

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 publication 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. Member societies may exhibit at the symposium and sell their publications there.

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

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

Front cover illustration: Anti-suffrage documents among the papers of Bertha Broadwood. (see page 40)

Back cover illustration: Pageanteers from the Pageant of England progressing down Guildford High Street, 1968. (see page38)

About the Authors

Judie English is a landscape archaeologist mainly working on prehistoric sites, having completed her doctorate on Bronze Age field systems. A 'side line' encompasses developments in settlement and exploitation of the Low Weald. However a long-standing interest has involved studying the ways in which farmers respond to the ebbs and flows of population change, and, with them, the varying food requirements.

Brian Parsons has worked in the funeral industry in London since 1982. His PhD has been published as *The Evolution of the British Funeral Industry in the Twentieth Century: From Undertaker to Funeral Director* (2018). He is also the author of *The London Way of Death* (2005), *The Undertaker at Work: 1900-1950* (2015) and (with Hugh Meller) *London Cemeteries: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer* (2011). He is currently researching changes in funerary practices in London.

Michael Page studied history at St John's College, Oxford and in 1985 received a diploma in Archives Administration at University College, London. Now county archivist at Surrey History Centre, he has worked with Surrey's historic records for 29 years. His article includes contributions from other members of the team of archivists at the Centre.

Janet Wardle studied archaeology and landscape studies at the University of Surrey. She has worked with the potters Michael Leach and Harry Juniper in Bideford and has lived at Charles Hill since 1962 hence her interest in the kiln and pottery industry that was located there in the nineteenth century.

Production of agricultural lime in an area of southern Surrey

Judie English

Mounted on the outside wall of Cranleigh church is a sandstone slab with an inscription, now indecipherable (although a modern replica was put in its place in 2013) which read:

Beneath this marble stone hee lies
Whose loss you cannot justly prize;
When widdow and fatherless oprest,
To right their case laboured his best.
Such as in strif troublesome did live,
To settle peace, counsell would give.
Many him chose to arbitrate,
When man with man weare at debate.
Hee that improved your fruitless earth,
Who had before oft times a dearth.
In these parts search he first did find,
This stoney rocke of marble mind,
Whos industry a way did fine
To make barren land rich by lime:
So profit came not to him alon,
But landlord, tenant, laborer each one.
To show from God all this was sent,
The first that to the Temple went;
And though he well deserve, that all
Should mourne at this sad funerall;
Yet since he is so sweetly placed
In peace, which ever he embrac'd,
Then let no care your hearts anoy,
Nor sorrow equall to his joy.

The last duty of Lidia, his wife July 26th 1630

This was known as the Mower Tablet, and believed to commemorate a John Mower, the Mowers being a large family several of whom were landowners in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, there is no record of a John Mower dying in the late 1620s and no Mower with a wife called Lidia at the relevant period. There was a John Crabbe who died in 1628 and who had live with his wife, Lydia at New Park Farm, a holding on the Horsham Road south-east of Cranleigh.

Despite this generous epitaph John Crabbe, if it is indeed his memorial, did not invent the use of burning chalk to produce lime for agricultural use though he may well have brought the knowledge to this rather isolated area of the Low Weald.

Lime was not the first additive to be used for these purposes – marl, a calcium carbonate or lime-rich mud or mudstone containing variable ratios of silt and clay had been in use during the medieval period and possibly much earlier. The main mode of action of calcareous marl was in reducing soil acidity, particularly in areas of superficial sands or soils derived from greensands. To be absorbed nitrogen has to be converted to soluble nitrites, and the bacteria necessary for this transformation cannot survive in acid soils; similarly phosphates become unavailable to plants in acid soils where they are combined with aluminium and iron salts. A disadvantage of the use of either marl or lime on acid soils is that the relatively sparse organic nutrients in this type of soil would be used up and unless manure was applied the soil would again become infertile – hence the comment by Barnabe Googe in 1577 - ‘the ground to be starke nought, whereby the common people have a speache, that ground enriched with chalke makes a rich father and a beggarly sonne’ (quoted in Prothero 1936, 99). The utility of both marl and lime on heavy clay soils has been considered largely structural – ‘the action of chalk and lime was to break down heavy clay soils to a finer texture and make their natural fertility more readily absorbed by plants’ (Chambers & Mingay 1966, 22). However, it seems likely that some proportion of their effect was similar to that on lighter soils, in enabling the uptake of nutrients (Mathew 1993). Other disadvantages to the use of marl were the slowness of its action and the cost of transport. The time taken for calcareous marl to be effective when compared with shelly sands or lime can be summed up – ‘a man doth sand for himself, lyme for his sonne, and marle for his graunde child’ (quoted in Hallam 1988, 440). Although marl itself only had to be dug from suitable deposits transport costs over any distance could be prohibitive – in Norfolk marl costing 1s (5p) per load at the pit cost up to 3s 6d (17.5p) at Woodbastwick, 6 miles away overland (Marshall 1786, 99).

Chalk heated to $>550^{\circ}\text{C}$ decomposes to calcium oxide and, provided the carbon dioxide is removed, the reaction will progress to completion ($\text{CaCO}_3 \rightarrow \text{CaO} + \text{CO}_2$). Two tonnes of chalk, if completely converted, will produce about 1 tonne calcium oxide or quicklime which could be drawn from the kiln as ‘lump lime’ or ‘lime shells’. Addition of water produces ‘slaked lime’ by way of a fiercely exothermic reaction which is difficult to control under field conditions ($\text{CaO} + \text{H}_2\text{O} \rightarrow \text{Ca}(\text{OH})_2$). In Surrey both indications for the use of this product are relevant – fields on the greensand benefit from neutralisation of their acidity whilst those on Weald Clay, a fertile soil if the technology exists to break up and drain the heavy clay, can be made easier to plough.

Lime burning in Surrey started long before its agricultural use is attested, indeed a kiln has recently been excavated at the Roman villa at Cocks Farm Abinger (Bird 2011) where the use was almost certainly architectural. Although limekilns and lime-burners are seen in documentary records from the 12th century it is not clear that they were producing agricultural, as opposed to building lime. Elsewhere agricultural use is mentioned in documents from the 16th century and in 1523 Fitzherbert commented ‘another maner of mendying of errable lande is

to mucke it, marle it, lyme it, or dong it' (f 42) and also 'and in many countries (counties) where plenty of lyme stonne is the husbandes do bren the lyme stonne with wode and secole and make and do sprede it in lyke maner the whiche they call moche better than dong for lyme is hote of himselfe' (f 48). The use of lime spread and by 1621 John Smyth of Nibley (Glos) could inform the House of Commons that fear of dearth was gone from the land because 'Our husbandry, by marlinge, chawkinge, seasand, lyminge, more earth, oadynge old pastures, plowing up warrens, parks and wood growndes, with god's ordinary blessing, freeth us from that feare' (as quoted by Kerridge 1967, 345). High grain prices during periods of war, 1640-1660 and 1689-1713, ensured that liming remained economically viable through the 17th and into the 18th century (Havinden 1974, 130). By 1750 of 220 parishes in Devon who responded to a questionnaire 84.5% used lime (ibid, 116).

As population continued to increase import and export of grain, which had been controlled since the Tudor period became subject to the British Corn Law Act of 1773. This allowed import only when the price reached more than 48s per bushel (approximately £89 per metric tonne). In 1813 further legislation excluded imports until the price of home-grown grain reached above 80s per bushel (approx. £148 per metric tonne). This latter price equates to about £10,000 per metric tonne in modern terms, the present grain price is in the region of £170 per metric tonne. The capital input required to produce and spread lime could be justified by the high price of grain and, even after a fall in prices after the Napoleonic War more land was broken in as farmers attempted to maintain their income. It has been estimated that between 1790 and 1810 some 800,000 ha of land was brought into arable use, much of it on poor quality soils, both deteriorated sandy soils and heavy clay land – the use of lime soared.

In Surrey and Sussex most of the kilns for producing agricultural lime were flare kilns made of brick or stone with a brick lining (Holt 1971). The labour involved in building the kiln could be minimised by setting the construction into a bank or slope and this also facilitated filling the kiln from the top with crushed chalk and faggots. Around 1000 faggots were used for each firing and the temperature had to be maintained for over 24h after which the kiln was allowed to cool for several days before the lime was removed.

One of the earliest records of lime-burning in Surrey so far found relates to fuel; the Court Rolls for Gomshall Netley Manor for 1625 (SHC ref G85/7) state 'Order by the homage that no man shall set fire any heath growing upon the waste or commons within this manor for it is found commodious for burning and making lime' – this probably refers to the large areas of, at best, rough grazing on the Upper Greensand locally known as the Hurtwood. Supply of fuel for the kilns continued to be a concern of the manorial courts and estate managers. In 1766 and 1767 accounts of the manorial tenants who cut turf from the wastes of Gomshall Towerhill, Gomshall Netley and Shere Vachery with Cranley there is mention of John Edser, limeburner (SHC ref G85/16/10[15]). Some parts of the downs were

also used for fuel production. In 1794 John Maybanks farmed at Cole Kitchen Farm, Shere. He diversified, producing loads of fern and of furze faggots which he sold to a brickmaker in Ripley and also owned a limekiln. This he allowed Samuel Roberts to fire twice and John Baker of Hatch Farm, Abinger to fire four times providing they bought the furze for firing from him (SHC ref 85/16/11). Furze, preferably Dutch furze, was recommended for fuelling limekilns and could be grown in small areas of poor land not suitable for other crops. In Cranleigh parish, where approximately 80% of the parcels are named in the Tithe Apportionment, there are 35 fields either called Furze Fields or described as being used to grow furze. They total 125a 2r (61ha) but most were no longer being used for furze production by 1844, possibly because lime could be brought relatively cheaply and easily by canal (see below).

In Surrey chalk was quarried from the North Downs and although it is not clear which of the numerous chalk pits shown on early OS maps produced material for production of agricultural lime and which for lime mortar and lime wash, the smaller ones are likely to have been for the former especially where they are close to flare kilns. On Hackhurst Down, Abinger there are a number of small chalk pits including one immediately adjacent to a limekiln built of sandstone blocks with a brick lining still with its last charge of chalk (figure 1). A little further west in Gomshall there is a large chalk pit and an area of open cast chalk quarrying on Netley Plantation and a limekiln on London Road, the public footpath which climbs diagonally across the face of the scarp slope of the downs. Close to a large chalk pit in Coombe Bottom, Shere are a number of piles of shattered chalk and these may be the 'Britt Hills' mentioned in a document of 1783 when William Bray, Lord of the Manor of Shere Vachery and Cranleigh retained 'the right to carry away Britt or rubbish of chalk from the chalk pit but not from the Britt Hills'. One kiln within that manor was on Coneyhurst Farm, Ewhurst (figure 2). Probably one of the last rural limekilns constructed was the brick-built example on Farley Heath which appears to have exploited small areas of chalk-bearing Coombe Deposits (Dines & Edmunds 1929, 144). This kiln (figure 3) was built of frogged bricks and it shown on OS 25" maps as having been active by 1871 but to have been out of use by 1895.

The effect of improving arable land on the Lower Greensand was observed by 1625 when Richard Evelyn, who had inherited the Wotton estate in 1603, observed that Paddington Farm 'was better by £20 per annum (approximately £2,600 in modern terms) for the commodity of the marl' – it is not clear whether this refers to liming or spreading calcareous marl on the acid soils. Certainly his land on White Downs had been used as a source when, in 1618 he leased land for 10 years to Edward Davys giving right of access and licence 'to dig for chalk or marle on the highway called the Whiteway or Whitedowne' [SHC 6330/4/158g (temp)]. By 1636 Evelyn had purchased farms in Paddington, Abinger, Westcott and Glosterwood with the intention of improving them and limekilns on White Downs which he owned provided sufficient lime for these farms, plus others he owned in Cranleigh and Ewhurst with excess to sell to his neighbours in the Low Weald at Ockley and the southern portion of Wotton (Evelyn MSS, 1623 & 1634)



Fig 1. Remains of Limekiln on Hackhurst Lane, Abinger (TQ 100486)

Provision of lime from the North Downs kilns to farms in the Low Weald would have added to the cost and, if carried by carts with little cover would have been potentially quite dangerous – a heavy downpour and the exothermic reaction of slaking would have resulted in a hot, spitting load. It is clear that opening the Wey and Arun Junction Canal in 1816 provided an economic method of transporting heavy loads with barges carrying lime, chalk and coal south, and returning with grain and timber. Some of the chalk went to major industrial kilns – chalk from the Houghton pits went to Newbridge Wharf where the local pub was (and still is although on a different site) called The Limeburners' Arms. The Guildford pits supplied kiln at Shalford but also farms alongside the canal like Whipleigh Manor in Cranleigh. The cost of transporting chalk and lime decreased during the early and middle 19th century, partly because the price of corn dropped reducing farmers' willingness to pay the transport costs but also because to the advent of the Guildford to Horsham and Brighton Railway which opened in 1867. In 1822 the toll rate for 'dung and ashes and for all chalk; marle, stone, slate, brick, tiles, sand, lime and limestone, whether used for manure or not' was 3½d per ton per mile; by 1844 this had fallen to 1½d per ton per mile and by 1855 to 1d per ton per mile (Vine 1973, 148-149).

As well as lime Wealden farmers clearly bought chalk which may have been spread without burning, but a number of lime kilns are recorded on late 19th century 25" OS maps; many had gone out of use by the earliest survey in 1871 but some information can be gleaned. The kilns tend to be sited close to north / south



**Fig 2. Limekiln on Coneyhurst Farm, Ewhurst (TQ 084414)
(photograph Nigel Balchin)**

transport links with several beside the Wey and Arun Junction Canal including one near Bridgeham Farm, Cranleigh (figure 4a) and numerous others beside mainly north / south tracks, like the example at Coneyhurst Farm, Ewhurst, along which the chalk could be transported. Some were built on large areas of common land, the Farley Heath example discussed above is one of those (figure 2) and the kiln on heathland beside in The Warren and near Moon Hall, both beside Ride Way, the road from Shere to Ewhurst (figure 4b) was built on an enclosure

from manorial waste. Some were sited on small areas of common with the product presumably shared between those manorial tenants who had rights on the land, as the one at Pratts Corner south of Park Hatch, Hascombe (figure 4c). There are a number sites on private land, for example Rickhurst Farm (Dunsfold) (figure 4d) and comparing the size of the farms with a 'kiln' field-name on the relevant Tithe Maps and Awards to those without shows that for the parishes of Alfold, Bramley, Cranleigh, Dunsfold, Ewhurst and Wonersh it is the larger farms which probably had their own lime kiln (table). The field name is not, of course, proof of the existence of a limekiln – there were a number of brick and tile kilns but most of these date to the later 19th and early 20th centuries, and most kilns in the early 1840s would have been for lime production. The comparison shows that it was the larger farms which had their own kilns – despite a large variation in farm size this difference reaches statistical significance for all parishes except Dunsfold.



