepy, and wild in appearance'. They were often perceived as being unable to look after their homes and children, and phrases such as '*neglect of household duties*', '*complete inability to mind her children*' and '*neglect of ordinary moral obligations*' were used in the casebooks. They suffered from loss of memory, delusions, often of a religious nature, and hallucinations. They ripped off and tore their clothes, they shredded their bedding. Case notes indicate that some women, although starving, refused to eat and were force fed by tube. Many refused to speak at all.

Evidence from the case notes indicates that 34% of women were suicidal on admission. Elizabeth W had '*attempted suicide by throwing herself on the rails before an engine*'.⁵ Ann H jumped down the well whilst suffering from puerperal mania.⁶ Some women were still attempting suicide within the asylum by using any material available, often trying to hang themselves on the bedsheets or cut themselves with knives. Mary M had tried to cut her own throat before admission, and whilst in the asylum she tried to swallow '*a deal of cotton*'.⁷ In an attempt to stop women using their clothing to hang themselves, the 'strong, warm dress' was used. It was made of material so strong that it couldn't be torn up and used by the wearer to injure herself.

Self-harm was a further symptom of puerperal insanity. Mary V, a labourer's wife from Haslemere, admitted in 1876, had cut off her left hand after the loss of her baby. Suffering from melancholy and delusions she had read in the Bible that it was '*better to lose your left hand or right eye than be cast into hell*'.⁸ It was also noted that Mary had cut off the cat's head. Mary recovered and was even able to do some needlework before she left the asylum. Violence against other family members, especially husbands, was a common symptom of puerperal insanity. Ellen T from Rotherhithe was admitted from a Police Court for hitting her husband with a chopper 6 months after giving birth to a dead child.⁹

Sarah U exhibited typical symptoms of a woman admitted to a county asylum with lactation melancholia. She lived in Peckham, one of the most poverty-ridden boroughs in Surrey, and was admitted from the Camberwell Union.¹⁰ Aged 39, she was exhausted and emaciated having borne 14 children in 18 years and was terrified of becoming pregnant again. On admission in September 1885 she was described as being *'quiet, in a dirty dishevelled state. Was very listless and melancholy, silent and reticent. Her head was very dirty – full of pediculae and her hair was ordered to be cut close at the back. Will not converse, says everything is no use, that her home is destroyed and neglected, and that her children are in a dirty and filthy condition. She is thoroughly absorbed in her morbid feelings and passively resists any attempt to cheer her. Her husband, Alfred, states that she has been more or less in a similar condition since her confinement five months since. This patient has had 14 children. This is the first attack of insanity. She states that she began to feel depressed before the latest child was born ie about 6 months ago. Since the birth of the child she has been feeling gradually worse & developed delusions and fear.'* Sarah was treated, and left the asylum after 8 months.

Victorian asylums operated under an ethos of 'moral management' and 'kindness and care', and Brookwood prided itself on this. Throughout this period, mechanical restraint was not used, but case notes indicate that many women were treated with 'drug cocktails' or 'heroic' doses of medicine as a form of chemical restraint. The 19th century definition of a 'heroic dose' is *'a quantity of medical drug sufficient to endanger a person and not generally to be imitated'*.¹¹ It could be argued that most women would have recovered in the asylum without the barrage of drugs. Perhaps all that was needed was a combination of medical care for illness and infection, good food, rest, cleanliness, care and kindness. However, within the confines of a late Victorian County Asylum, however forward thinking the Superintendent, drugs were seen as a necessity and statistics show that at least 65% of women admitted with puerperal insanity were treated with various combinations of drugs.

A large number of powerful drugs were available during this period, many of them narcotics. The use of opium in asylums was seen as progressive at the beginning of the 19th century, but by the middle of the century doctors believed that in some cases it was doing more harm than good, and could actually cause insanity. Cannabis was also widely used in the treatment of puerperal mania, and was deemed to be particularly useful in the treatment of puerperal mania. Despite the disagreements in the medical profession on the advantages and disadvantages of opium and cannabis, the casebooks show that both were still being used up to the end of the century. Chloral hydrate became the most widely used drug during the latter part of the 19th century as it was deemed more effective and less dangerous than opium. It was a powerful drug routinely administered at Brookwood with either henbane (otherwise known as hyoscyamine or hyoscyamus) or potassium bromide to sedate and act as a painkiller. Purgatives manufactured from poisonous plants were used routinely.

Apart from purgatives, morphine (opium), cannabis, hyoscine and chloral, other drugs mentioned in the Brookwood casebooks include aconite, belladonna (atropine), chloroform, digitalis, Dover powders, ergot, ether, glycerine, magnesium sulphate, nitroglycerin, strychnine, sulphonal, and zinc. Many of these drugs were so poisonous that even a small overdose could be fatal. Blisters made of mustard seeds, commonly used on women with headaches, were going out of fashion, but were still being used at Brookwood until the early 1890s. Many of the women were so emaciated that they were unable to eat normal food so 'extras' and 'stimulants' of port, wine, brandy, eggs, milk, tea and beef tea were given. Anaemia was a problem, so quinine, also known as cinchona, and ferruginous (iron) tonics were administered. The general rule seemed to be that the worse the symptoms, the larger the number of drugs administered. Robert Boyd, Medical Superintendent of the Somerset County Asylum, advocated this approach in 1870 when he wrote that *'after the bowels have been freely opened by some form of aperient suited to the case, hyoscyamus, tincture of "cannabis indica", combined with a stimulant such as ammonia or camphor – in large doses rather than small ones – may be given'*.¹²

Most women were purged as a matter of course on arrival. The internal organs, especially the bowels, were thought to contain ill humours, and regular bowel movements were seen as vital to recovery. Details of bowel movements were recorded in the case notes. The case notes show that a variety of drugs were used as purgatives with castor oil (alternatively known as ricin), being the most common. So important was it that bowels were kept open that there is an instance recorded in 1885 where Peckham housewife Sarah U was anaesthetised with chloroform so that her bowels could be cleared.

The case notes indicate that a large proportion of the women were suffering from mastitis or breast abscesses on admission as they had been separated from their infants while still breastfeeding. They were treated with poultices of belladonna which were applied to the breasts to reduce the flow of milk and reduce swelling and redness. A belladonna poultice was created from extract of belladonna and opium. It was either painted onto the inflammation or was applied in the form of a fomentation flannel, with a hot linseed poultice or wet compress over the top, being separated from the extracts by sheets of tissue paper.¹³

Ann H, who had tried to commit suicide by jumping down the well, was the recipient of a barrage of drugs and 'extras'. She was treated with morphia, potassium bromide and chloral hydrate; quinine and iron; milk, eggs, brandy, port and beef tea as she was unable to take solid food; a belladonna poultice for the breast inflammation and an ankle bandage for a sprained ankle sustained when she jumped into the well. She remained on chloral, quinine, iron and morphia three times a day for several weeks but recovered well and was released cured after 4 months.