Fig 3. Limekiln on Farley Heath, Albury (TQ04884510) (photographed in 1980)

By the mid-1840s there had been many years of agitation against the Corn Laws but landowners feared that repeal would result in them losing economic and political power in favour of the burgeoning industrial classes. However, poor harvests in 1845 triggered famine in Ireland and scarcity in England and in January 1846 Prime Minister Peel announced that the tariff would be reduced and finally abolished in February 1849. This repeal had less effect on grain prices than the development of cheaper shipping and rail transport over the next two decades and large amounts of grain were imported from America and Russia. In 1877 the price of wheat was £227 per metric tonne but by 1886 it had fallen to £124 and by this date some 28% of wheat growing land had gone out of use; Britain's reliance on imported wheat rose from 2% in the 1830s to 65% in 1886 (Ensor 1936, 116). Between 1871 and 1881 the number of agricultural labourers recorded in the census decreased by 92,250 (*ibid* 117); agriculture accounted for 17% of the national income but by 1911 that figure had fallen to less than 7% (Feuchtwanger 1985, 116). Farmers on marginal lands were disadvantaged and there was insufficient capital available to continue lime production and transport. By 1914 Britain was dependent on imports for about 80% of her wheat and 40% of her meat (Marwick 1991, 58).

The First World War saw British agriculture under pressure to produce more food since imports were threatened by a German U-boat blockade. Liming increased but lime was sourced from major producers rather than locally made, and rationing averted until 1918 when sugar was rationed in January and meat, butter, cheese and margarine in April. A good wheat harvest ensured that a food crisis

was averted although sugar and butter remained on ration until 1920 (Beckett 2007, 380-382).

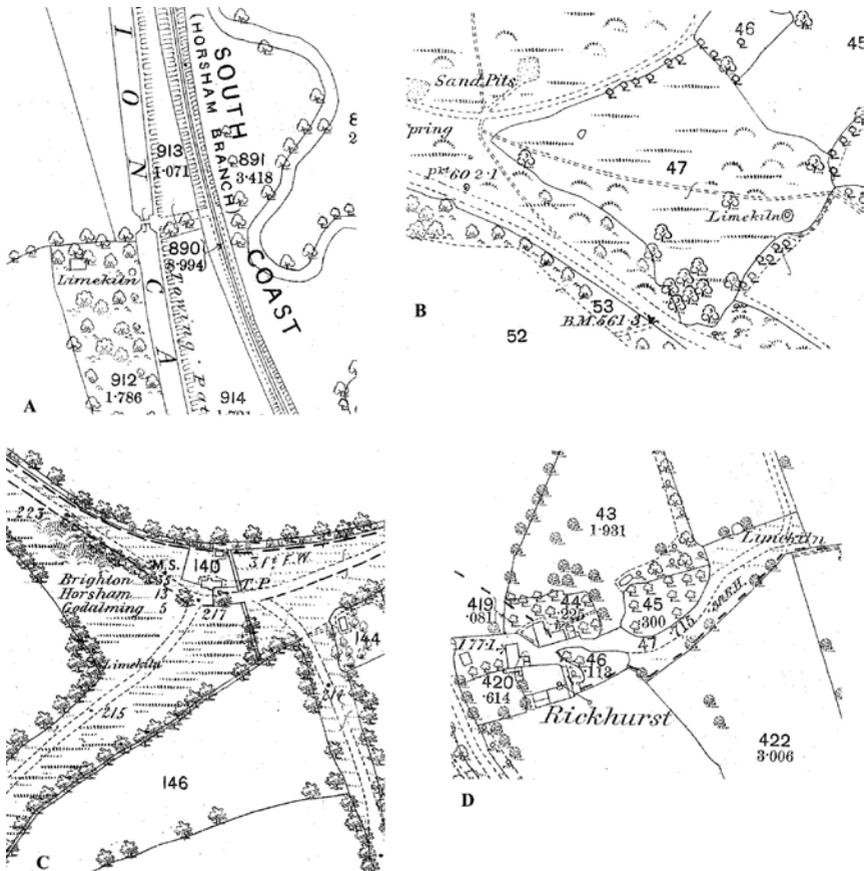


Figure 4 Lime kilns located:

- a) Close to the Wey and Arun Junction Canal near Whibley Manor, Bramley (TQ 03424082)
- b) On waste of the manor close to Ride Way, Ewhurst, a major north / south track (TQ 08444204)
- c) On a small area of common land close to road junction at Pratt's Corner, Dunsfold (TQ 01183757)
- d) On private land at Rickhurst Farm, Dunsfold (TQ 01653557) (farm destroyed by construction of Dunsfold Airfield in 1942)

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After World War I liming decreased and although it became recognised that much arable land would have benefitted from a continuation of the practise, and by 1930

it was said that some 95% of the land would benefit from the use of lime (Davis 1930) and in Hertfordshire 19 out of 20 farms were considered deficient (Gardner 1933; Gardner & Garner 1953, 14). During the run-up to the Second World War efforts were made to improve this situation, particularly through the Agricultural Act 1937 which aimed at increasing food production through the Land Fertility Scheme. Any occupier of land could claim 50% of the cost of liming his land from the Exchequer and the use of lime increased from 940,000 tonnes in 1937/8 to 3,270,000 tonnes in 1942/3. After the war the use of lime declined and in 1950 a pamphlet produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries despaired ‘Despite all that has been done in recent years, lime deficiency remains one of the greatest obstacles to increased production’.

Table

Data derived from First Edition OS 25” maps comparing the size of farms with their own lime kilns to those without. Statistical analysis used Student’s one-tailed ‘t’ test.

	Holding size (ha)					
	with ‘kiln’ field name		without ‘kiln’ field name		df	p
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Alfold	59	31	26	14	34	>0.002
Bramley	69	47	30	17	43	>0.002
Cranleigh	55	26	27	16	39	>0.0001
Dunsfold	51	24	43	36	89	>0.24
Ewhurst	54	21	35	19	47	>0.003
Wonersh	47	17	32	23	57	>0.03

Acknowledgement

Information from the Bray papers and the Gomshall Netley manorial court rolls, and the photograph of the lime kiln at Coneyhurst, Ewhurst were provided by Nigel Balchin, for which I am most grateful.

Primary sources

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- SHC 6330/4/158g (temp) Court records for Abinger manor
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North Surrey and the 1918 Spanish Flu

Brian Parsons

Introduction

On the 11th November 1918, World War I ended with the signing of the Armistice. The four years of conflict resulted in 18 million deaths worldwide, with 744,000 being British servicemen. Towns and villages nationwide celebrated with processions and services in local churches. Whilst there was rejoicing that the war was finally over, for many it was a painful time as families remembered those who had not returned from the Front. For others it was a double tragedy as in the October and November of that year influenza claimed many of those who had survived the fighting along with those remaining at home.

Worldwide, the influenza claimed somewhere between 50 and one hundred million; 17 million in India, two per cent of the population of Africa, over 500,000 in the US and 228,000 in the UK. It nearly killed the Prime Minister David Lloyd George, President Franklin D Roosevelt and Mahatma Ghandi; the composer of Jerusalem, Charles Parry, was a victim too. Despite this high death toll, the influenza pandemic has been overlooked; one researcher dubs it a ‘forgotten’ story.¹

First identified in May 1918, it was labelled the Spanish ‘Flu by *The Times* as Spain was the only country willing to admit there was a problem. King Alfonso XIII fell victim as did many of his subjects. Its origins are uncertain but have been attributed to north America and/or northern France. Conspiracy theories claimed it was a man-made virus distributed by German U-boats and even circulated in packs of the German brand, Bayer aspirin. Inevitably, it was also seen as divine retribution.

The virus was airborne; microscopic droplets could be spread through sneezing and coughs. Wherever people gathered together there was the potential to spread the infection. It gave rise to a playground song concluding:

I had a little bird
Its name was Enza
I opened the window
And in-flu-enza. ²

Overwhelming natural immunity, the strain was aggressive, fast acting and the symptoms horrific. Once a fulminating pneumonia had set in death was fairly rapid and often very unpleasant. Victims collapsed, haemorrhaged from the mouth and nose, while the skin and particularly the lips turned dark reddish-purple through cyanosis. They gasped for air and then literally drowned as their lungs filled with pus.

A tragic feature was that it almost exclusively attacked those in the age range of 25-45. If you had survived fighting in the war, there's a good chance that the flu would get you. As one doctor noted, 'It came like a thief in the night and stole treasure.'³ Most parts of the UK were affected to some degree, with the urban areas being more susceptible due to the population concentration.

This article looks at the impact of the flu in north Surrey. Questions it seeks to answer include, how many died, where and in what circumstances did the deaths occur, what was the impact on the hospitals and the doctors, and how did funeral directors and the cemeteries cope. Much of the information is drawn from newspapers, Medical Officer of Health reports, along with cemetery and funeral directing records.

The Spanish Flu arrives

Influenza has been a regular visitor to this country for centuries; in 1847-8, 5,000 succumbed in London while an outbreak of Russian flu in 1894 claimed 100,000 in the UK. Pandemics occur in three waves; first when a small number are affected, the recrudescence claiming the largest number of victims, followed by a final episode, similar in scale to the first. In respect of this pandemic it was June/July 1918, followed by the recrudescence in October/November with February 1919 being the final wave. The first indication that there was literally 'something in the wind' was in December 1917 when a reformatory schoolboy's death was thought to be due to 'congestion of the lungs' – one of the consequences of influenza. This was followed by four further deaths including one registered as 'Influenza'. These, however, were treated with scepticism by the authorities.⁴ By the first week of July deaths attributed to influenza were being registered in the London County Council's area.⁵ This proved to be merely the prelude as by mid-October the spectre of the 'Spanish Lady' had returned with vengeance. Reaction to the flu by the authorities was not exactly swift as hospitals, doctors and other organisation' were caught unaware. The Local Government Board eventually issued the Public Health (Influenza) Regulations 1918 on 18 November.⁶ These required cinema patrons to vacate

Influenza

Bovril Ltd. wish to express their regret at the shortage of Bovril during the recent Influenza epidemic.

The proprietors of Bovril, recognising that those who are deprived of the body-building powers of Bovril may more easily fall victims to the epidemic, have done their utmost to increase the supply, but the lack of bottles has seriously hampered—and still hampers—their endeavours. Efforts are being made to collect empty bottles, and it is hoped that supplies will soon be increased by the release of men for the bottle factories.

It is suggested that those consumers who have a stock of Bovril should avoid purchasing at present, and thus leave the available Bovril for those who have more pressing need of it at this critical time.

Figure 1 Advertisers were not hesitant in claiming their products were remedies for influenza (Surrey Advertiser 30 November 1918)

RIFLEMAN WILLIAM OATWAY (M.M.)
Royal Irish Rifles, British Expeditionary Force

"I have very much pleasure in testifying to the beneficial effects derived from taking your Phosferine while on active service, because I was a Battalion Despatch Runner. I was fortunate enough to have the Military Medal bestowed upon me for my work as a Despatch Runner—coming through fairly well, always keeping fit and never being subject to toothache, loss of appetite, headaches or any of the other ailments many of the men had, who were exposed to the same weather conditions as I was—in fact I 'carried on' until I was knocked over by a big bit of shrapnel. Ever since I was in the Army I have taken Phosferine.

This intrepid Despatch Runner considers it is really due to the vitalising properties of Phosferine, that he has escaped the nerve disorders and bodily ailments which Active Service provokes — — Phosferine enabled his system to stand up extra vitally in advance, and thus ensure that not even the severest hardships or exertions could overthrow his powers of resistance.

When you require the Best Tonic Medicine, see that you get

PHOSFERINE

A PROVEN REMEDY FOR

Indigestion Maternity Weakness Lactation Sciatica Neuralgia Loss of Appetite
 Exhaustion Mental Exhaustion Anemia Hysteria Backache Rheumatism
 Sleeplessness Premature Decay Neuritis Headache Influenza Nervous Debility

Phosferine has a world-wide repute for curing disorders of the nervous system more completely and speedily, and at less cost than any other preparation.

SPECIAL SERVICE NOTE Phosferine is made in Liquid and Solidly convenient for use on ACTIVE SERVICE. Tablets, the Tablets form being particularly convenient, etc. — It can be used any time, anywhere, in accurate doses, as no water is needed.

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Figure 2 *Surrey Comet* 19 October 1918

Richmond and Twickenham Times and constructing a chronology in north Surrey.

By the 23 October *The Thames Valley Times* reported that the number of cases 'continues to increase' but Dr John Hedley Crocker, the Richmond MOH said there was 'no cause for public alarm'.⁹ He also claimed that the majority of influenza cases were 'of a very mild type' and if people heeded precautions, the disease would 'soon be wiped out'. The MOH for Twickenham, Dr George Dupont, referred to the 'alarming reports in the papers' and believed that his statement would 'allay fears'. He was quite right as *The Thames Valley Times* also published on 23 October claimed there were 1,000-2,000 cases in the district.¹⁰ The following week Dr Crocker, believed that the influenza outbreak had 'reached its height and was abating'.^{7 11}

There were school closures while at the Technical School the classrooms were sprayed with disinfectant twice a day. The Surbiton MOH, Dr Owen Coleman, ordered all schools to be closed from mid-day on Friday 25 October, by which time schools in Chessington had already been closed.¹² By the time *The Richmond and Twickenham Times* was published on 9 November the true scale of the infection had become apparent. It stated that a well-known undertaking firm (identified as TH Sanders of Richmond) had carried out 25 funerals in one week.¹³ This was followed by a list of the names of the departed and accounts of the ceremonies. *The Surrey Comet* noted '...that many businesses in Kingston have been much disorganized through the epidemic which has robbed them of the

the building between performances to enable the air to be flushed by opening the fire doors. Precautionary measures were distributed as handbills and posters while *The Surrey Comet* and *The Thames Valley Times* included advice such as gargling and avoiding overcrowding along with minimising 'dirtiness and dusty conditions'.⁷

There was no vaccine or cure for the flu. Nevertheless, some enterprising commercial organisations promoted their products in newspapers, such as Bovril, Jeyes fluid, Formamint and Phosferine, being the 'proven tonic' to steady the nerves and for ailments such as influenza.⁸

The Impact in North Surrey

The Thames Valley Times, *The Surrey Comet* are useful for

services of numbers of their staffs. In one establishment six assistants were in bed, and the male staff was reduced to the proprietor and his shop boy.¹⁴ The article also reported that the Middlesex County Council empowered the Council or the Licensing Committee in the event of any serious epidemic disease with regards to cinema theatres and other places of entertainment, including the temporary closing of licensed premises. Children under fourteen were not to be admitted, while premises should not be open for public entertainments more than three consecutive hours without an interval of at least forty-five minutes and the whole of the ventilating apparatus put into operation and the gangways sprinkled with disinfectant or wet-cleaned.¹⁵

The newspapers also reported that many people had been admitted to Surbiton Hospital and that six of the eight nursing staff had succumbed. One thousand patients were under the care of one Kingston doctor. Grocers reported a run on the sale of cinnamon, while tobacco sales were also buoyant. An off-licence proprietor had a waiting list of over 250 people for bottles of whiskey. In Wimbledon and Merton all schools except one had closed, while many police and firemen were on the sick list.

The identities and circumstances of those dying from the flu were sometimes featured. Marion Tribe of Lincoln Avenue in Worcester Park died on 24 October, aged 41 years. Her husband was serving with the East Surrey Regiment in Salonica and had not been home for three years. She had five young children, two having been removed to an isolation hospital.¹⁶ The Kingston-based funeral directors, Frederick Paine, carried out her burial at Philip's, Worcester Park on 29 October.¹⁷ The death of Mrs Saunders in Tolworth caused her six children to be orphaned, their father having recently died from his wounds in France. Similarly, the death of a Mill Street mother of nine, 33-year-old Mrs Ellen Brocklesby, came shortly after her husband had been discharged from the military only to then die.¹⁸ Clergy were not immune. Six weeks into his curacy at St Luke's, Kingston, 31-year-old Revd John Burgoine was taken ill on 4 November and died eight days later.¹⁹ Similarly, 29-year-old Fr Ralph McElroy, the curate of St Raphael's Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, died on 27 November and was buried in Surbiton Cemetery.²⁰ Some of the victims were children. Frederick Paine looked after the funeral of 6-year-old Jesse Lemon of Hook who died suddenly from 'influenza, which was said to be '...a very acute invasion against which treatment was useless.' Giving evidence at the inquest in Kingston, the coroner Dr HH Taylor, was told by Dr Mowll that he had made 60 visits to patients in one day before seeing young Jesse.²¹ The flu was no respecter of those on war work, both civilian and military, such as the Royal Engineers' Sapper Feltham, aged 26 years who was home on leave.²² Mr Woodfoorde, a master at Kingston Grammar School died in a Leeds military Hospital after recovering from his wounds received in France.²³ Reporting to a meeting of the Tolworth Hospital Board, the Surbiton MOH said that he had 'stretched the rules' by admitting three cases of acute influenza and pneumonia to the hospital. Dr Cooper went on to say that 'An adult woman died; an infant was recovering who would certainly have died if not admitted, as it came from a gypsy van in which the mother was lying dead.'²⁴

How many died from the influenza?

The high point in Twickenham was the week ending 9 November when 27 deaths were recorded, as noted in table 1. In total, 100 people died with the average age being 36 years old. The population of the borough was about 38,000. The parish magazine for St Mary's Twickenham underpins these figures by showing that clergy conducted 25 burials in November; the previous year there were only three funerals.

Table 1 Deaths from Influenza in Twickenham: October – December 1918

Week ending	12 Oct	19 Oct	26 Oct	2 Nov	9 Nov	16 Nov	23 Nov	30 Nov	7 Dec
	2	NA	4	20	27	12	10	8	4

(Source: UDC Twickenham: *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health & Schools Medical Officer for 1918*)

The 1918 MHO report for Richmond is missing, but the following year's document notes that there were 81 deaths due to influenza (table 2). The gender differential is striking: 57 females and 31 males. The Kingston MOH

Table 2 Deaths from Influenza in Richmond: October – December 1918

Week ending	17 Oct	24 Oct	31 Oct	7 Nov	14 Nov	21 Nov	28 Nov	5 Dec	12 Dec
	2	6	18	16	8	13	12	5	2

(Source: Borough of Richmond: *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health & Schools Medical Officer for 1919*)

report for 1918 is also missing, but two others for neighbouring local authorities are available. In the District of Malden & Coombe there were 150 deaths of all causes in 1918 and 35 attributed to Influenza, representing 23 per cent. In neighbouring Surbiton, the 1919 report details that a total of 234 deaths occurred in the previous year and 40 from influenza. Confirming the trend, more were female than male.

The real scale of mortality, however, can be gained from funeral directing and burial records. By November 1918, Frederick Paine had branches in Kingston in addition to New Malden, Teddington and Twickenham. The firm served clients living in all parts of the area as indicated by the addresses of the deceased. When compared with the number of funerals in the month of November in the previous and ensuing years, the scale becomes clear (table 3).

Table 3 FW Paine funerals (Kingston, New Malden and Teddington branches 1916-1920)

1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
56 funerals	36 funerals	167 funerals	76 funerals	80 funerals

(Source: FW Paine museum)

The figure for 1918 is nearly five times the number of funerals arranged in the previous year. Although not all would have been influenza victims at least 100 to 120 can probably be attributed to the former. With four exceptions where the coffins were transported elsewhere by rail, the vast majority were burials in Kingston Cemetery, although others would have taken place at the newly opened Surbiton Cemetery. Paine’s records reveal an imbalance between genders with nearly a third more being female and the average age of the deceased being 35½ years.

Friday 15 November appears to be a particularly busy day as seven funerals were managed from the Kingston office and two at Twickenham. Careful deployment of the bearing staff and vehicles was required to ensure they ‘worked over’ from one funeral to another. After the Paine’s men had returned from the day’s funerals, they would visit houses to measure the deceased before returning to Kingston to construct and deliver the coffin in addition to grooming and feeding the horses. Cemeteries can be regarded as a barometer of the situation as the vast majority of people were buried in the area where they lived. Table 4 shows the yearly totals at Kingston Cemetery between 1917 and 1920.

Table 4 Burials at Kingston Cemetery: 1917-1920

1917	1918	1919	1920
765	875	795	653

(Source: Kingston cemetery office burial records)

There were 110 more burials in 1918 than in the previous year. The cemetery was opened for burials six days a week; no burials took place on a Sunday. The busiest day was Friday 8 November with 12 interments; on two other days there were nine and ten. If we compare the month of November over a four-year period (table 5), the scale becomes apparent; burials in November 1918 were over three times that of the following year.

Table 5 Burials at Kingston Cemetery during the month of November: 1918-1921

November 1918	November 1919	November 1920	November 1921
168	49	69	63

(Source: Kingston cemetery office burial records)

Table 6 reveals that in 1918 Twickenham Cemetery received 117 more burials than in the previous year. 119 burials took place during November and on the 6 November nine funerals arrived at the cemetery.

Table 6 Twickenham Cemetery: Burials 1916-1920

Year	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Number of Burials	409	364	481	350	329

(Source: London Borough of Richmond Cemeteries Office)

Funeral directors' and cemetery records largely coincide. For example, there were 100 deaths attributed to influenza in the Borough of Twickenham in 1918. Twickenham Cemetery received 117 more funerals in the same month than the previous year.

Three Observations

To conclude, three observations concerning the events of October/November 1918 can be made. First, during World War One newspapers were constrained by DORA - the Defence of the Realm Act. In short, they were not permitted to publish stories that would cause panic or fear and this included coverage of the influenza epidemic. Heeding DORA, at the end of October *The Surrey Comet* commented somewhat obviously that: 'There appears to be no likelihood of any diminution in the progress of the prevailing epidemic until it has run its course.'²⁵ It then attempted to question the whole notion of a problem: 'The word epidemic is used advisedly, because no one can authoritatively say that it is influenza, and influenza alone, which is causing such a serious condition of affairs in relation to the public health. In most cases the disease, whatever it may be, is not dangerous in itself, but circumstances have arisen which provide a fertile field for a malevolent influence.'²⁶ This was far from the case. Despite listing an abnormal number of deaths, the paper also quoted the director of the Medical Research Committee by saying that there were no grounds for suspecting what was happening to be a plague.²⁷

On the 30 October *The Thames Valley Times* declared: 'No abatement in the influenza epidemic is yet noted....Alarmist rumours as to tragic happenings in private houses and hospitals have no foundation in fact.'²⁸ Yet they were happening and indeed the newspapers were describing them in some detail. At the beginning of November *The Richmond and Twickenham Times* noted that, 'There are signs that the influenza epidemic is abating in Twickenham, although there are still a great number of cases, many of them serious, and the doctors are very busy.'²⁹ But without notification upon diagnosis the figures are difficult to verify. Not all those who had influenza would have seen a physician and it's likely that some deaths were attributed to be a different cause as no examination of the body was required before a Medical Certificate of the Cause of Death was issued.

The second point is that reaction to the flu by the authorities was not exactly swift. The Local Government Board issued the Public Health (Influenza) Regulations

on 18 November which remained in force until 6 May 1919.³⁰ Admittedly, the Board didn't know how long the flu would remain, but by 18 November the figures showed that it was diminishing. However, the only way in which the MOH would have known about this situation would have been through information from the registrar of deaths. Curiously, the regulations only concerned cinemas and theatres; other places where people could gather and spread the virus such as churches, schools and drill halls were excluded. The regulation was too little, too late and insufficiently broad. It also remained in force for too long with cinema proprietors applying for the restriction to be lifted.

The third observation is what the press had to say about how the dead reached their resting place. Overall, funeral directors and cemeteries coped well with this sudden and large volume of work. The national secretary of the British Undertakers' Association negotiated the release of around 100 soldiers to help with shortage encountered by colleagues in funeral businesses and in cemeteries, but this was probably in east London where the effects of the flu were more keenly felt rather than in this area.³¹ The newspapers reported delays to funerals, such as *The Thames Valley Times* which noted that '...the funeral furnishers are very busy. Some delay has been caused as it has been found impossible to get a sufficient number of graves ready in time, and funerals have had to be postponed.'³² There are no indications in Paine's records that funerals were rescheduled. And on the 9 November *The Surrey Comet's* headline was: 'The Influenza Pandemic: Undertakers' Difficulties as to Arranging Funerals'. Although noting that '...opinion in local medical circles is that the epidemic of influenza has passed its zenith...' it attributed these 'difficulties' to the depletion of staff, which is indeed possible.³³ 'Cases are mentioned in which dead bodies have been kept for more than a week before interment, owing to the impossibility of arranging an earlier date for the funerals.' At the time the interval between death and a burial would have been about five days; if you died on the Monday you would be buried on Friday or Saturday. Paine's records for November show an average interval between the date of death and that of burial in the whole month was eight days and for those dying between the 1 November and with burial before or on 14 November, 7.5 days elapsed. The delay would have meant keeping the coffin at home longer. Custody of the body tended not to be within the remit of the funeral director; it was the early inter-war years before this changed; chapels of rest were provided in all of FW Paine's branches and were well used.³⁴

Some newspapers refer to the shortage of wood for coffins. Another source states that London was even 'running out of coffins'.³⁵ But this was winter time, a period generally regarded by undertakers as busy, so stocks of wood would have been relatively high. Paine's kept a large supply of timber for seasoning. There were at least five coffin suppliers in London.³⁶ There were claims of undertakers refusing work; one firm in Croydon had 32 orders in hand and allegedly declined eight others. But this was more a case of 'come back later' or try another 'undertaker' rather than 'we can't help at all'.³⁷

There's evidence to show that cemetery staff went above and beyond the call of duty, although coping with the relentless volume of burials over approximately a three-week period clearly placed unprecedented demands on resources. At the time all graves would have been hand-dug, a physically demanding task. However, a proportion of burials would have been in common (public) graves with multiple-occupancy; a 20ft grave may well have accommodated eight coffins. So not all interments would have necessitated the digging of a new grave. Staff would have just stayed on to complete the work.

In their assessment of the economic impact upon businesses in general in Canada, Stephen James and Tim Sargent found that the effect was only marginal. They concluded that, 'People adapt and work around the shock; those unaffected work harder and longer to pick up the slack.'³⁸ This was probably the case in London and elsewhere in the UK.

The flu disappeared as swiftly as it had arrived. In the aftermath there were the inevitable reports, and criticism of the authorities, particularly of the Local Government Board and its chief medical officer Sir Arthur Newsholme who was responsible for issuing guidance about preventing the spread of flu. It would be the following year when the Ministry of Health would be founded and take on the management of such tasks in the future.

By mid-December there was no mention of the flu in the newspapers and life continued to roll forward. There was a need to recover and adjust after the four years of war. Life seemed to just carry on and apart from a few influenza deaths in February 1919, the pandemic was soon forgotten – and continued to be so.

Acknowledgements

Staff at the following local studies libraries: Kingston, Richmond, Lewisham, Hackney, Haringey and Camden. Staff at the London Metropolitan Archive. Staff at Kingston Cemetery, Richmond Cemetery, City of London Cemetery, Streatham Park Cemetery. Colleagues at the FW Paine museum.