Superintendent Thomas Brushfield favoured seclusion and 'special watch' rather than 'the padded room' for patients who were perceived as a serious danger either to themselves or others. Those given a 'red ticket' were deemed



Figure 2 Female attendants at Brookwood c. 1870. Notice the keys hanging from their belts. (SHC ref 3043/-)

to be most at risk. The admission notes show that these women were suffering the most severe symptoms, and that many were suicidal. The recovery rate from those on ‘special watch’ was not very good. Lucy S was put onto a ‘special supervision “red” ticket’ after she was admitted in 1894, suicidal and dangerous, with acute puerperal mania after the birth of her first child. In her case the system did not work as Lucy managed to attack another patient, then died from ‘Exhaustion from Mania’.¹⁴ Elizabeth A aged 40, a housewife from Croydon, was put on a ‘special supervision ticket’ after she was admitted with confinement melancholia following the birth of her 12th child. She had tried to cut her throat, and a ‘special suicide watch’ was kept over her. She did not recover, and was released into the care of her husband after 8 years.¹⁵

The only treatment involving obvious cruelty documented in any of the Brookwood casebooks, and seemingly out of character for Brookwood Asylum which, in all other respects appeared to embrace the modern principles of ‘kindness and care’ for asylum patients, was the use of a seton.¹⁶ This was used on Elizabeth W (who had tried to commit suicide by jumping in front of a train) and Charlotte N in 1894. It was an old fashioned treatment involved putting loose



Figure 3 Woman's ward at Brookwood c. 1868. (SHC ref 3043/-)

stitches into the body to impede movement.¹⁷ Elizabeth exhibited the most severe symptoms of puerperal mania on her admission, and was given a special nurse to sit with her.¹⁸ After 10 days in the asylum she was still so violent that the seton was stitched to the back of her neck as a method of controlling her, and left in place for 9 days. She remained extremely violent, assaulting everyone who went near, and the seton was applied twice more during the following few months. She instigated charges of cruelty against the nurses, but on investigation it was found that '*no unnecessary force was used*'. Elizabeth appeared to recover slowly, and was discharged against the wishes of her husband. She hanged herself with a clothesline from the banisters shortly after her discharge in December 1894. Charlotte was a 22-year-old servant from Farnham, pregnant with an illegitimate child on admission in 1887. She gave birth to a child in the asylum, but failed to recover. She was deemed so dangerous that the seton was applied on August 19th 1894, after she had spent 7 years in the asylum. It remained in place until November 9th 1894. Charlotte did not recover and became a chronic case.¹⁹

Despite the severity of the symptoms, puerperal insanity was seen as one form of mental illness that could be cured, and the aim of the asylum was to treat the women and release them, not to keep them on a long-term basis. The usual pattern was that the women were treated until medical staff decided that they

had recovered sufficiently either to be released cured or released for 1 month 'on trial' to ensure that they and their families were able to cope. After this, they would be re-assessed by the Medical Superintendent and Committee of Visitors and the majority of women were released as cured after that. Evidence from the casebooks indicates that 64% were released cured, most within a year. Family and friends could request the release of a patient even if the medical staff was not in agreement, provided that they signed a form of Statutory Release. Statistics show that 6% fell into this category. Some women were incurable, and their condition became known as long-term or chronic. They either remained in the original asylum, but more often they were removed to one of the other asylums built during the late Victorian era that specialised in the care of 'long-term' patients. 18% of women admitted to Brookwood suffering from puerperal insanity became chronic cases.

The remaining 12% died in the asylum. All deaths had to be reported to the Coroner, and post mortems were carried out in the asylums unless the patient's relatives forbade it. A copy of the notice of death was written into each of the casebooks where a death had occurred. The 'mania' was generally listed as the primary cause of death, despite any underlying infection or illness, although these were sometimes noted as a secondary cause. Emma P's death certificate stated that puerperal mania was the primary cause of death, but it also noted that she had pneumonia, bronchitis and pleurisy.²⁰ Lily C died from puerperal melancholia, but it was noted that she also had an infection of the womb.²¹

Apart from deaths attributed to mania and infection, other major causes were phthisis (consumption) and General Paresis (GP), a brain disease occurring as a consequence of syphilis, which often led to miscarriage and infant death. Evidence from the casebooks shows that women who died from phthisis were often older and so worn down with childbearing and lactation that they had no means of fighting it. However, they often spent many years in the asylum before they died.

General Paresis (GP) caused 20% of the deaths of the women in this study. Symptoms include dementia, progressive muscular weakness, and paralysis. Johanna C, aged 32, was admitted in 1879, pregnant with her 11th child. She had already had 8 miscarriages and 2 live babies who died shortly after birth. The child was born and died in the asylum. Johanna died of dementia and General Paresis in 1881.²² Louisa B, gardener's wife from Hambledon, aged 41, was a patient in the asylum three times. Her first admission was in June 1896 when she was suffering from lactation mania after feeding her 9th child for 10 months. Louisa was released to her husband 'not cured' in September 1896 then readmitted in May 1897 suffering from pregnancy mania. Her 10th child was born in the asylum on June 20th. Louisa was released cured in September 1897, but readmitted in 1900 with melancholia from which she never recovered. She died in March 1903 from General Paresis.²³

Case notes show that asylum staff went to great lengths to try and save the lives of the women, or at least make their last hours more comfortable. Sarah H,

aged 27, was admitted in August 1875.²⁴ She was pregnant, and her child was born dead in October. Sarah died soon afterwards, having been given a mixture of brandy and eggs, followed by a glass of champagne before she died. The cause of death was given as 'Exhaustion after Parturition'. Ellen D aged 25, a carman's wife from Guildford, was admitted in April 1888, 2 weeks after the birth of her third child.²⁵ The case notes indicate that she was '*deemed to be in a critical condition. She was unable to eat, and forcibly fed. Morphine was administered. She collapsed and was given artificial respiration by the nurse on duty. She became quite helpless and was sedated with chloral*'. Her death was certified as 'Exhaustion following Acute Mania'.

Despite the harrowing case histories, the survival rate was good. Puerperal insanity was seen as a temporary condition, and with the right care, most women were cured and released within a year. Drugs were commonly used in asylums, but the importance of rest and good food was recognised and women had the chance to regain their strength between pregnancies as most remained in the asylum for between 6 months and a year. Deaths, although sometimes attributed to puerperal mania, were generally due to other causes such as infection or consumption. Admissions of women with puerperal insanity declined towards the beginning of the 20th century as medical care and housing conditions improved.

This article is extracted from an MA thesis that examined and compared the case histories of women suffering from puerperal insanity who were admitted to three county asylums, Brookwood in Surrey, Colney Hatch in Middlesex and Knowle in Hampshire between 1867 and 1900.²⁶ The evidence and statistics from the asylum casebooks in this article relate only to women admitted to Brookwood with a diagnosis of puerperal insanity, not for any other form of insanity. Casebooks were a legal requirement, and contain the record of the patient from admission to discharge, including drugs administered. All casebooks referred to in this article can be found in the Surrey History Centre.