1 Honigsbaum M (2009) *Living with Enza. The forgotten story of Britain and the great flu pandemic of 1918* London: Macmillan p77

2 Quoted in Honigsbaum (2009) p77

3 Quoted in 'The Influenza Pandemic' (1971) *Purnell's History of the First World War* Part 107 Vol 7 No 11 p2978. See Honigsbaum (2009) p199

4 LCC Medical officer of Health Report (1918) Appendix: Influenza p2

5 Source: London County Council Medical Officer of Health report (1918) p4

6 Borough of Lewisham Council Minutes 4 December 1918 p4, 18 December 1918 p28 and 21 May 1919 p179

7 'Epidemic Spreading' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918 p7

8 Advertisement in *The Surrey Comet* 19 October 1918 p2. See 'Protection from Influenza' *Richmond*

- and *Twickenham Times* 26 October 1918 p3
- 9 'How to Fight the 'Flu'' *Thames Valley Times* 23 October 1918 p3
- 10 'How to Fight the 'Flu'' *The Thames Valley Times* 23 October 1918 p3
- 11 'The Flu Abating' *Richmond and Twickenham Times* 2 November 1918 p6
- 12 'Epidemic Spreading. Kingston Schools Reopening Next Week' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918 p
- 13 'The Week's Death Toll' *Richmond and Twickenham Times* 9 November 1918 p6
- 14 'The Influenza Pandemic: Undertakers' Difficulties as to Arranging Funerals' *The Surrey Comet* 9 November 1918 p7
- 15 'The Influenza Pandemic: Undertakers' Difficulties as to Arranging Funerals' *The Surrey Comet* 9 November 1918 p7
- 16 'Worcester Park. The Influenza Pandemic' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918 p3
- 17 FW Paine register No 15 Entry 230
- 18 'Ravages of Influenza' *The Surrey Comet* 30 October 1918 p6 See FW Paine Register 15 No 255
- 19 'Death of Revd JB Hunt' *The Surrey Comet* 16 November 1918 p7. C Farebrother entry No 48 (Buried at Kingston Cemetery)
- 20 'The Death of Father McElroy' *The Surrey Comet* 30 November 1918 p8, and 'The Late Fr McElroy' *The Surrey Comet* 4 December 1918 p5. See Farebrother Entry No 53. No charge was made by Farebrothers.
- 21 Epidemic Spreading. Kingston Schools Reopening Next Week' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918. FW Paine Register 15 Entry 260
- 22 'Sapper W Feltham's Death' *The Surrey Comet* 9 November 1918 p10
- 23 'Death of Grammar School Master' *The Surrey Comet* 16 November 1917 p7
- 24 'Tolworth Isolation Hospital' *The Surrey Comet* 16 November 1918 p9
- 25 'Epidemic Spreading' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918 p7
- 26 'Epidemic Spreading' *The Surrey Comet* 26 October 1918 p7
- 27 'Ravages of Influenza' *The Surrey Comet* 30 October 1918 p6
- 28 'Influenza Epidemic' *Thames Valley Times* 30 October 1918 p2
- 29 'The Flu Abating' *Richmond and Twickenham Times* 2 November 1918 p6
- 30 Borough of Lewisham Council Minutes 4 December 1918 p4, 18 December 1918 p28 and 21 May 1919 p179
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The Pottery at Charles Hill, Elstead

Janet Wardle

In 1962 the Wardle family purchased three cottages and four acres of land at Charles Hill. They were not in good repair; two of the cottages had been condemned as unfit for human habitation and the third had an elderly couple as sitting tenants who had lived there since the 1940s. Sanitation was minimal as there was no septic tank or mains drainage and water came from a well. The ground floors were made of brick and the rooms had low ceilings with wall-partitions of wattle and plaster not bonded in. With planning consent and an architect engaged, work quickly began on two of the cottages but the third was put on hold until after the elderly tenants had left six years later. As renovation work progressed and the site and outbuildings were cleared, a circular structure came to light that appeared to link to a circular wall between the house and garden. This proved to be a kiln and was the beginning of the rediscovery of the Charles Hill Pottery. The Hamlet marked Charles Hill on old Maps consisted of a larger house semi-detached from No 3 called Meadow Cottage previously 1&2 Charles Hill and across the track the barn, now Summertrees, these cottages formed a group in a small industrial 19th Century Hamlet. Across the B3001 road there were a line of sheds, which William Etherington sold to Sara Marshall (1866), these became Foxhill.

Archaeological Evidence.

The late Anthony J. Clark,¹ left papers for the late Steve Dyer to give to his mature students, B.Sc., archaeology course, at Surrey University 1999. One of which I found, described his excavation of the fourth Century Pottery kilns at Overwey, Tilford at, O.S.880440. He says in 'Survey of the Prehistory of the Farnham District 'an old inhabitant' told the owners of Overwey that when the site was ploughed for hop fields in late 19th Century, a stream and pottery sherds were found but destroyed around 1893. A trial trench was dug in 1937 and the remains of a pottery kiln found'. (delayed, due to WWII). Major A.G.Wade found a large quantity of Roman pottery sherds and the remains of an oven 1947. They searched for a clay source 'and were rewarded by the discovery 300 yards away of pockets of grey clay in the alluvium close to the river. The pockets of clay which are found in the gardens at Charles Hill, are the same, and may have been the reason a pottery was considered viable in 1800's.

This site is roughly a mile from Charles Hill, although not explored until 1947. Clark, discusses the various possibilities of clay deposits near Farnham such as in Alice Holt Forest and river Wey deposits. The soil is a sandy, acidic upper greensand. There were three kilns found at Overwey, so presumably the deposits were substantial. Pots and sherds were also found, including a packed kiln. Perhaps a distant memory of this Romano British kiln, which prompted the building of Charles Hill only a mile away around 1820.

In 1937, William Harris, the oldest son of Absalom Harris wrote a letter² in reply to Olive Medcalf, enquiry about the Charles Hill pottery for her student Dissertation on Elstead, 12th March, 1937, 'my father told me there were 13 small potteries situated within a few miles distance'. In 1980s 'a number of chamber pots were found stacked by the roadside near the now defunct Churt Pottery, set ready for sale. Churt Pottery, is mentioned, 'the workshops are now used as cattle-pens'. Potters were prepared to travel to market their pots, perhaps up to ten miles by horse and cart and by 1839, rail transport at Milford and Farnham gave access to a wider range of customers.

F.W.Holling,³ lists 18th-19th Century Potteries but does not mention either Charles Hill or Churt although he does say that the 'only pottery now extant is the one at Wrecclesham'. PE Malden.⁴ says 'There is a pottery at Charles Hill'.

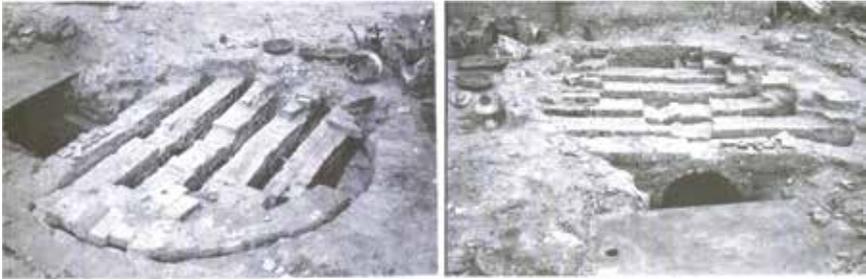
Map Evidence of Settlement

Roque's Map 1762, shows no settlement at Charles Hill: Greenwood 1823 marks Chandler's Hill. Colonel Mudge. OSD. British Museum. 1808/1809. 1816. On the road leading past the Elstead Mill, on the southern side, a rectangle shaped settlement is shown. The Tithe Map and the Apportionment Maps of 1841 and 1846 (Farnham Museum), shows the configuration of the Pottery.

Charles Hill Hamlet was built out of the waste of the Farnham Manor belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, the richest diocese in Surrey. The area, with very few natural resources, was mostly farming, some arable but mostly sheep and cattle. The Monastery of Waverley was the dominant influence. There was no great house or family primarily because there were no Natural Resources to exploit. Its main attraction became its proximity to London. Until the 18th Century when turnpike roads and eventually railways evolved, it remained an area as Cobbett describes, open heathland poor sandy soils with a small population.

Evidence for Pottery at Charles Hill on the Site.

The Farnham Herald 11th March, 1966, published a photograph of the kiln, with an article by FW Simmonds. Ashton Booth, Curator of Farnham Museum, excavated it, (Fig 1) Peter Brears.⁵



When Farnham Pottery closed in 1999, a bundle of papers came to light which Philip Harris, Absalom's great grandson, gave to the author and the late Jean Parrett. They included a letter from Absalom to Major Phipps of the Khartoum Cathedral Committee, with a sketch of the kiln, which he had built at Charles Hill around 1860's.

Figure 1 Charles Hill pottery kiln.
(Sean Rix. 2011 HER 4405. Grid Ref SU892443).

(Fig 2) This showed that the outer skin was built of sand stone, the fire arches and lower structure of brick, very like the brick-built kiln extant at Wreccelesham. Absalom includes instructions for building this type of kiln, labelling it '10ft, (as at Charles Hill'.

At Charles Hill, little remains of this structure, apart from the kiln base. Some structural remains of different phases of the pottery were incorporated in the various rebuilds and some can be seen in the modernised cottages such as a wall with half-brick infills, which was once part of a drying shed, now the partition wall between Meadow Cottage and 3 Charles Hill (Fig 3). The gable end of 3 Charles Hill shows the kiln with the loading apertures, the kiln is beneath the floor (Fig 4).



Fig 2. Absalom Harris's sketch of the kiln

The bricks of the fire arches have a vitreous residue, of a clear to green glaze suggesting wood fuel was used in the firing process. (I am grateful to Ian West for this information).

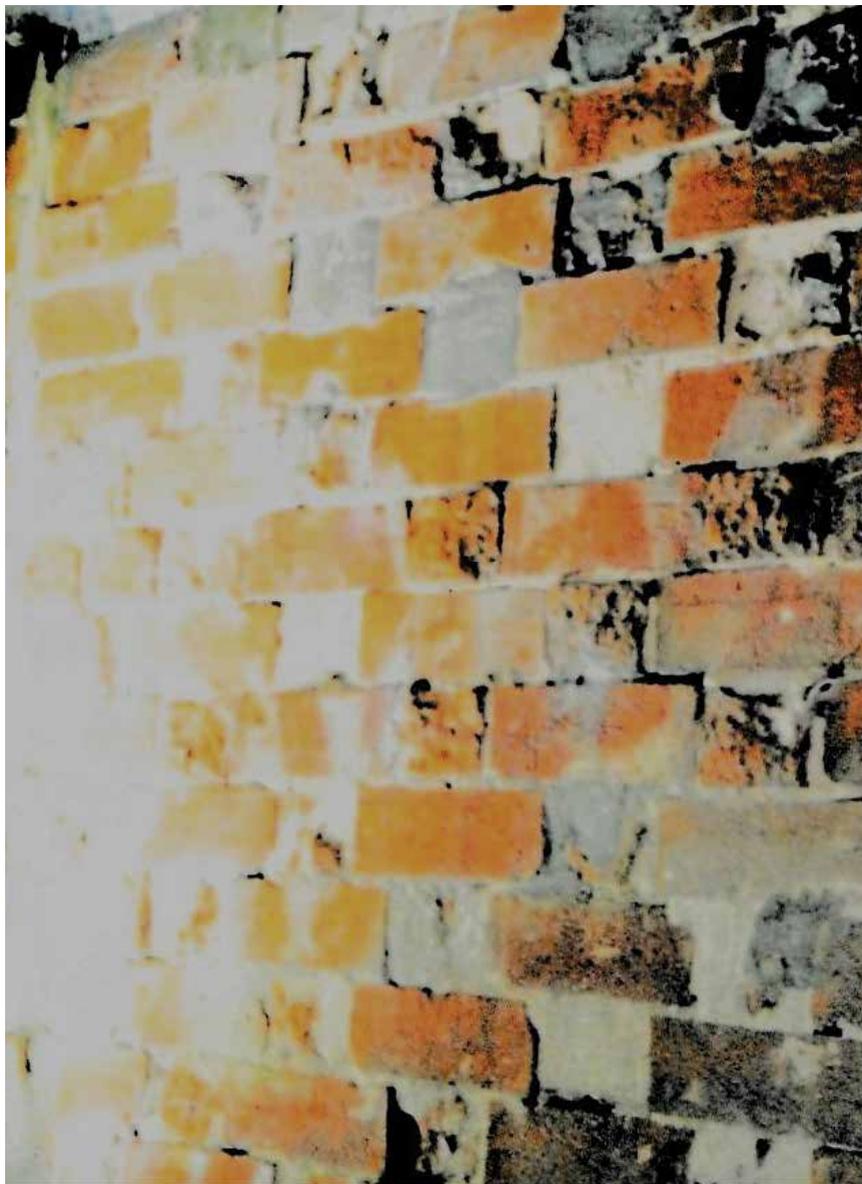


Fig 3. Remains of drying room wall. (Wardle)

At the Western end of the cottage No 5. (Fig. 4) the wall shows how the kiln has been incorporated into this gable end, with openings into the kiln blocked when the pot shop was converted into a cottage.



Fig.4. Gable end, with openings into the kiln. (Wardle)



Fig.5. Fire arches of the kiln. (Wardle.)

The fire arches of the kiln are preserved beneath the floor of this room.

The track from Charles Hill into the Pottery, was used to bring the clay to the site. An 18 feet deep, brick lined well, one of four, is between the barn (Summertrees, formerly 6 Charles Hill) with the puddling pits alongside.⁶ Three sketch maps (Fig 6.) show the development of the cottages, taken from 1841 Tithe Map; 1872 O.S.: and today

Sources of the Raw materials: clay, sand, water and fuel.

The gault clay which existed in pockets around Charles Hill, was superseded around 1850 when Farnham Claypits became a better source. Harris Family tradition is that here, at Farnham Claypits, Absalom collected the gault clay, met and married Maria Freemantle, the daughter of the tenant and brought her to live at Charles Hill Pottery.

The clay would arrive at the pottery in a cart probably from Old Park, Farnham claypits, take the track down from Charles Hill into the pottery, and be tipped over the wall into the clay pits next to the well. (See DBRG 1872 map).

Raw clay would be left to weather, then mixed with water and sand, trodden to find and remove pebbles and impurities, in the 'puddling pit', (under the floor of Meadow Cottage) drained, in readiness for use by the 'worker in clay' and then passed on to the potter. The well (Fig 7) would certainly have been in use during the life of the pottery as it was the only water supply until

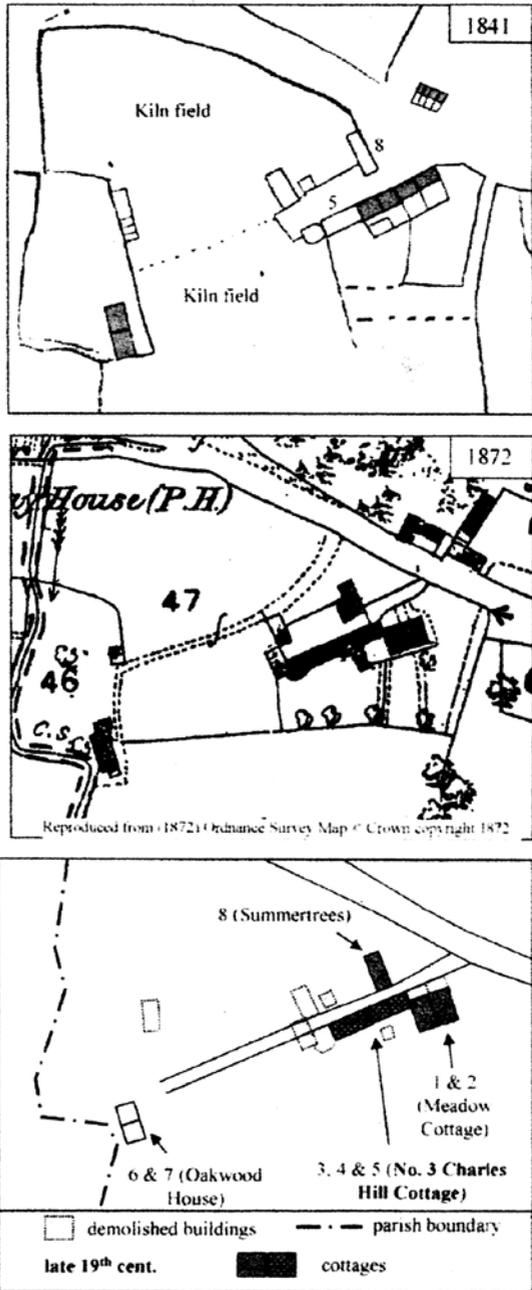


Fig.6. Three sketch maps of the pottery, from DBRG 4703

mains water was installed in 1962. Gertrude Jekyll's photograph⁷ shows a similar West Surrey well. The bavins (bundles of furze and willow) stacked alongside, encourages the idea that it could be the same well. She was landscaping the garden at Foxhill around 1904, after the pottery ceased to function.



Fig. 7. Well head Restored. June.1995, with a grant from Waverley Borough Council. (Wardle)

h as agricultural labourers used to carry food is reputed to have been made at Charles Hill pottery (Fig 8).



Fig. 8. The divided dish. (Wardle.)

Several different sized flower pots, found in the kiln firebox show heavy use of 'grog' (ground up fragments of terracotta) makes the product strong and practical in use.



Fig. 9 Larger pieces of pot with plain clear glaze. (Wardle.)

Larger pieces of pot have plain clear glaze, hand-pulled handles, both loose and attached to pieces of pottery. Some are sandy coloured, suggesting a drying out thus poorly attached to the leather hard pot. Different size fingerprints abound, reminding us that these were real working potters, men and women and children, employed at Charles Hill Pottery (fig. 9).



Fig.10. Hand pulled handle and pot and sherds with yellow glaze on white slip. (Wardle.)

This pot was given to me in 1990, by Miss Gertrude Harris (Died 1995 aged 90), who told me, ‘Father was proud of this, it was one he made at Charles Hill’. The yellow glaze with a white slip, is described in William Harris letter² ‘The ware turned out would be a variety of kitchen utensils, coarse bedroom ware and drinking mugs’. A certain quantity of more decorative pieces would be of course be made from time to time but I do not know of any coloured glazes used there at the time beyond manganese stain, while a yellow on red body was obtained by using a slip of light-coloured clay on the red body’. See Fig 9 & 10. Sketched on one broken tile is a graffiti of a young woman’s head. (Fig 11).



Fig. 11. Broken tile with graffiti of young woman’s head. (Wardle.)

Land drains of varying diameters, some with pierced holes, a seed-pan and many roof tiles of different design, were found in the garden of 3 Charles Hill and at Foxhill, these would have been made from flat slabs of rolled clay.

A line of land drains found at Foxhill, may have been an attempt to pipe the spring line water down to the pottery site. (Fig.12).



Fig. 12. Land drains. (Wardle.)

Several very large slabs of black slate have been found. The two largest are 3 ft 4 ins x 2 ft 1 ins x 1/2 ins and 3 ft 1/2 ins x 1 ft x 13/4 ins. These would have made an ideal surface for kneading clay ready for throwing of pots or as a rolling out surface for flat wear such as tiles, pipes, drain pipes and seed pans.

Under the old wooden three-seater privy, a very large iron cauldron was unearthed, with the bottom worn through. Two items of tableware were found; a very bent but solid silver spoon with an engraved 'A'; and a brown coloured bone handled iron table fork. Within the privy the wooden seat was fashioned with three holes for sitting on. This artefact was given to the Old Kiln Museum and utilised by them.

It is possible that the stoke hole of the kiln was left open after usable material had been taken from the kiln, before being covered by various sheds which were in

situ in 1962. In the kiln fire-hole (Fig 1) the in-filling included diverse types of ceramics, numerous artefacts relating to the pottery, one heavy cylindrical iron weight, odd shaped pieces of iron possibly for holding a rush light, terracotta work-pan, many sherds of broken pots and handles, flat ware with pierced holes as if for the base of a sieve, many small feet from trivet pots then began domestic material, waste and 'rubbish', tangible evidence of 19th Century working class inhabitants. These include rusty bent enamel bowls, worn frying pans, Keiller's marmalade jars, Shipham's Paste glass jars, brown glazed commercial cream jugs, salt glazed ceramic ink pots, lemonade bottles glass with marble stoppers, beer bottles, heavy green glass jars, poison bottles in brown and green, worn-out chimney-style oil lamps, broken flower pots of various sizes, and other remains such as skulls from dogs or foxes.

Acknowledgements.

Sincere thanks to David Bird, Past President of Surrey Archaeological Society who read my first Drafts, saw the artefacts and the kiln, and warmly encouraged, saying 'do it'. To my husband Philip Wardle who took the essay into the 21st Century, made the pictures and supported in every way. Louise Wardle, Liz May and Peggy Coyle who read through and advised. Philip Harris comments on his family history. Laurence Spring who knew the treasures of the Old Guildford Muniment Room, and produced the 1870 Sales Indentures which provided the basis for the article. To Julian Pooley and the many patient curators and archivists at Surrey History Centre Woking, Godalming Museum, Farnham Museum, Sussex Record Office, Hampshire Record Office.

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 2. Letter from William Harris replying to Olive Medcalf's enquiry about the Charles Hill pottery for her student Dissertation on Elstead 12th March, 1937. SHC. SYA387
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 6. Domestic Building Research Group. Report 4703.
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ACCESSIONS RECEIVED IN SURREY HISTORY CENTRE, 2018

Edited by Michael Page, County Archivist

During the course of 2018 we took in 300 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; increasing numbers consisted of digital files. Sadly only a handful can be mentioned in this article, but we are extremely grateful to all those who have helped to secure Surrey's documentary heritage for future generations. The work of our conservator, archivists and volunteers during the course of the year has also enabled many older accessions to be properly catalogued for the first time. I have taken the opportunity of describing some of these activities and the historical gems that have been revealed.

John Butler's Letters

'Ladies, gentlemen, shopkeepers, all are immersed in domestic politics': thus wrote the Rev John Butler (1717-1802), in February 1783, remarking specifically on the fervid turmoil of factions and governments arising from Britain's failings in the American War of Independence and the terms of the peace treaty. As an avid observer and participant, Butler's own lengthy and thorough immersion in the events of his time results in a fascinating commentary on late 18th century Britain, in the form of an extensive series of letters addressed to his early patron and friend, George Onslow (1731-1814), latterly 4th Baron then 1st Earl of Onslow (SHC ref G173/2/1-2). Butler requested that Onslow burn certain politically sensitive letters at the time, and in 1801 decided he would prefer that the series was disposed of (SHC ref G173/2/2/132), but fortunately most were preserved and bound into two volumes which have long formed part of the Onslow archive at the History Centre. We now for the first time have an itemised and detailed catalogue of the letters which will enable researchers to access people, places and themes far more directly.

Butler appears to have come from an unconventional background. He had made a name for himself as a writer of political pamphlets prior to the beginning of his correspondence with Onslow, but his ambition to rise in the church was critical both personally and financially at the start of the letters in 1766, when he was based in Farnham, the home of his wealthy in-laws, the Vernons of Vernon House. In late 1769 he was appointed Archdeacon of Surrey but had his sights on any available bishopric, and comments with vulture-like intensity on the reported ill-health of the post-holders. Although Butler was not ashamed to be obsequious towards Onslow, the correspondents equally shared their desire to progress: Butler frankly and ruthlessly charts the halting decline of Onslow's cousin Richard, 3rd Baron Onslow, holder of the title Onslow stood to inherit, whose final decease in 1776 was somewhat delayed from their earliest hopes in 1768. (Butler accepted that others played the same game, commenting on his own recovery from illness

in 1778, having gained the poorly endowed bishopric of Oxford, ‘The report of my relapse must be a mere mistake, as it could not arise from any man’s wishes, till I have something better to vacate.’ (SHC ref G173/2/1/151.) As a bishop, Butler had his own voice and vote in the House of Lords (from 1777), although he continued to act as an ‘influencer’ as well, pamphleteering as *Vindex* during the American War of Independence for example. Butler was fulfilled by translation to Bishop of Hereford in 1788 and in later life withdrew somewhat from an active political life.

Butler’s letters can be allusive to the point of obscurity, but they relate in detail an association of two men engaged in political affairs, stimulated by all the issues at the forefront of public life during the Wilkesite crises, the American War, the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars. He views 18th century manifestations of perhaps perennial issues with an attentive eye, and with surprisingly independent thought. He expresses himself outraged at fake news that Onslow has killed someone (perhaps the radical John Wilkes) in a duel (SHC ref G713/2/1/30, Nov 1769), suggesting misreporting should be made a felony. He is careful in disagreeing with Onslow on the liberalisation of toleration of dissenters (Onslow appears to have supported the Nonconformist Relief Act, passed in 1779), while he observes relative to his relief at the suppression of the Gordon Riots, ‘The apprehensions about popery are full as nonsensical as popery itself’ (SHC ref G173/2/1/193, Jun 1780). Popular opposition to a proposed new trade relationship with Ireland following the split with America he describes as ‘unintelligible’ (SHC ref G173/2/2/93, Jun 1785).

The correspondence touches on themes which resonate today. The fall from public grace of Onslow’s son Edward Onslow, following a homosexual scandal, Butler follows with great sympathy. Edward exiled himself to France permanently, although it appears that originally it was hoped that he might be able to return. Learning of Edward’s improved happiness, Butler writes, ‘he will be so in a country, where men are more at liberty to be charitable on one subject. I protest, I am afraid to encourage you to hope for the same temper here. I have at times taken the sense of men of the world, and have been disheartened.’ (SHC ref G173/2/2/7, Feb 1782). Both Butler and Onslow were invested in the sugar plantations of the West Indies (fearing invasion of the colonies, he notes ‘it would essentially hurt your Lordship, and make me poor indeed’ SHC ref G173/2/1/178, Sep 1779). Butler’s dismay at the abolitionist movement against the Slave Trade is of course one of deep self-interest, although his charge is a subtler one against the lobbying for the Slave Trade Act of July 1788 (limiting the number of people British ships could transport): ‘I hate the question of the slave trade and all the hypocrisy belonging to it’. (SHC ref G173/2/2/49, Jul 1788). Of particular Surrey interest are his comments on Farnham hop-picking, Surrey people’s interest in political reform in 1780 (‘the Yorkshire infection’) and the unsuccessful electoral campaign of Onslow’s Thomas Onslow in Surrey in October 1780.

Sir William More of Loseley

Access to part of another of our major family collections has also been enhanced through the completion of a major conservation undertaking to restore from extreme fragility the mid 17th century accounts journal of Sir William More II (1643-1684) of Loseley (SHC ref LM/1087/1/12). The journal had survived for more than 300 years but had been reduced to a ravaged lattice of paper which could no longer be handled.

Our conservator Jeff Dowse describes the first steps of the rescue: ‘The first major task was to separate the papers to discover what was there. All was stuck together by mould and very delicate. The result was 43 dated folios and 6 separate dated pages, the majority with missing segments, with additionally 21 large pieces and over 150 small fragments that were undated; all written on both sides. Following dry cleaning to remove dust, mould and surface deposits from all the paper, many of the small pieces were identified and returned to the missing areas of the dated pages. After testing the inks and paper for solubility and sensitivity the papers were washed to remove soluble acids, impurities, aid stain reduction and ease out creases, all were then deacidified and sized.’

By Spring 2018, we were able to examine the folios and find the chronological sequence recorded across each. Jeff then undertook to flatten then line the folios and single sheets with transparent tissue, and repaired tears and holes with Kawanaka Japanese tissue. At last we were able to assemble all the pages in date order. We think Sir William always intended to bind the pages, and now it has been done: sewn to flexible guards, the complete textblock was attached to cloth covered boards to form a book.

The restoration uncovers an intimate web of clues to Sir William’s world, which will wonderfully enrich the study of 17th century Surrey today. The very personal accounts, surviving intact between 1672 and 1679 and partially to 1684, complete a series which Sir William kept throughout the twenty years of his adult life. He was only 6 when his father Poynings died in 1649, so Loseley was managed by his mother Elizabeth and uncle James Gresham until 1664. William’s journal begins in that important year of his majority, when he took on the complexities of a large landed estate and negotiated his marriage to Mary Hendley, a Sussex heiress. Beginning in another volume (SHC ref LM/1087/1/6) with rental income for 1664, the journal series is a jumble of accounts of all kinds: payments of tax for his 37 chimneys (£3 14s), expenses of brick-making for his estate, generous quantities of claret and port, a cross bow (£2 3s), a taste for violet syrup (2s), a game of bowls at Hascombe (3s) and a charge to his mother-in-law for her board. We witness the young man losing at cards and enjoying music at Loseley late into the night, his fondness for his hunting dogs Dash and Venus (for whom he would pay a handsome price), as well as expenses for work on the house and his dutiful restoration of his ancestral tombs in the chapel at St Nicholas church, Guildford.



Fig 1: Sir William More's account book before and after repair (SHC ref LM/1087/1/12)

Surrey Pageants

The Surrey countryside has been the setting of a significant number of historical pageants in the course of the 20th century. This form of large scale theatrical entertainment, which drew on a sense of community both past and present, enjoyed a long period of popularity. A database recently created at King's College London, 'Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants 1905-2016', includes data on around 40 held in the county. At the History Centre, we can now boast quite a wealth of archive evidence for the phenomenon. The Chiddingfold pageant 'Old Chiddingfold, A Village Pageant Play', staged in 1921, is the earliest documented in our new accessions. A collection of postcard photographs (SHC ref 9964) depicts scenes from the performance, which included an ambitious prop in the form of a trebuchet. More substantial are a major accession of the archive of pageant master and theatrical director David Clarke of Chilworth (SHC ref 8147) and further additions to our records of the celebrated 1934 Abinger Pageant (SHC ref 8852).