NOTES

1. SHC 3043/5/9/2/3(63/1869).
2. SHC 3043/5/9/2/13(185/1881).
3. I. Loudon, *Death in Childbirth* (Oxford, 1992), p. 144.
4. J. M. Granville, *The Care and Cure of the Insane* (London, 1877), p. 225.
5. SHC 3043/5/9/2/24 (31/1894).
6. SHC 3043/5/9/2/20(249/1889).
7. SHC 3043/5/9/2/17(183/1885).
8. SHC 3043/5/9/2/4(159/1876).
9. SHC 3043/5/9/2/7(35/1880).
10. HC 3043/5/9/2/17(157/1885).
11. Phrase first used in the American Medical Recorder in 1826.

12. R. Boyd. 'Observations on puerperal insanity', *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 16(1870), p. 165.
13. E.A. Kirby, *A Formulary of Selected Remedies* (London, 1874), p. 64.
14. SHC 3043/5/9/2/24(136/1894).
15. SHC 3043/5/9/2/28(169/1900).
16. Dr W. Whitehead describes the process of inserting a seton in *The British Medical Journal* Volume 1 1901. 'The skin at the back of the neck is grasped between the finger and thumb of the left hand, and behind the fingers a long-bladed scalpel is forced so as to transfix the skin. Before the knife is removed, a long probe provided with a suitable eye is passed through the wound, using the knife as a guide. The scalpel is then withdrawn. A piece of ordinary household tape half an inch wide is then attached by a ligature to the eye of the probe and the probe pulled through the wound, bringing the tape with it. Four inches of tape are left free at each side, and these are gently tied together to prevent the tape being accidentally withdrawn'.
17. T. Fallows mentions the seton as a means of 'facilitating the discharge of noxious humours' by allowing 'the grosse vapours offending the brain a chance to fume out' in *The Best Method for the Cure of Lunatics*. (London, 1705) p. 22.
18. SHC 3043/5/9/2/24(31/1894).
19. SHC 3043/5/9/2/18(173/1887).
20. SHC 3043/5/9/2/26(35/1896).
21. SHC 3043/5/9/2/22(119/1892).
22. SHC 3043/5/9/2/11(251/1879).
23. SHC 3043/5/9/2/25(165/1896): 3043/5/9/2/26(114/1897): 3043/5/9/2/29(141/1900).
24. SHC 3043/5/9/2/5(227/1875).
25. SHC 3043/5/9/2/19(251/1888).
26. H. Gristwood, *Puerperal Insanity: a study of women admitted to the County Asylums at Brookwood in Surrey, Colney Hatch in Middlesex and Knowle in Hampshire between the years 1870 and 1900* (University of Leicester, 2012).

ACCESSIONS RECEIVED BY SURREY HISTORY CENTRE, 2013

edited by Michael Page

During the course of 2013 Surrey History Centre took in 301 accessions of records from external depositors and donors and County Council departments. Some accessions comprised no more than a single document or photograph, others had to be measured in crates; sadly space does not permit more than a handful to be mentioned, but the service is extremely grateful to all those who helped to secure Surrey's documentary heritage for future generations.

Surrey goes to War

As this article is being written, the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War is looming and several accessions we have taken in reflect the impact of this immense conflict at a personal and local level. Several small additions to our collection of papers of those who served in the two Surrey regiments, the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment and the East Surrey Regiment, highlight the different routes followed by those who fought and the range of places in which they served.

Sergeant Cecil Robert Newman of the 2nd Battalion, The Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, was a regular soldier, who enlisted in 1906 aged 18. When war broke out the 2nd Battalion returned from South Africa and was shipped straight off to Belgium. We have been passed a copy of a letter Newman's wife Alice sent from Morden, describing her own journey home from South Africa with three of their children, travelling steerage (SHC ref QRWS/30/NEW/-). Poignantly, by the time she wrote the letter, her husband was already dead, one of the many Queen's casualties in the 1st Battle of Ypres. Private James Collins, MM, served on the Western Front and was killed on the first day of the Somme. His battalion, the 8th East Surreys, was raised as part of Kitchener's new armies and the battalion won enduring fame on the 1st of July 1916 because of their advance on the German lines at Montauban, kicking footballs. We were delighted to take in a photograph of Collins and a cool letter from the War Office to his fiancée, Miss A Humphery of Highgate, confirming that under his will she was only entitled to that part of his property 'then in her possession' (SHC ref ESR/25/COLLIN/-). CSM C F Atwood served with the 1/5th Battalion, the East Surrey Regiment, a territorial army unit, and his war was spent in a very different environment. The 1/5th were stationed in India and then transferred to Mesopotamia and Atwood's 1917 notebook on a 'Mountain Warfare Class of Instruction (Trans Border Warfare) Abbotabad' has been donated to us (SHC ref

ESR/25/ATWO/1). Lectures commenced on 1st October 1917 and covered the principles of trans-border warfare, tribal tactics, pack transport, ambushes, battle, rearguards, convoys, campsites, sites of bivouacs, guns and artillery, piquets, casualties and communications. Private Harry Francis Wellington, known as Frank, whose letters home have been deposited with us (SHC ref ESR/25/WELL/-), initially enlisted with the Royal Army Medical Corps but was transferred to the 2/23rd Battalion, the London Regiment (associated with the East Surrey Regiment), in January 1916. He was wounded on 20th May 1917 whilst serving in the Salonika theatre, was again wounded on 19th February 1918 in Alexandria, and on 13th August 1918, was killed in action in Tarento, Italy, at a place known as 'Star Fish Corner'.

We have also been given copies of papers of three soldiers of the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment who were court martialled for desertion and shot at dawn (see SHC refs QRWS/30/KNIGHJ/-, -/WRIGF/-, and -/HAWK/-). Of these, Private Harry Knight volunteered in 1914 and served in the 1st Battalion for 3 years and 9 months in France. After being wounded in May 1915, he was described as subsequently suffering from his 'nerves'. He was court-martialled four times between 1916 and 1918, and his final offence, desertion for four months from April 1918 to which he pleaded not guilty, brought down on his head the ultimate sanction, carried out at 5.35am on 8th October 1918. Knight was the last serviceman to be shot for desertion during World War I and his defence statement makes rather pitiful reading: 'I have tried my best all through ... I was quite alright until I was wounded ... I found the strain too much for my nerves ... having no father I have had worry over my mother ... I have not been home for over two years'.

Cecil O Haven (originally von Hafen, born 1893) of Kew, Haslemere and elsewhere, had a very different war, reflected in a group of letters and papers held as SHC ref 9165. The von Hafen family were of Huguenot extraction and with connections to German nobility. Oscar von Hafen, Cecil's father, made his career with Josiah Wedgwood and Sons Ltd, the famous pottery manufacturers, and was instrumental in opening up European markets for their china. Cecil, described by his daughter as 'cheerful, fun and with an appealing personality', also joined Wedgwood's, travelling on the continent, where he was liked and trusted by his many connections, and becoming manager of the London showrooms, while living at Litchfield Road, Kew Gardens. When war broke out he was interned in Ruhleben prison camp, a former racecourse which formed a makeshift camp for all British civilians arrested in Germany. The stable buildings and facilities provided the accommodation for the prisoners, and, like many others, Cecil lived in a horse-box, which he shared with the portraitist CM Horsfall (1862–1942). The prison food was of such poor quality that Cecil suffered from stomach problems for the rest of his life. The papers include a copy of a portrait of Cecil by Horsfall, drawn at Christmas 1915 (SHC ref 9165/1/16).

The impact of the war on the home front is vividly reflected in a number of accessions. A collection of papers transferred to us from Elmbridge Museum



Figure 1 Portrait of prisoner of war Cecil Haven by CM Horsfall, drawn at Christmas 1915. Reproduced by kind permission of the depositor (SHC ref 9165/1/16)

(SHC ref 9117/box 2) relate to the activities of the Special Constabulary in Walton on Thames, Hershams and Oatlands, which supported the regular police force in keeping order, guarding vulnerable points and enforcing the blackout. This force of volunteers, 140 strong with ages ranging from 23 to 62, was led by Arthur E Pettit of Burley Lodge, Oatlands Drive, who strove, not particularly successfully, to foster military discipline in their ranks: when exhorting participation in regular drill he wrote 'It is scarcely necessary to call the attention of the force as a whole to the importance of qualifying as a composite body as

rabble against rabble has about an equal chance, whereas a compact body has evident advantages against a disorganised mob'. Relations with Chief Constable Sant of the Surrey Constabulary could be strained, especially over the question as to what equipment should be supplied to the specials and Sant is referred to as 'that arch rotter' in one letter. People were not always inclined to accept the authority of the volunteers: when asked to make himself scarce, a gardener responded 'I won't move on for you or any other bugger of a special policeman'. Special Constable Percy Webb recalls two moments of high drama. In May 1915 he helped to pacify the riots in Walton on Thames, directed against a naturalised German watchmaker who had supposedly made callous comments about the sinking of the Lusitania. Windows were broken, a policeman knocked unconscious and tempers ran high, with, according to Webb, the women being 'the worst and most bitter'. In October 1915, a Zeppelin passed over Walton and it was thought that it was being signalled to by a flare from the garden of a house 'then in the occupation of foreigners'. According to other correspondence in the collection, the foreigners turned out to be blameless Belgians but the informant suggested 'I think some arrangement should be made to surround this spot with specials on the hooter going for the next Zeppelin visit'. On the night in question, Webb was trying to get local lights extinguished and was joined by a 'cheerful hawker' who observed with irrefutable logic 'Are you frightened Mr Webb? I'm not: what I says is, if they 'its me they 'its me, and if they doesn't, they doesn't'.

The struggle to maintain the country's food chain, in the face of U-boat assaults on shipping is illustrated by a set of Ministry of Food Control stickers against food waste (SHC ref 9175). The stickers appear to been collected and stuck to a sheet, and the bold images, printed mainly in scarlet and black, depict the German U-boat blockade of the Atlantic. They carry such messages as 'England's enemies, Huns, hoarders, and heedless housewives' and 'England's dread enemy - not Wilhelm, but Waste'. Another weapon in the war against waste was the Women's Institute movement, introduced from Canada in 1915 by the Agricultural Organisation Society (AOS), with the aim of encouraging countrywomen to get involved in growing and preserving food to help to increase the supply of food to the war-torn nation. The organisation of new branches within Britain was soon taken over by the Women's Section of the Food Department of the Board of Agriculture and the newly formed branches supported the district committees of the Surrey Women's Agricultural Committee. The surviving records of Surrey branches of the Women's Institute have been systematically collected and deposited with us (SHC ref 7650) and, although most branches were set up after 1918, we hold minute books of two WIs formed during the war years, Chobham, established in 1915 (SHC ref 7650/8/1) and Bletchingley, established in 1917 (SHC ref 7610/2/1). The books contain brief details of the classes that were held, for example how to make starch out of diseased potatoes and 'the responsibility of the vote', and mention initiatives such as the establishment of communal kitchens and the acquisition of allotments and goats.

Something of the relief that followed peace and the conviction that nothing could be the same again is captured in a 'folk play' written by the Reverend J M C Crum (1872–1959), rector of Farnham, 'On the Home Front', performed by Farnham people in the Church House in January 1920. An additional copy of Crum's script, together with photographs and a programme, have been deposited



Figure 2 Ministry of Food Control stickers against food waste (SHC ref 9175/1)

with us (SHC ref 9223). The play ends with the fictional chairman of the Urban District Council declaring 'I wish I could make a worthier speech. But it isn't only that – it's everything – it's all of us – the town – old England – I wish it could all be worthier, somehow, the better for all that's been done and gone through – a land of peace and justice and honest work and contented, happy homes'. That much remained to be done is reflected in the minute book of the Esher Branch of the British Legion (SHC ref 9161). In 1935 it is reported that collaboration with German and Italian veterans is difficult because both countries are now 'under the rigid control of a dictator' and the startling statistic is given that 58,223 men remain in mental hospitals across the country as a direct result of the war.

The diary of Major Charles J Armour, MC, of B Company, 2/5th Battalion, Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) is a wonderfully vivid account of one man's experiences in the next great war (SHC ref QRWS/30/ARMO/1-2). It begins with descriptions of fighting in Tunisia leading up to the German surrender on 13th May 1943, Armour noting on 29th April, 'I will never forget that walk forward, with the noise of artillery all around, bullets whistling past, voices



Figure 3 Participants in Canon Crum's play 'On the Home Front' performed in Farnham in 1920 (SHC ref 9223)

calling, and not knowing what awaited me at my journey's end!'. After encounters with King George VI for which his men had to rehearse cheering, and the actress Vivien Leigh at an ENSA show, he trained for the amphibious landings at Salerno in Italy where his unit landed on 9th September and was promoted to Major on 11th September after losses in the companies. He describes the military action he saw around Salerno, including the fighting immediately after the landings, having to force soldiers to fight, misdirected British artillery fire and his anguish at the need to call down artillery fire which threatened his own troops. His actions during the capture of Monte Stella won him the Military Cross and his diary goes on to chronicle the advance up the peninsula. In December he had to have all his teeth extracted and had foot problems and finally, no longer fit for active service, on 28th January he was offered the job of opening a rehabilitation centre for 'psychoneurotic' cases from the front line, which was established below Mount Vesuvius; the volcano then added insult to injury by duly erupting. After a spell in Algiers to establish a new rehabilitation centre, the diary ends on 20th October 1944 when Armour is in Rome.

Surrey at Play

Many of last year's accessions once again had a strong sporting theme running through them. Firstly, we were pleased to receive an additional deposit of papers from the Royal Mid-Surrey Golf Club (SHC refs 8148/20–22) including correspondence concerning the addition of 'Royal' to the Club's title, 1926, and a complaint of anti-Semitism against the Club, 1943. The club was founded in 1892 and gained its name due to the fact that it was on the edge of both Middlesex and Surrey. To some extent it was an offshoot of Richmond Athletic Association, and the committee initially comprised equal numbers of members and non-members of the Association. The Club sub-leased Old Deer Park, Richmond, from the Crown Tenant, Mr J Horswell, and in 1894 itself took over the tenancy. It was granted the prefix 'Royal' in 1926, the year in which HRH the Prince of Wales was captain. Somewhat unusually for a golf club which was founded at a time when 'objections were still strong in some quarters to what was seen as a lack of modesty implicit in their playing a game of this nature' (P Ryde, *Characters and Kings: The Making of Royal Mid-Surrey*, RMSGC, 1991, p.76), the ladies' section has existed from the foundation of the Club: the earliest entries in the members' registers date from November 1892.