Anne Farrer of Abinger Hall acted as pageant secretary to the 'Pageant of Abinger' (1934): during this year, her collection received the addition of further photographs and costume sketches relating to the production, for which we also hold committee minutes, programme, script and publicity material. A key pageant for commentators, the 'Pageant of Abinger' was written by the novelist and essayist EM Forster, who then lived at Abinger, with musical settings by the composer Ralph Vaughan Williams of Leith Hill Place. In keeping with its village setting, Forster's treatment of the genre celebrated the ruralism of England's past;

he carefully noted too its relevance to modern times in his foreword to the script: 'it is rural rather than historical and tries to show the continuity of country life'. (The encroachment of urbanisation would become a stronger theme in Forster's later pageant 'England's Pleasant Land' (1938).) Contemporary reviewers admired its 'semi-pagan tree motif' (the *Spectator*), and praised the natural scene in which the performances took place, with sheep grazing at the periphery. Vaughan Williams drew on Surrey and Sussex folk songs for some of the score, of which the archive includes some autograph pages. (This paragraph draws on Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Alex Hutton, Paul Readman, 'The Pageant of Abinger', *The Redress of the Past*, <http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/948/>).

David Clarke (1931-2014) of Chilworth was a major force in the theatrical life of south west Surrey for around three decades, and is considered to have been the pre-eminent pageant master in England in the late 20th century. His career in pageantry lasted from participation in the Pageant of Farnham Castle in 1950 until his final pageants in Chilworth and Cranfold in 2000. We now hold a substantial proportion of his personal archive, covering 10 Surrey pageants as well as other theatrical productions by the Cloister Players (founded, produced and directed by Clarke). Clarke was an artist by training and was appointed to his first pageant production role as theatrical designer of 'The Pageant of Guildford' of 1957 by pageant master Christopher Ede. His full scale locomotive, tender and carriages constructed for the scene commemorating the arrival of the first train to Guildford in 1845, was a notable achievement, and the appearance of a train was to become a hallmark of his own productions (including 'Railway Mania' of 1995). His apprenticeship served, Clarke persuaded Guildford Borough to approve the use of Shalford Park for his own production of 'A Pageant of England' in 1968, which it was hoped would promote tourism in the town. The Pageant involved nearly 2000 people and was regarded as a great success. The Silver Jubilee Pageant of 1977 (Clarke's personal favourite), and 'Pageant of Monarchy' of 1987 were to follow in Guildford, while Clarke also virtually simultaneously produced pageants elsewhere in the country.

Clarke's productions aimed for visual splendour and action, revelling in the huge chronological scope and scale of the pageant undertaking. He thrived on his own abilities to inspire, direct and control, coping with the risks of managing large casts of people and often horses as well, and the vicissitudes of weather (reviews show that many productions coincided with weeks of rain). He also strongly believed in the pageant's vernacular character and its power to enlist the engagement of the community in which it was set, commenting in 1987 how 'most people in the pageant are not even amateur actors, they are just ordinary people'. From the backdrop of a model of the recently completed Guildford Cathedral in the pageant of 1957, Clarke showed a keen appreciation how a sense of place was essential to his open air spectacles. For the 1988 Farnham Pageant the choice of site or 'arena' was particularly critical: 'practically all the 14 scenes actually happened in the confines of the Castle or in the town and immediate countryside ... You

are in the midst of history’, claimed the souvenir programme. Staging the scenes using a tiered platform beside the castle keep wall enabled a larger multi-level performance space: Clarke is quoted as saying ‘If I cannot have width then I must go up’ (*Surrey Advertiser* article, ‘Layer cake pageant’, 8 Jul 1988).

The archive includes photographs, costume and set designs, arena plans, cast lists, programmes, publicity material, reviews, correspondence, minutes, rehearsal schedules, video recordings of productions and financial accounts, as well as some of Clarke’s written thoughts on the genre of pageants (rehearsal notes and programme text). It relates principally to Clarke’s Surrey work, set in the beloved countryside in which he lived. For a full picture of his career, the Surrey archive must be complemented with the archive deposited at the same time at King’s College, London, which contains Clarke’s research materials on the history of pageants and his own records relating to pageants staged elsewhere in England.



Fig 2: Pageanteers from the Pageant of England progressing down Guildford High Street, 1968 (SHC ref 8147/1/2/11)

Suffrage in Surrey

In June 2017 Surrey Heritage received £99,300 from the Heritage Lottery Fund (now the National Lottery Heritage Fund) for a project to explore and celebrate Surrey's role in winning the vote for women. The project, called 'The March of the Women: Surrey's Road to the Vote', began in June 2017 and throughout 2018 and into 2019 we have been able to focus on making our existing suffrage collections more accessible. We have also been able to acquire new suffrage material either by purchase, or as a result of the extensive outreach talks and events undertaken during the project.

Researchers from around the world visit Surrey History Centre to explore our archive collections but the poor state of cataloguing of many of the suffrage-related documents meant access was restricted and it was impossible to obtain a proper understanding of what they contained. Through the work of a project-funded archivist and three archive cataloguers, the catalogues of these unique papers have been enhanced and made fully accessible to the public, with the catalogues now available online. In total, 23 suffrage collections were catalogued as part of the project, including six new collections received either as gifts or purchases.

Of local branches of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), only records for the Reigate (SHC ref 3266) and Guildford (SHC ref G122) branches are held by Surrey History Centre and full cataloguing of these has highlighted the rifts over pro-suffrage tactics throughout the campaign as public opinion changed. Peaceful protest was very much the message of suffragist 'girl orator', Dorothy Hunter of Haslemere, whose papers are now also fully described, revealing her friendship with Millicent Garrett Fawcett and significant speeches to the Liberal Party on the subjects of Free Trade and the women's suffrage campaign (SHC ref 1260). The letters of Liberal peer T C Farrer (SHC 2572) and his wife Evangeline (SHC ref 9793) were known to have suffrage relevance but better cataloguing has highlighted the couple's interaction with important figures in both the county and national campaign, including Lady Julia Chance, Lady Betty Balfour (the first female councillor for Woking), and NUWSS leader Millicent Fawcett.

The papers of Bertha Broadwood of Capel (SHC ref 2185/BMB), of the renowned piano-making dynasty, have revealed her complex relationship with the suffrage campaign. Bertha was an anti-suffragist and her papers clearly demonstrate that she was passionate about the contribution of women in the domestic sphere but not national politics. An anti-suffrage stance was also evident in the records of the Reigate and Banstead Conservative and Unionist Association (SHC ref 353). The early minute books for the Association's women's branches reveal the dynamic of female involvement in the years directly after the vote was won in 1918, showing how women not only participated in promoting local political work and forthcoming elections but also in fundraising and local philanthropy.



Fig 3: Anti-suffrage documents among the papers of Bertha Broadwood (SHC ref 2185/BMB/7/1)

The project also led to new material being added to our holdings. Liaison with the family of suffragist, Helena Auerbach, of the Reigate and Redhill District Women's Suffrage Society (and later co-founder of the Surrey Federation of Women Institutes), led to copy papers being placed with us which revealed her international standing as a suffrage campaigner (SHC ref Z/709). Connections made with the Universities of St Andrew's and Michigan led to material being deposited with us relating to Woking composer and suffragette, Ethel Smyth, whose life and work has been much celebrated as part of the centenary (SCH ref Z/699 and Z/711). Through project funds we were also able to purchase the memorial edition of *The Suffragette* honouring Emily Wilding Davison, killed at the 1913 Derby, and a set of unique glass plate negatives relating to local suffrage artist, Joan Harvey Drew of Blackheath, the first of its kind for the archive (9937).

The new material and enhanced cataloguing of existing collections has subsequently fuelled research into the lives of the Surrey women and men involved in the fight for the vote, creating a new online series of 'Suffrage Biographies' on our 'Exploring Surrey's Past' website (ESP) as part of the project (<https://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/themes/subjects/womens-suffrage/suffrage-biographies/>). However, the paucity of surviving records of Surrey's suffrage organisations meant that information about their activities had to be sought

elsewhere. Thus a dedicated team of project volunteers spent over 1500 hours identifying and indexing articles in local newspapers and the NUWSS newspaper *Common Cause* relating to the activities of local branches and individuals. Through the volunteers' work, a set of indexes has been created containing over 2000 references to the suffrage campaign in Surrey, from 1887 to 1918. These will be an invaluable source for further research and include an A-Z name index of every Surrey person featured in newspaper reports, totalling over 11,000 entries. All the indexes are available on ESP (<https://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/womens-suffrage/the-womens-suffrage-movement-in-surrey-new/suffrage-indexes/>)

Political and Public Concerns in Surrey

Two accessions reflect popular concerns and some of the reality of life in contemporary Surrey.

The correspondence files of Woking Liberal Democrat politician, Philip Goldenberg (SHC ref 9945), offer an incisive and personal insight into the machinations of national and local politics from the 1980s to the 2010s. Mr Goldenberg is a lawyer specialising in corporate finance who contested the Eton and Slough parliamentary constituency in the 1974 and 1979 general elections before moving to Woking in 1981. He was Liberal (and later Liberal Democrat) Prospective Parliamentary Candidate (PPC) for Woking in the 1983, 1987 and 1995 general elections. He was also Woking Borough Councillor for Horsell West (1984-1992) and for Brookwood (2003-2008), serving on the council's highways and planning committees.



Fig 4: Emily Wilding Davison Memorial edition of *The Suffragette*, 13 June 1913

The files document Mr Goldenberg's experiences as a prospective parliamentary candidate for the LibDems and as a local councillor in Woking. They include correspondence with national and local party members, government ministers, newspaper editors, local residents, lobbyists, and charities. The content covers a wide range of political and social issues from 'hot topics' such as nuclear disarmament, IVF and abortion and the banning of blood sports to the more routine subjects of Sunday trading laws, planning applications and recycling collections. Relationships in the Woking Liberal Democrat association, between local political groups and within the borough council are also under scrutiny.

Mr Goldenberg has recently published an entertaining book, 'Walking through different worlds: annoying people for good', a part-autobiographical and part-analytical musing of his multifaceted life in law, business, charity, national and local politics.

The records of the Godalming Citizens Advice Bureau (SHC ref 9910), received via Godalming Museum, cover the activities of the bureau from its beginnings in 1978 to 2004 and include a series of annual reports that reveal the early struggles and development of the branch. Godalming CAB opened in May 1978, initially in free accommodation provided by the Society of Friends: 'We operate with our full Information Kit from a big metal cupboard, and private interviews have to take place in the kitchen - with the oven turned on for heating if the weather is cold!' (annual report, 1978). They moved to larger accommodation in the High Street in 1982 and, in 1995, to Queen Street. By 1984 it was reported that the organisation was 'firmly established as part of the fabric of Godalming and its district' (annual report, 1984). By 2004 the organisation was dealing with some 4500 new enquiries a year, answered by 21 fully trained advisors.

Godalming CAB was (and remains) a much need resource, in many cases helping clients pick their way through the intricacies of the benefit system. As early as 1982 the organiser and founder, Isobel Clark recorded: 'I am left wondering, philosophically, about a State which introduces such complex benefit legislation for its people that they cannot work it out for themselves, and special training on it must be given to the advice givers....'. In 1996 the annual report stated that benefits continued to be the largest category of enquiries. The CAB, however, moved with the times and provided even more specialist advice: 'It is good that there are now specialist advisers who can take on board Tribunals, Courts and Debt Collectors and so on. When I look back at our amateur sojourns into these arenas, I quake at our ingenuousness. We presented cases at Industrial Tribunals we persuaded DHSS Tribunals in Guildford of the integrity of a plaintiff's case and we supported clients at court, but we knew the rules and spoke straight from the heart and our integrity carried the day. I realise that today it needs more than a concern and a prayer' (speech by founder manager of Godalming CAB, at annual general meeting, 1998).

The End of the War to end Wars

In a year which saw the finale of the commemoration of the centenary of World War I we continued to add to our rich holdings on the impact of the conflict on communities and individuals. A set of parish magazines of St Nicholas' church, Godstone (SHC ref 9800) provide a compelling picture of the parish's response to the challenges it faced. The Rector, the Rev G E G Hoare, wrote in September 1914 that 'with a suddenness that is difficult and almost impossible to realise, we find ourselves to-day engaged in a war that has no parallel in the history of the world, and of which none of us can foresee the end'. He anticipated 'a long and arduous struggle' and the magazines chronicle war savings associations, coal clubs, the despatch of parcels of sweets and luxuries to servicemen, the arrival of Belgian refugees, egg, conker and blackberry collections, the relative failure of the Church of England's National Mission of Repentance and Hope in 1916, the impact on local schools of the shortage of teachers, the draining of optimism as the war progressed and disputes in Godstone over how it should be remembered.

The Rev C F Fison, in nearby Christ Church, Lower Nutfield, was moved to



Members of the NUTFIELD CHURCH LADS BRIGADE who enlisted in the King's Royal Rifles in 1914, photographed at their first camp at Denham.

Standing, left to right:
 Sidney Smith (son of Tom Smith)
 W. Hughes
 Jack Moon
 Fred Castle (uncle to the twins)
 Tom Hughes
 Harry Castle
 Sidney Castle
 Victor Edwards
 Frank Bashford
 Ted Smelling
 George Jetter (of the Marsh)
 George Faint
 Jack Atkins (of Herstham)
 Frank Moon
 Harry Moon
 Alfred Morley
 Sitting, left to right:
 Les Hughes
 Charles Bashford (trotter of Frank)
 Edwin Coad
 George Hughes

create a photographic record of his parishioners who answered the country's call (SHC ref 9859). According to a manuscript introductory note at the beginning of the album, 'the nucleus of the collection, about forty portraits, was hung ... in the Vestry of Christ Church, S Nutfield; and to this have been added others of his militant parishioners, taken from time to time as they first appeared in their brand new uniforms, or came home, war-stained, on leave'. Many were members of the Church Lads' Brigade who joined the army together in 1914, gathering on Nutfield Station and marching from Redhill Station to the recruiting office in company with Mr Fison.

Fig 5: Men of the Nutfield Church Lads Brigade at Denham Camp (SHC ref 9859/2)

The enormously expanded Army Pay Corps set up its offices in Woking during the war and we were delighted to add to our holdings through the generosity of Dr John Black, a copy of the Corps' journal '*The Payman*', May 1916 (SHC ref Z/706). Amidst in-jokes and uneasy jocularity about 'lady clerks', there is bitterness at the slurs Pay Office staff, far from the Front, had to face: 'The calumnies and innuendoes on which ... the press has been feeding a fickle and innocent public may succeed for a time ... but Time and more knowledge will vindicate us all'. Particularly resented was the 'Daily Wail' and its shrill campaigns against pen-pushers.

Out of the numerous deposits of papers of Surrey servicemen a handful stand out. The Elkins family were Guildford brewers, two of whom served as mayors of the town in the 19th century. George Elkins (1846-1926), who lived in Pewley Cottage, South Hill, near the Castle, married Matilda Choules in 1881, and their three sons Benjamin, Richard and Edward were all killed in action in France within five months of each other in 1916. Family papers include letters home from all of the brothers, two of whom served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force as they had emigrated shortly before the war (SHC ref 9855). The youngest, Benjamin, who was the first to die, looked forward in one of his letters home to the whole family meeting for dinner after the war, 'All talking at once & no one listening, or rather trying to listen'.

Herbert Boxer served as a signaller with the 9th Battalion, the East Surrey Regiment. While recovering from wounds in Poplar Hospital, London, he wrote up his experiences (SHC ref Z/704) in a detailed but matter-of-fact narrative which includes a particularly chilling account of a soldier who had been stuck in the Ypres mud for 24 hours and had to be shot by another soldier (who had been plied with rum) to put him out of his misery. Boxer captures well the alienation felt by so many soldiers when they returned home to people who had no real conception of what it was like at the Front, writing of a fortnight's leave 'I had a grand time, although I missed the boys of the Battalion. London seemed very strange, I felt as if I had come back to another world, and strange to say I felt unsettled, I could not understand it. When my fourteen days had passed, I was quite ready to go back ...'. His diary concludes, 'Do I regret those years in the Army, in particular my Nineteenth Year. No, the memory, those wonderful memories will live with me always.'

Eighteen year old Archie Forbes of France Hill House in Camberley was a 2nd Lieutenant in the 6th Battalion, Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, when the armistice was signed. His letters home (SHC ref QRWS/30/FORB) are a delight. The German collapse had taken him, like most people by surprise: 'At last the end of the war has come, and Germany is done and beaten to the very last card! But, by Jove, she's fought it out well, and stuck out deceiving us up to the very last minute – for not one of us really knew till this morning what a frightful pitch of starvation and despair the Germans had reached.' His battalion was behind the lines in the French village of Rumeleges on 11 November and he was swept up in

the delight of the locals: 'It is useless to try and express my feelings of joy and relief ... it's all too glorious for words. No doubt England is upside down with delight, and rejoicing from top to bottom, the same that we are doing out here. The men are absolutely off their heads with glee, and it's topping to think of the happy meetings and rejoicings that will take place when we all get back to England ... The French people – on whom we are billeted – have simply fallen over us with joy all day since we told them that the guerre had finied!! The women and girls and children are practically falling on our necks and feet with gratitude – and I was all but kissed by the old lady and girls in my billet! and seem to have spent half the day shaking hands with dear old men of about 90 who are tottering about the streets shaking all over with delight ... We've spent the day marching about the streets with bands playing and everybody waving flags and shouting, singing, and cheering – and numerous rockets and coloured lights have been sent up all day, to say nothing of squibbs and fireworks!' He has to end his letter prematurely as he could 'hear the old lady of my billet coming up the stairs to my room – I believe she wants to kiss me this time!! – No, it was alright, not the old lady after all – but her young daughter who has brought me a cup of coffee.'

A letter of Private F E Gilbert, of the 11th Battalion, the Queen's Royal West Surreys (SHC ref QRWS/30/GILB) to his girlfriend, Doll, reminds us that there was no guarantee that the armistice would hold. Written on 21 May 1919, while stationed in Cologne, he was waiting to find out if Germany would accept the peace terms or if the battalion would have to advance again. He was optimistic although the terms 'were such that will make them squeal for there is no denying that they have to pay heavily as they should do'. It had been a long war and he reports an encounter while on guard duty with a German civilian who asked him: 'You think of your girl? ... Me think so you stand so still'. Gilbert admitted 'I think that, in 9 cases of every ten, if you were to ask a British Tommy while he's standing along on guard at night, his thoughts, he would reply that they were of his home and girl There may be hundreds of different types of Tommy but to each and every one Blighty remains his paradise'.

World War II in Surrey

It is now the Second World War that is slipping from living memory. Among the papers of local historian Richard Lucock Wilson of West End, Chobham (SHC ref 9891) are a fine set of diaries in which he records the impact of the war in north-west Surrey. A trained artist, Wilson worked for Lintas, the advertising agency of Unilever. In 1937 his family, though living in Kew, began to use a house called Dyckmore attached to a smallholding at Sheet's Heath, West End, as a weekend cottage. His health prevented his conscription and instead he continued to work at Unilever House, editing '*The Citizen Warrior*', a newsletter for employees in the forces, as well as working in the press office.

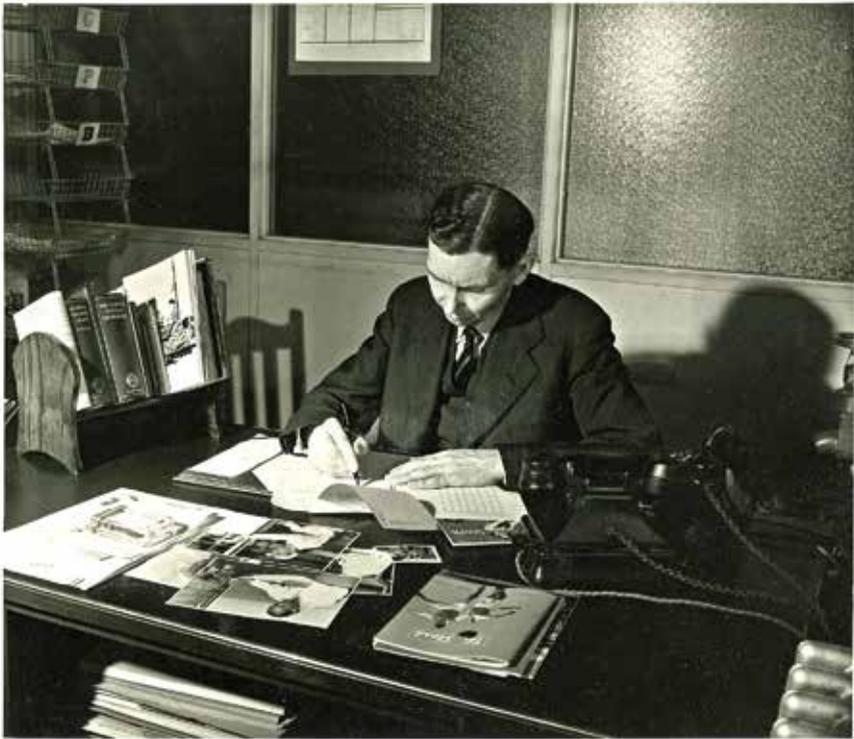


Fig 6: Richard Lucock Wilson at work at Lintas, 1955 (SHC ref 9891/1/3/4)

His diaries bring an artist's and poet's eye to bear on the landscape, nature, weather and the passing of the seasons (and the young women he encounters). He records conversations with farmers, market gardeners and allotment holders, and his mother's recollections of her childhood in Bagshot: on one occasion she was annoyed that her toy pram had solid wheels so her grandfather skinned an eel and created tyres; his grandmother could remember the last stage coaches to arrive at the Fighting Cocks.

The war is ever present, but the rhythm of life in rural Surrey continues uninterrupted: 'Another grey painted gunboat lay by Chertsey Bridge and as we came back it seemed to grow mistier and mistier, the flat fields by Laleham and Shepperton and Charlton to grow limitless – the trees faint blue-grey ghosts. And everywhere men dug in their gardens and on their allotments. The day of national prayer – many Home Guards about, Girl Guides, boys of the ATC – countless organisations whose names I do not know. In the fields too men were busy – at Laleham a man sowing – at Chobham a man laboriously pushing a hoe before him' (29 Mar 1942). He paints vivid word pictures: 'I walked back through the cool gardens and common [from Bagshot] - a full moon – all fantastically clear

and lovely. Trees elegant and still – the leaves’ tracery seen against the strong light. Little traffic – men on bicycles – the glow of their lamps and their cigarettes. The white posts gleamed in the moonlight and there was mist in some of the damp places. The magical rustle of water at Lightwater Pond. Wireless going as one passed the houses and cottages. The sound of a horse going along Red Road in the silence – clip clop! People laughing somewhere – singing and shouting in the Hare and Hounds’ (11 Sep 1943).

As D-Day approaches, the preparations are very evident: ‘A convoy had just begun to move along as I went past Green Farm. Soon the stream was endless. An astonishing sight – Englishmen riding in American jeeps and trucks, all mixed up with RAF personnel – a whole army on the move’ (22 Apr 1944). Once the long-anticipated invasion has begun, the sense of relief is palpable: ‘The fierce barber was enjoying himself, especially as he had an American at his mercy. Ah! We want fine weather now for the boys ... clip ... clip – ah, it’s the air force’ll beat him – clip clip – daren’t come into the open – clip clip ... You boys’ll bomb him by day and ours by night clip clip ... we’ve got the bugger in a fix now you know’ (10 Jun 1944). Although victory was in sight, the fear aroused by unmanned German doodlebugs is vividly evoked: ‘No rest all night – a night of thuds and horror’ (18 Jun 1944).

The papers of the Kelsey family of Dorking (SHC ref 9931) includes a wonderfully expressive letter from Marjorie Kelsey to her husband William serving with the Queen’s Rifles, written in Redhill on VE Day. The letter is headed ‘THIS IS A HAPPY, HAPPY DAY!’ and Marjorie’s joy, love and hope for the future shine through: ‘I feel very excited and happy, prec[ious], and I guess you will feel like it too, now we can really start making plans for the lovely future we shall spend together ... Last night we had just finished putting our flags and suchlike out when the first announcement came over the wireless ... The men have been doing all the street lights this morning and the whole town will be as bright as day tonight. The butcher’s shop down the street put their neon lights and shop lights on at 10 last night ... Lots of soldiers and girls were dancing in the street by the lights and we knew for sure then, that victory in Europe was here ... The main item in our peace plans is a house or bungalow and when we have that we can think of other things. I would like a car of our very own this very minute, sweetheart, but a home of our own is far more important ... Life will be very easy to live with only you around (of course Billy too!) so when we have everything it will just be heaven ... It is a glorious day and the sun is very warm. For about a ¼ of an hr it rained but then it cleared up. It couldn’t possibly rain on today of all days! It would be a shame to spoil the flags’. The letter was continued on ‘VE + 1’ after she had recuperated having spent the night dancing around the lit-up Market Hall, among crowds singing ‘Knees up, Mother Brown’. Three soldiers swirled her around in turn until she was ‘sweating like a bull’. She hopes Bill will not be upset by her behaviour, but ‘after all this is the end of the only war in my lifetime’.

We were also presented with an incomplete run of *The Abinger Chronicle*

covering the years 1940-1942 (SHC ref 9961). The Chronicle was a literary journal first published at Christmas 1939, and running until September 1944. The editor, Sylvia Sprigge, was a poet, and the daughter of George Saunders, *Times* correspondent in Berlin, and wife of Cecil Sprigge, city editor of *The Manchester Guardian*. Initially it drew for the most part on the talents of literary figures who lived in the locality of Abinger: E M Forster, Sir Max Beerbohm, R C Trevelyan and Oliver W F Lodge; Sylvia Sprigge also contributed poetry as 'SS'. Other subsequent contributors included previously unpublished writers including those on active service, such as Aircraftman E M Skipper. The publication was printed by A A Tanner and Son, printers of Dorking, and each edition includes a small image, often agricultural, on the back. The background of World War II is evident in a number of the editions, notably commenting on the escalating incursions of technology in the rural Surrey landscape, including 'War Sky 1940' by SS, 'To a Skylark over an aerodrome' and 'Telegraph Wires' by Douglas Gibson. The primary intent was artistic, and an exchange between Sprigge and Beerbohm in one number indicates discomfort (perhaps principally Beerbohm's) with content of a 'political' nature. Works commenting on and describing the war are included, however, such as the poetry and prose of Ida Procter, (for example the brief satirical verse 'Propaganda').

Health and Welfare in Surrey

Over the course of the year we added to our already extensive holdings relating to Surrey's hospitals and welfare establishments. Some of these had strayed from official custody and their survival came as a something of a surprise. Found in a house clearance was a minute book of Egham Cottage Hospital covering the years 1915-1931 (SHC ref 9879). The hospital was built with a donation of funds from Benjamin Warwick of The Lodge, Englefield Green, following the death of one of his daughters in childbirth, and opened in 1880 with accommodation for 16 patients. It closed in 1985 and later became known as St Jude's Cottages before being converted into flats in 2016. The records of Farnham Isolation Hospital, later known as Green Lane Hospital (SHC ref 9870), had found their way to an Aldershot bookshop before ultimately being deposited at the History Centre and include minute books, ledgers, admission and discharge registers and visitors books, 1898-1960. The hospital was initially developed by Farnham Urban and Farnham Rural District Councils on a site off Green Lane near Weydon Hill, Farnham, with Sydney Stapley as the architect. It officially opened on 2 January 1899 and over the following years struck agreements with other neighbouring local councils to care for their cases. The hospital treated a wide range of infectious diseases, including diphtheria, scarlet fever, polio, measles, chicken pox, mumps, pneumonia and whooping cough.

Among other Public Records transferred to Surrey History Centre were a number of files relating to the administration of Brookwood Hospital, Woking, in the 1950s-1970s (SHC ref 9873). These appear to be consultants' files and they shed light on some of the more disturbing aspects of the institutional care and treatment

of those suffering from mental illness over this period. There are files relating to the use within the hospital of leucotomies as a treatment (severing connections in the brain's prefrontal cortex) and data relating to the termination of pregnancies, including a report (1974) by South West Thames Regional Health Authority entitled 'Comments of a Working Party to consider the report of the committee on the Working of the 1967 Abortion Act'. Concerns about the regime in Brookwood are reflected in a letter written on behalf of Senior Officers of Brookwood Hospital, Aug 1973, highlighting 'growing anxieties and misgivings felt by staff regarding the future and quality of this hospital' with a view to 'prevailing upon the powers that be to make badly needed funds available to improve the standard and safety of patient accommodation'.