The complaint of anti-Semitism filed against the Club (SHC ref 8148/21) was made by B Delson of London, a Club member, regarding the Club's 'adoption of Nazi methods of race hatred' via its policy of sending proposed new members a questionnaire to ascertain whether they were Jewish, and even if they were not, then potentially asking for further information about their ancestry. The papers include a request for an inquiry with a view to depriving the Club of the title 'Royal' but accompanying correspondence shows that both the Home Secretary and King George V felt that the proceedings of the Committee of the Club were not matters on which they could intervene.

Two deposits of records from the Dittons Skiff and Punting Club (DSPC), 1887–2013 (SHC ref 9220) were received in the course of the year, including committee and annual general meeting minutes, 1925–2003; a membership register, 1923–1940; secretary’s files, newsletters, fixture cards and programmes, 1935–2013; and records of the Hampton Court and Dittons Amateur Regatta. DSPC was founded in 1923, following a meeting of interested persons in Long Ditton Parish Hall, and operated initially from a site in Ferry Road, Thames Ditton, leasing single and double skiffs and a number of punts from Turks Boatyard. In the early 1960s, the club occupied Albany Cottage in Alexandra Road with a boatshed nearby, but after redevelopment of the area in 1996 these buildings were replaced by a new purpose built clubhouse and boatshed at Thames Ditton. DSPC hosts the Hampton Court and Dittons Regatta, dating from 1893, and also holds a club regatta in September, with a number of other events each year. Club members have undertaken several Guinness World Record rowing challenges and have achieved a number of records including the record for rowing the length of the River Thames, 1988; the record for a single scull the length of the Thames, 1989; the record distance covered in rowing for 24 hours, and the record for rowing across the English Channel. In 1996, club members formed part of the joint skiff clubs team that set the record for rowing from London to Paris. The club represents Elmbridge in the Great River Race.

We were also very pleased to receive additional minutes, 1969–2012, newsletters, 1970–2003, and correspondence, 1969–2004, of the Chobham and District Angling Club (SHC ref 9071) together with captioned photographs of the members and the club’s activities, 1968–2006. Started in 1968, the chief aim of the Chobham and District Angling Club is to encourage and promote angling, especially amongst young fishermen, in and around Chobham. After the inaugural meeting in 1968 a huge project was undertaken to restore Fishpool, a silted-up lake on Chobham Common, off Gracious Pond Road. The project involved co-operation between anglers, the Fighting Vehicles Research and Development Establishment (FVRDE), Chobham Common Preservation Committee and local conservationists and resulted in the opening of Fishpool to anglers in 1970. The area was subsequently made a Site of Special Scientific Interest. In 1979 the club acquired the lease of a second lake in the same water system as Fishpool, on the edge of Childown Woods. Work began on restoring the second lake, known as Childown, and it was opened for angling in the early 1980s.

Perhaps the most notable sporting practitioner represented in last year’s accessions was Myrtle Ethel Maclagan MBE (1911–1993), England Test Cricketer, whose diaries and papers were contained within a larger collection of family papers and diaries of the Maclagan family of Camberley, 1875–1993 (SHC ref 9184). Myrtle, the elder daughter of Colonel Robert Smeiton Maclagan RE (1860–1931) and his wife Beatrice Ethel Maclagan (nee Duperier, 1882–1977), was a Test cricketer during the 1930s and 1940s and was the first woman to score a century against Australia; she also became a colonel in the WRAC. The series of her papers, 1927–2012, within this collection include detailed

notebook diaries, 1927–1993, which include some detail of her sporting career (her separate tour diaries are unfortunately not included in this collection). Also included are correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to her cricketing career, letters written home while on tour to Australia and New Zealand with the England Women’s Cricket Team, 1934–1935; and correspondence and papers relating to her career in the Auxiliary Territorial Service and Women’s Royal Army Corps, 1939–1965.



Figure 4 England cricketer, Myrtle Maclagan (SHC ref 9184/4/41)

The Changing Face of Surrey

As is commonly the case, many of the year's accessions concern title to and management of land and estates in Surrey, which often shed light on the changing face of the landscape and the growth of towns and villages.

The earliest document we took in was an interesting deed of grant dated 1317, presented to us by East Sussex Record Office (SHC ref 9255). The grant of 1 acre and 1 rod of land by Robert de Rydingersch to John atte Rye had formerly been thought to relate to Rye in Sussex, though no parish nor place name for the land is stated on the document. The deed was, however, given at Cranleigh and all the witnesses are Cranleigh notables. Research suggests that the land conveyed, lying between Rydingersch's land and land of Thomas atte Rye held in dower with his wife Joan atte Rye, may well have been part of the manor of Redinghurst. Redinghurst was a sub-manor of the manor of Utworth in Cranleigh, and appears to have comprised a capital messuage (Rydinghurst) and farm, with lands in Cranleigh, Hascombe and Wonersh. An endorsement 'charter of Rydinhus de Bursthewne' [?Burstow], further supports the view that the land was in the Cranleigh area of Surrey.

We were pleased to receive as a gift a collection of documents relating to Great Goodwin Farm, Merrow and neighbouring parishes (SHC ref 9171). The estate was accumulated in the late 17th century and the first half of the 18th century by the Brooker family, yeoman farmers, and the collection documents the acquisition and ownership of the estate over five generations. In addition to wills, settlements and deeds charting the previous history of the lands acquired, the collection gives some indication of the lives of a well-to-do working family since it also includes a farming notebook and almanack of Joseph Brooker (1688–1690) and a draft lease documenting in detail the farm property in 1757. The documents themselves have an interesting history, having been taken to South Africa by descendants of the Brooker family when they emigrated in 1891. The deeds were preserved intact during journeys across the Cape, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and Southern Rhodesia!

We were fortunate to be able to purchase three manuscript maps of Farnham and the surrounding area, one dated 1819, the others apparently drawn around the same time (SHC ref 9170). Though entitled 'sketches', they are in fact finely drawn pen, ink and watercolour maps, made by Lieutenant Hart of the 35th (Sussex) Regiment of Foot. It is not known why or for whom these detailed maps were made but they bear a striking similarity to another map of the Farnham area by another officer, Capt Mark Beaufoy of the Coldstream Guards, to the same scale, held at Surrey History Centre under ref 4257/6. There was a Military Academy, the forerunner of Sandhurst Military Academy, situated at Heath End from c.1814 to 1821. The Academy had originally been set up at Woolwich, specifically to educate the military branch of the Board of Ordnance to produce officers for the Artillery and Engineers. It may be conjectured that the Academy was used for training in survey and mapping techniques, giving rise to these 'sketches'.



Figure 5 Map of Farnham area drawn by Lieutenant Hart, 1819 (SHC ref 9170/1)

Another purchase was of a fine map of Gatehouse Farm, Godstone and Tandridge, dated 1777 (SHC ref 9199). On parchment, the coloured map was drawn by Thomas Marchant, whose working area was almost exclusively Kent and Sussex, though we hold one other example of his work in Surrey, a map of the Papercourt Estate for Lord King in 1774. In 1777 Gatehouse Farm was the property of Henry Jackson, for whom the map was drawn; it was later to become part of the Felcourt Estate of the Earl of Cottenham. The delicately coloured map shows areas of meadow, pasture, woodland and arable, with a key giving field names and acreages.

We were particularly pleased to receive 10 estate maps of the Earls of Lovelace of Ockham Park, covering Lovelace estates in Ockham, Clandon,

Ripley, Long Ditton and elsewhere (SHC ref 9271). The maps date from the 18th and 19th centuries and were presented to us by Mrs Isabel Goodrick-Meech. Her husband, Horace Goodrick-Meech, was land agent/estate manager to Baroness Wentworth of Ockham Park, and he was given the maps by Mr Howard, the owner of the estate after the death of Baroness Wentworth. The maps again provide valuable evidence for land use, field names and acreages.

Insights into nineteenth century life are provided in a farming account book kept by the Lipscombe family of Dymas Farm, Knaphill, 1865–1884, presented to us in October (SHC ref 9249). The volume records the sale of crops, mainly barley, and farm stock, and details payments made to various recipients. However, the volume also provides details of members of the Lipscombe family who had recently died and includes recipes for cures of animal ailments including ‘horse cold’ (3 spoonfuls of sugar, 3 pennyworth oil of thyme and 2 quarts of gruel).

We have recently acquired, largely through the offices of Mr Phillip Arnold, an extensive collection of drawings and paintings by Marguerite Howarth (SHC ref 8658). Marguerite (1908–2001), a professional illustrator and member of the Society of Women Artists, lived in Woking from 1939 until the early 1980s. The collection includes examples of her early work (largely greetings cards and post-cards for companies such as Medici and the Fine Arts Publishing Company Ltd) and also many examples of her post-war work, which was of a more architectural nature. Marguerite produced a number of pen and ink illustrations of buildings in



Figure 6 Drawing of Pyrford Place by Marguerite Howarth (SHC ref 8658/1/12)

the Woking area, including a collection for the *Woking Review*, some of which were made into a calendar for 1958. The collection also includes some of her watercolours of local scenes.

Papers relating to the preservation of the Surrey countryside comprise a large part of the papers of Dennis Turner, local historian of Reigate, which have been presented to us following his death in 2013 (SHC ref 8984). Dennis Turner, as many readers will know, was an active member of many local bodies, particularly those seeking to preserve Surrey's historical landscape and curb the undue urban development of Surrey. Amongst other organisations, he played an active part in Surrey Archaeological Society, the Surrey Branch of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England, Surrey Historic Buildings Trust and the Reigate Society. The papers he accumulated in the course of his involvement provide a fine record of the extent of their activities and Dennis's industry, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s.

The collation of information about Surrey cemeteries was the aim of the Friends of Surrey Cemeteries, who deposited their survey papers with us in January (SHC ref 9125). Between 2004 and 2011, the group undertook an extensive survey of cemeteries in Surrey, many of which came into existence as a result of the Burial Acts of the 1850s. The survey covers Victorian and 20th century cemeteries in the county, with some that are now located in London Boroughs. Although churchyards have not been included in the survey, some Quaker burial grounds have been researched. The notes on each individual cemetery include location, date of visit, a brief history with date of opening, notable burials (and cremations), and a sketch plan. Information does not include monumental inscriptions or copies of burial registers. The collection also includes copies of the 'Friends of Surrey Cemeteries' newsletter, 2005–2012.

A Surrey Business: Vokes Engineering

During the Second World War huge efforts were required to maintain the British armed forces as an efficient fighting machine and many technical challenges had to be overcome. The records of Vokes Ltd of Henley Park, Normandy, show the significant contribution made by a local business to the war effort (SHC ref 9127). The firm was started by Cecil Gordon Vokes (1891–1961) a Southampton born engineer, whose early career was as chief engineer at the Alliance Aeroplane Company. He started his own business in 1921. After various inventions applicable to the motor industry, Vokes became interested in filters. He invented a very efficient system of filtration, initially for air, and carried out many of the tests on his own Lagonda car. Vokes Ltd was formed as a public company with share capital in 1936. Property at Alton, Hampshire, was purchased in 1938 to cope with additional demand. The works at Lower Richmond Road, Putney, were demolished by enemy bombing in October 1940 and the company moved to Henley Park, Normandy, near Guildford, in the spring of 1941. Vokes filters were widely fitted to tanks and aircraft and were vital in helping to combat the appalling conditions of sand and dust faced in the deserts of North Africa

and the Middle East during the Second World War. Vokes also devised a flame trap for the exhausts of night fighters which protected them from being spotted.

A brochure published in November 1945 declared: 'Vokes filters beat the sand. British brains and British workers conquer the extra enemy and help to win our glorious African battles. Mr Cecil Gordon Vokes designed and his staff of enthusiastic workers helped to produce the special type of Vokes filter to beat what has been described as a more persistent and dangerous enemy than the Italians - sand'. The workload took a heavy toll on Cecil Gordon Vokes' health and he retired from the company in the early 1950s and died in 1961.

The records of the business, chiefly from the 1920s to 1950s, include papers relating to patents, technical reports and papers on filters, photographs of filters and the factories at Henley Park and Alton, published technical articles and type-script histories of the company describing its war work in detail. There are also personal papers of Cecil Gordon Vokes and his son Gordon Heatherton Vokes who worked from 1948 to 1963 for Vokes Ltd in development and design.

Fighting Crime in Surrey

In February 2013 we received a wonderful addition to our existing collection of records for Surrey Constabulary (SHC ref 9152). The archive now includes an almost complete run of appointment books for Surrey police officers from the formation of the force in 1851 up to 1977 (with a gap between May 1953 and October 1956). From 1851 to 1953, staff appointment books are referred to as defaulters books and from 1956, are restyled as records of enrolments. The information in the defaulters books includes name, age, physical description, where born, previous trade or calling, number of children, last residence, what public service, by whom last employed, what relatives residing in Surrey, date of appointment, rank and where stationed. The registers also provide details of promotions, removals and punishments and the date of removal from force and conduct during service. Similar information is provided in the enrolment registers but these also include details of marriage and spouse and next of kin if unmarried; the enrolment registers do not include details of promotions, removals and punishments. All registers are indexed.

Additional items in the deposit include photographs, divisional records, and day books, sometimes known as occurrence books, which provide an invaluable insight into the events and misdemeanours that local police forces had to deal with on a daily basis. Other highlights include Motor Vehicle Handbooks providing details of every motor vehicle, in alphabetical order, likely to be used on British roads in the 1960s. Details include: date introduced; price new; year of manufacture; make and model; locations of engine number and chassis number; engine specification; height, length and weight. The handbooks include a photograph of every vehicle. There are also work diaries of police officers involved in the 'Guildford Pub Bombings' in October 1974 and the subsequent police investigation. Naturally, because of the personal and sensitive nature of these records, some of the items are subject to access restrictions.