These records complement the huge archive already in our care relating to the administration of the hospital, Surrey's second pauper lunatic asylum, since it was established in 1868. Other records received last year from private sources also enhance our knowledge of the hospital. These include a set of registers of male attendants between 1868 and 1936 passed to an author who was writing a history of the hospital by the daughter of of the former head attendant (SHC ref 9902); some papers of Dorothy Eade (1912-2013) the matron of the hospital between 1964 and 1972 (SHC ref 9980); and a beautiful little handwritten volume, written and illustrated by a patient in the hospital between 1912 and 1922 (SHC ref 9935). The young man wrote about the impact of World War I on the hospital, about the hospital cats and the fortunes of the cricket team. On one page he painted a black rectangle which he said was a 'a realistic representation of Woking as it was at night-time during the winter of 1915-1916 - the streets being darkened for fear of Zeppelins', accompanied by a poem:

'We've lowered all our street lamps and blackened all our glass:
At 'Zepps' we laugh, we scorn your hate;
We'll grin - and save the lighting rate!'

In his account of working at the asylum he describes how his feelings about the forbidding institution had changed over the course of his stay: 'I no longer think of Brookwood Asylum as a little corner of Hell set amid the Surrey hills but as an Institution where modern science does its best to cure those suffering from 'A mind diseased'. True, it is a hard place; but what it is the patients make it: from the first moment of his arrival a new-comer finds himself in a hostile atmosphere. If the patients here would only do all they could to help each other, life in this Institution would be very tolerable'.

Realism!

When I stated in the Introduction that I was no artist I forgot that there is just one picture that I can always make a success of: it is a realistic representation of Woking as it was at night-time during the winter of 1915-1916 - the streets being darkened for fear of Zeppelins.

Talking of Zeppelins reminds me that when my brother went into his hairdresser's at Wimbledon Broadway one evening to have his hair cut he remarked to the assistant that they had made no increase in the charge. The Man of Shears replied: "No, Sir, We shan't unless there's a hair raid."

Of course, the joke may not have been original, but very likely it was.



Woking by Night.

A.P.

Fig 7: Page from a journal kept by a patient at Brookwood Hospital during World War I (SHC ref 9935/1)

Another hospital well represented among the year's accessions was St Martin's and St Nicholas Orthopaedic Hospital, Pyrford, later Rowley Bristow Hospital, which opened in 1906 and finally closed in 1990, when its specialist services were transferred to St Peter's Hospital, Chertsey. A set of postcard views (SHC ref 9984) and a photograph album of 1937-1939 (SHC ref 9908) provide a fine visual record of the early years of the hospital, showing the facilities and young patients carrying out a range of activities including reading, basket making, writing or drawing with pencil in mouth, and using a typewriter. Our understanding of the development of the hospital has been further enhanced by the deposit of records of the Rowley Bristow Commemorative Stone Project (SHC ref 9918) which was established to set up a commemorative stone on the site (unveiled in 2003) but which also generated a mass of reminiscences and photographs, reflecting the hospital's role as valued employer and a provider of minor accident emergency treatment to the local community as well as long term orthopaedic support to out-patients, and its high standards and 'happy, caring atmosphere' remarked on by Robin Hollingsworth.

We also took in further records of the Guildford Diocesan Council for Moral Welfare, including minutes and annual reports (SHC ref 9861). Through the Council's local Deanery Associations a number of social workers and mother and baby homes were supported, with a view to upholding 'the Christian standard in all moral and social questions'. The records chiefly relate to the 1960s, a time of enormous social and cultural upheaval. 'Moral Welfare' was changed to 'Social Work' to avoid sounding 'priggish and censorious'. As the Aldershot Deanery social worker reflected in 1964, 'Of course adolescents are difficult, the transition period from childhood to maturity has been the same for every generation, but now there is greater freedom and more money, and they must be 'with it' in dress and speech to move in the right crowd with their friends'. The retiring Guildford and Cranleigh worker was less sympathetic: 'Most of the behaviour problems of our age stem from lack of discipline, courtesy, chastity and proper reverence and these qualities have always been the stuff of a good and happy life'.

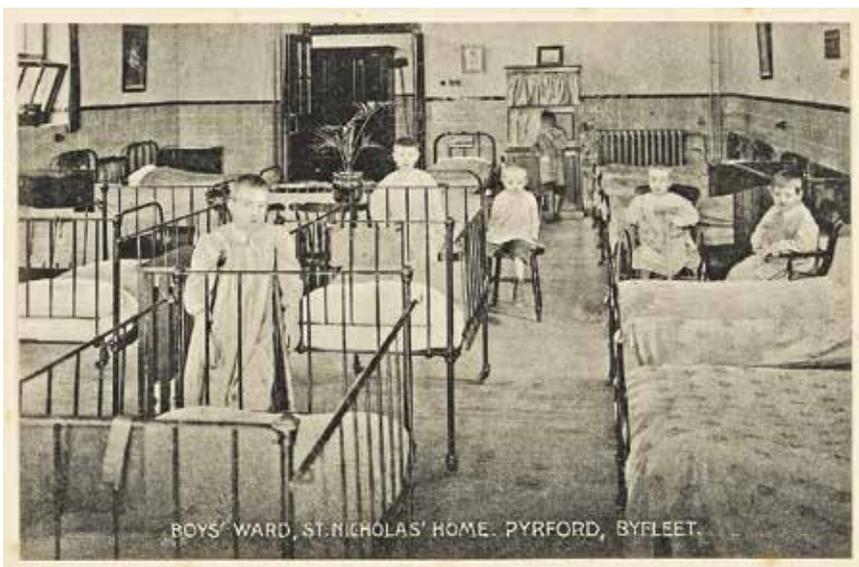


Fig 8: Boys' ward at St Nicholas Home, Pyrford, early 20th century (SHC ref 9984/1)

Surrey Nurseries

Early in the year we were pleased to receive additional records relating to Goldsworth Nurseries, Knaphill Nursery Ltd and Slocock Nurseries, Woking (SHC ref 9864). The records were received from the widow of Martin Slocock, following his decease in 2017.

In 1877 Walter Slocock had purchased a nursery business at Goldsworth, Woking, and by his death in 1926, Goldsworth Nurseries had grown from 24 to 420 acres, and the name Slocock had become well-known in horticulture. Walter's sons, Walter Ashley Slocock and Oliver Charles Ashley Slocock, continued the nursery business, concentrating especially on the cultivation and introduction of new varieties of rhododendron. In 1976 the land at Goldsworth was sold for housing development and Martin Slocock took over the Knap Hill Nursery where the Waterer family had been gardening since 1795. Knap Hill was also recognised as a rhododendron and azalea specialist nursery and Martin continued this specialism and also opened a garden centre there. The newly deposited records augment records deposited in 2004 and 2005 and include a set of staff registers covering the period 1945-1984. These provide the names of male and female employees, giving their name, date of joining the nursery, date of birth if under 21, and date of leaving. The first register records employees who had been working at the nursery from before 1945, and it is interesting to note that many had worked there for over 20 years, several for over 40 years - one F Collyer, a 'Nursery worker' is recorded in 1945 as having worked there for 'over 50 years', and F Lintott,

a ‘Horseman’ had been there for 43 years. The later registers reflect the large numbers of temporary staff taken on for short periods, presumably to deal with seasonal tasks.

The new material also includes a number of older records, including a letter book, 1903-1904; sales day book, 1905-1908; additional plant catalogues, 1936-1998; and records of rhododendron breeding and cultivation at the nurseries in the 20th century.

Surrey in the Gentleman’s Magazine

Alongside our rich archival collections, our local studies library includes an extensive run of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, a monthly periodical established by a London printer called Edward Cave in 1731. This was the world’s first magazine in the modern sense of the word, a monthly compendium of useful and entertaining information aimed at an increasingly literate public in Georgian Britain. Early eighteenth century readers were swamped with print - newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, squibs and journals poured from the presses of London and provincial printers in such vast quantities that nobody could attempt to read them all. Cave’s answer was to provide a monthly bouquet of the most useful articles, an easily digested overview of the political life of the country and a handy almanac of information: crop prices, bills of mortality, lists of births, marriages and deaths, promotions to civil, ecclesiastical and military positions but also bankruptcies, domestic and foreign news, the latest books, reports of freak weather, inventions, crimes, executions, and discoveries in industry, science and agriculture. What assured the magazine’s immediate popularity, however, was its readiness to include contributions from its readers – poetry, Classical translations and letters to the editor, who under Cave and his successors throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century was known only as ‘Sylvanus Urban’, a benign, moderating figure appealing to both town and country. With a monthly print run of over 10,000 copies, many of which would have been read and shared by thousands more readers at home, in academies, coffee houses and provincial book clubs, the magazine reveals the knowledge and opinions of the British reading public on a huge range of topics – religious, political, literary, scientific and the natural world - and allows us to explore the minutiae of daily life in Georgian Britain.

A team of volunteers at Surrey History Centre, led by Julian Pooley, who has been studying the magazine and its printers for over thirty years, is preparing an edition of every reference to Surrey printed in the magazine between 1731 and 1868, when changes in ownership and editorial policy shifted its focus away from matters of interest to local and family historians. The results, covering an amazing variety of subjects, will be published by Surrey Record Society and the first volume, covering the editorship of Edward Cave, 1731-1754, is nearing completion.

Monthly prices of cereals, beans and hops in the county, often printed on the same page as a detailed meteorological diary kept at his home in Lambeth by Thomas Holt White, brother of the naturalist Gilbert White, provide important data to supplement the monthly bills of mortality in Surrey and Middlesex, reports of distemper in livestock and letters from farmers such as the turnip grower in Southwark announcing his success at using ducks to clear an infestation of black grubs in his fields on the Old Kent Road.

Lists of Surrey gentlemen elected to represent the county in Parliament are complemented by printed instructions by Surrey electors recommending their MPs to support a rigorous inquiry into Walpole's administration after his fall in 1742 and urging the restoration of triennial parliaments. As the Jacobite army advanced into England in 1745, urgent efforts were made to raise additional

troops and Loyal Associations formed to collect funds and organise recruitment. On the 4 October the magazine reported that an association had been set on foot by Lord Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, and other Surrey gentlemen for raising a body of men in the county at £4 a man entrance. Their efforts were supported from Surrey pulpits, with rousing sermons at the Court Yard in Southwark, in Bletchingley and at Thames Ditton on 'the present unnatural rebellion' included in lists of new publications. Fear was everywhere. In January



Fig 9: Edward Cave, editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* between 1731 and 1754 (SHC Library)

1745 a deserter was shot at Croydon for having enlisted in three or four regiments and receiving a gratuity of £5 for each. Weeks later, 'James Crane, a Catholic priest', was committed to Guildford goal; there were found in his pocket several commissions to enlist men for the Pretender's service.

Following the defeat of the rebels in April 1746 Surrey played a major role in their trials and executions. Rebel officers went to the Marshalsea prison, and about 600 common men to the New Goal, Southwark. The high sheriff of Surrey summoned a jury for the trials at the courthouse on St Margaret's Hill in Southwark and the twenty-three Surrey gentlemen of the Grand Jury were named in the magazine. The trials, guilty verdicts and the brutality of the rebels' subsequent hanging, drawing and quartering on Kennington Common are reported in detail; and the relief felt by the country is reflected again in the lists of published sermons of thanksgiving preached in Southwark, Peckham, Thames Ditton and Tandridge.

These national concerns appear alongside the music and verses of popular songs performed throughout the summer season at Vauxhall Gardens and accounts of the bone-setting skills of 'Crazy Sally' who attracted crowds to Epsom in 1736, inspired songs and poetry celebrating her achievements but who died in 1737 'so poor that the Parish were forc'd to bury her'. There are reports of the crimes of highwaymen on Banstead Downs and Bagshot Heath and the large number of footpads operating in Putney and Richmond who forced crowds to assemble in Wandsworth in September 1751 so that they could travel home together in large groups for protection. Reports of explosions at gunpowder mills at Malden and Molesey and inventions by Surrey entrepreneurs for improving the quality of distilled spirits, for cutting tobacco and dyeing fabric, jostle for space alongside accounts of large-scale inoculations carried out in Guildford and Ewell, of pioneering operations carried out at Guy's and St Thomas's Hospitals and of the agonies experienced by Surrey people bitten by rabid animals and who needed to be tied to their beds for several days before they died.

Lists of tolls paid at Newington, Lambeth, Vauxhall, Kingston and Croydon Turnpikes, descriptions of the network of new roads stretching into Surrey from the recently completed bridges at Westminster and Blackfriars and a lengthy account of the ways in which the new bridge at Walton on Thames had improved commerce and daily life in the local area provide important insights into Surrey's economic development throughout the century.

In 1783 a new editor and printer, John Nichols, doubled the size of each monthly issue to allow more space for local history topics and obituaries, and with contributors like William Bray of Shere, an avid reader of the magazine since his schooldays at Rugby, the quantity of Surrey material increases significantly.

Rescued by Surrey History Trust

I will finish by acknowledging with gratitude the generosity of Surrey History Trust in purchasing for the Centre a number of records which have come up for auction during the course of the year, most of which complement collections already in our custody. These include a church rate book, 1853-1855, and minute book of the committee for enlarging St Mary's, Merton, 1864-1867 (SHC ref 9890); an 1829 letter from celebrated Surrey antiquary William Bray discussing his history of the county (SHC ref 9923); a record of all the public houses and other properties owned by Friary, Holroyd and Healy's Breweries Ltd of Guildford, 1895-1903 (SHC ref 9924); three watercolours by artists John Hassell (1767-1825) and his son Edward Hassell (1811-1852) of Dorking High Street, Betchworth Village and More Place, Betchworth (SHC ref PX/53/121 and PX/16/30-31); and an amusing log of a trip in the punt 'Carpe Diem' down the Wey Navigation, from Hampton to Farncombe made by D H Williams, John Sturney and Michael Joynt in the summer of 1946.

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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 volume)
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 Aeronautical & 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 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 History, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454. A Registered Charity No 272098.

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Production of agricultural lime in an area of southern Surrey

North Surrey and the 1918 Spanish Flu

The Pottery at Charles Hill, Elstead.

Accessions Received in Surrey History Centre, 2018