With the establishment of an elected Surrey Police and Crime Commissioner, the now superseded Surrey Police Authority was wound up in November 2012 and the final minutes of the Authority were transferred to Surrey History Centre early in 2013 (SHC ref CC1082). The Surrey Police Authority was established in April 1995 as an independent body made up of local councillors, independent members and magistrates. The Police Authority set the strategic direction for the force and held the chief constable to account on behalf of the local community for the policing service delivered. A complete run of the minutes from 1995 to 2012 can now be found at Surrey History Centre.

Retired Superintendent, Robert Bartlett, is a keen collector of Surrey Constabulary memorabilia and a regular depositor of material to Surrey History Centre. As chairman of the Surrey Constabulary Old Comrades' Association, Mr Bartlett has become the custodian of a wealth of material donated by retired police officers or their families. In August 2013, we were fortunate to receive a CD Rom of a personal memoir compiled by Mr Bartlett entitled 'Did anyone see what happened?' (SHC ref Z/565). The CD begins with the commencement of his career in the Surrey force in 1963 and ends with his retirement in 1994.

An earlier era in the fight against crime is represented by a 1753 advertisement taken out by Bow Street Magistrates Court offering a reward for the arrest of a boy of 18 or 19 who had been working as a whipper to Sir Kenrick Clayton's hounds at Marden, which was presented to us by the Bourne Society in April 2013 (SHC ref 9167). The boy is believed to have stolen a gelding he had been sent to Smithfields with, and to have begun acting as a highwayman, in particular as one of two who robbed 'the foreign gentlemen coming from Dover in a post chaise' at Bexley Heath on Friday 7th September. 10 guineas is offered for information towards his conviction and 2 guineas for securing the horse or providing information and the document is signed by the novelist Henry Fielding. Fielding, a magistrate in the Bow Street Court since 1747, established a small force, initially eight men, who operated out of the court, investigating crimes and making arrests. The Bow Street 'Runners' could be commissioned to work nationwide, and because of this, although the remit of the court was nominally law and order within London, its range extended far and wide. The advertisement is accompanied by an affidavit of the following year, sworn before Henry's brother John, relating to the arrest of the culprit, Thomas Davies.

Extending our Reach: LGBT Organisations

Surrey has many famous LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans) personalities who at one time made the county their home, including Quentin Crisp, Dame Ethel Smyth, Alan Turing, EM Forster, and Edward Carpenter. Since 2010, part of our engagement with the LGBT community has involved participation in the national LGBT History Month celebrations, featuring these and many more famous Surrey LGBT icons. However, this is only one aspect of the county's LGBT past and for several years we have been working with a number of LGBT organisations to encourage the deposit of their records and ensure that

Whereas, a Lad about 18 or 19 years of Age Middle sized of a pale
 Complexion and a Mole upon his jaw bone on the side of his face with
 long Hair upon the Mole has been used to hunting and breeding a Whipper
 in to Sir Kenrick Claytons Hounds at Marden near Godstone in the
 County of Surrey, was sent on Friday the 24 of Aug^r last to his wife, with
 a Dark Grey gelding about 6 years old 44 hands 3 inches high, had
 been running with a salt collar on both sides of his neck, lately nickt, and
 has a white tolemish Fin in his near eye, And as the said Lad has
 hid himself ever since that time And is strongly suspected
 to have made off with the said Horse Bridle and Saddle and taken
 to the Highway, And particularly to have been one of the two persons
 who stopp'd and Robbed the Foreign Gentleman coming from Dover in
 a Post Chaire on Friday the seventh of this Instant on Bexley Heath
 near Dartford, The Lad had on when he went away a Green pluck
 Coat, an orange Coloured Cloth Waincott Double breasted with white
 Mole Buttons, a pair of new Bush skin Breeches, new Boots single
 turned down, a black velvet Cap with a felt in the Front, And was
 seen at Godden in the same County upon the same Horse about a
 Fortnight ago, and had then on a Brown Tustian Frock; Whoever
 will give Information of the said Lad to Mr Justice Forbiding so
 that he may be brought to Justice and convicted shall receive Ten
 Guineas Reward to be paid upon his conviction, And if the Horse
 shall be stopp'd or secured, Or Information be given so that he
 may be recovered, The person who shall so Secure the said Horse,
 shall receive Ten Guineas upon such Recovery

I promise to pay the
 above Sumes on the
 25th of October 1753
 H. Fielding
 25th of Oct 1753

Figure 8 Advertisement signed by Henry Fielding for apprehension of Sir Kenrick Clayton's whipper, 1753 (SHC ref 9167/1)

Surrey's present and future LGBT history is recorded for posterity. The charity Gay Surrey placed their records with us in 2009 and through outreach events and depositor liaison we were delighted when two other county LGBT organisations followed suit in 2013.

The Ashtead-based charity GIRES (Gender Identity & Education Research Society), focuses on improving the circumstances in which trans people live, and was formed out of a concern that society often treated this particular group harshly. The founders, Bernard and Terry Reed, felt that there were shortcomings in the provision of medical services and information for trans people and so decided to generate supportive attitudes among all those who can make those improvements happen as well as family members. This is central to the charity's aim and their clients now include politicians and policy makers, clinicians, journalists, employers, and the providers of commercial and government services, including the police and teachers. In recognition of their services, Bernard and Terry Reed were awarded an OBE in 2010. GIRES itself awards an annual Research Prize to celebrate the achievements of those in the Trans field.

Much of the material in the GIRES deposit (SHC ref 9174) relates to their consultation and commissioning work, which includes carrying out training, undertaking research, providing educational literature for international agencies and central government, and compiling reports for organisations such as the NHS, South East Coast Ambulance Service, Surrey Police, University of Surrey and the Home Office. Their records also include annual accounts and publicity material, but only a small selection of the records and reports are in hard copy, the majority, such as minutes of AGMs, annual reports and accounts, newsletters, member events, publications, and an e-learning resource are also available on the GIRES website (www.gires.org.uk). Since 2006, the GIRES website has been selected for preservation as part of the British Library UK Web Archiving Project.

The Surrey-based helpline charity Outline provides information and support for both the LGBT community and those questioning their sexuality. It was formed in 1999, and pop artist George Michael is a patron. The charity runs a social group, Outcrowd, which is run by volunteers and meets monthly in Woking and Guildford, providing a vital support link for LGBT over 18s. A presentation by Surrey History Centre at the 2013 Outline AGM and a tour of the History Centre by members of the Outline committee resulted in the deposit of the charity's records (SHC ref 9240). The records include annual reports, correspondence, film, and publicity material, all of which highlight the difficulties the charity faces in the provision of its services, such as funding, sponsorship, recruiting volunteers, and the vital need for their helpline support service. As with GIRES, some of the charity's records are born-digital and also currently accessible online via their website (www.outlinesurrey.org).

Surrey History Centre is committed to improving the diversity of its collections and part of our ongoing collections development is to ensure that these deposits are added to on a regular basis.

Churches in Surrey

As the diocesan record office we continue to receive a steady influx of the records of Church of England parishes in the diocese of Guildford and in much of the diocese of Southwark. During the year we also took charge of the archives of the Guildford Diocesan Registry (formerly housed at London Metropolitan Archives), which document the official enactments of the diocese since its creation in 1927 (SHC ref 9274). The archives are a reference source for the range of activities of the diocese, from the acts of foundation of the bishopric (1927–1928) and the consecration of the new Cathedral on the hill (1961), to the earliest ceremonies in the career of a new curate or the dedication of a window in a parish church. We expect faculty papers, on open access to researchers, to provide the richest source for the local historian, showing as they do, how the decisions of the Diocese on applications to alter, augment or restore features of churches and their churchyards affect the growth and aesthetic development of what are often the most significant sites in our built landscape. At present no descriptions of this very large series of records appear on our Collections Catalogue, so interested researchers should contact the History Centre for advice.

We also took in the records of a parish which had not hitherto deposited records with us, St John the Evangelist, Upper Norwood (SHC ref 9267). The church originated as an iron mission church in the parish of St Paul's, Thornton Heath. It was assigned a separate district in 1875 and the Rev William Fairbairn Bateman was licensed as minister in 1876. In 1882 the chancel of a new church, designed by the great Gothic Revival architect, John Loughborough Pearson, was dedicated and in 1887 the church was completed and consecrated. Bateman proved a controversial figure whose activities as an adherent of the Tractarian revival filled the letter pages of the *Norwood News*. The Tractarian movement sought to restore Catholic ritual and shift the emphasis in church services from preaching to the Eucharist. A Guild of St John the Evangelist was established for those wishing to deepen their faith and an associated Society of Holy Living sought to arouse devotion. In 1884, Bateman's churchwarden, Edward Hanison, reported him to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his determination to introduce lighted candles on the altar, complaining 'Why should every one of those who have set their hands to the establishment and the building of this parish and church be driven from it one by one?' In the same year, one of the five trustees sought to resign as he had ceased to take any interest in the church 'on the introduction of a form of worship to which I am very strongly opposed'. A further complaint followed in 1886 that the pulpit was being used by preachers as 'a fighting ground for their own personal dissensions on church matters' and 'a platform for promoting their advanced views in the neighbourhood'. Bateman weathered the storm, not leaving the parish until 1900.

The influence of religious organisations on other aspects of life are also demonstrated in our newest accessions. The Mortlake British Schools were among the many Nonconformist school foundations established for the education

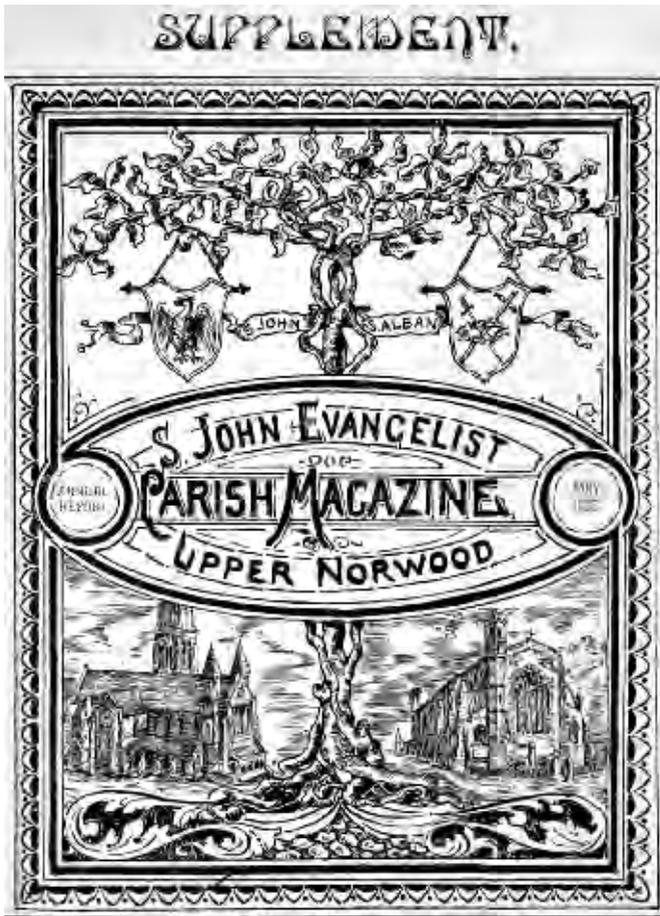


Figure 9 Parish magazine of St John the Evangelist, Upper Norwood (SHC ref 9267/5/18)

of the children of the working classes during the 19th century, alongside the National Schools formed by the Church of England. We received two accessions of records relating to the schools (SHC refs 9272 and 9216), one directly from the East Sheen United Reformed Church, the other from the Southern Synod of the URC. A trustees' minute book, 1842–1976, records the indignation of Mr Aborn Baker that a school for girls was not built in tandem with that felt urgently necessary for boys: ‘What have the girls done that they are not to have a British education?’ (a school for girls was duly built and opened in 1844, and was in the early years better attended than that for the boys opened in 1843). Other records

include an attendance register, 1936–1939, and deed of conveyance of the school site and burial ground, 1843.

Surrey and the Arts

A fascinating glimpse into cultural life in 19th century Surrey's wild west is provided by a playbill (SHC ref 9193), printed on silk by Thomas Fraser of Farnham, advertising a performance at the Red Lion Inn, Bagshot, of the play 'The Benevolent Hussar', followed by songs and 'the very laughable farce of The Waterman', to be performed by Mr and Mrs Morgan and family. Tickets



Figure 10 'The March of the Women' by Ethel Smyth (SHC ref 9180)

were to be had from Mr Morgan at the Red Lion Inn and cost 3 shillings for a box, 2 shillings for the pit and 1 shilling for the gallery. The Red Lion Inn was apparently on the High Street, next to the Three Mariners public house. Research has found no clue as to the identity of the Morgan family, although we also hold a copy of a playbill of 1826 which advertises a Mr Morgan singing 'The tragedy of Billy Taylor' at a performance at the Theatre in Thames Ditton, tickets being available from Mr Morgan at the Old Crown, Thames Ditton.

Finally, we are extremely grateful to Lewis Orchard for depositing with us his research notes, papers, exhibition material and copies of manuscripts in other repositories relating to the life and career of Dame Ethel Smyth (1858–1944), musician and composer, who lived in Woking from 1910 until her death (SHC ref 9180). She studied music in Germany and was a prolific composer, particularly of operas. Her best known opera 'The Wreckers', was performed in 1910 at the Royal Opera House, London, conducted by Thomas Beecham. As a friend of the Pankhursts she became involved in the suffragette movement and wrote the music for the 'March of the Women' which became the Women's Social and Political Union battle hymn.

The papers include copies of programmes for performances of her works, including in Woking; critical reviews; copies of published articles and research; lists of works; exhibition material and papers relating to the Dame Ethel Smyth Memorial Trophy presented annually by Woking Council at the Woking Music Festival.

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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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