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SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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

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Front cover illustration: Illuminated cover of roll of honour of Weybridge volunteers, 1914–1915 (see page 64)
Back cover illustration: Reigate Heath Church (see page 34)

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Croydon's Health in the 1930s

Kenneth D James†

Introduction

In this essay it is my aim to show the main developments in public health in Croydon during the course of the 1930s. For this purpose my main source of information has been the annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health. These Reports do not indicate by what means the statistics quoted were arrived at, but it would seem that the figures give a broadly reliable indication of the major

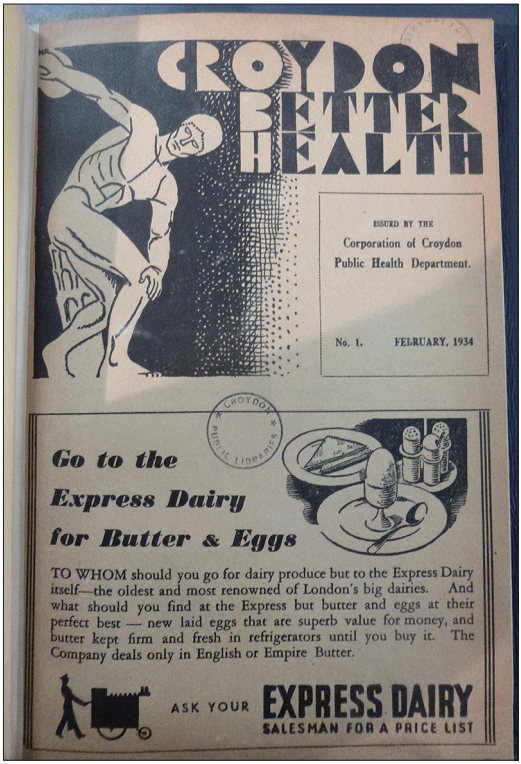

Figure 1 Front of the first issue of Croydon Better Health

trends in public health during that decade. I have also used the magazine "Better Health" published by the Council's Health Department and information from copies of the "Croydon Advertiser", the local newspaper, which were published at that time.

Britain in the 1930s

During this decade Britain was suffering from the effects of the World Economic Depression sparked off by the Wall Street Crash in October 1929. This impacted on a British economy already troubled by high levels of unemployment in the basic heavy industries: coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and textiles. The result was an alarming surge in unemployment reaching 2.9 million in late 1932 and early 1933 or some 22% of those registered – the actual figure was probably considerably higher. From this trough of the Depression there ensued a gradual improvement, and despite a temporary setback in 1938, the total had been reduced to some 1.5 million at the outbreak of war in September 1939. Even so, unemployment did not fall below the million mark until Britain's economy got on to a full war footing in 1940.

The effect of these high rates of unemployment on the health of the nation were and are a matter of keen controversy. On the one hand, the Government and its officials could point to an encouraging decrease in infant and maternal mortality, particularly after 1934, and reductions in deaths from a variety of infectious diseases. On the other hand, political and medical critics of the Governments of the day pointed to the survival of significant pockets of ill health and deprivation, particularly in inner-city slum districts and areas of high unemployment. There is something to be said for both points of view, and the continuing controversy generates more heat than light because of the apparent unwillingness of either side to budge from their polarised attitudes.

It is against this sombre and controversial background that we must view the state of health in Croydon in the 1930s.

Croydon in the 1930s

Croydon was fortunate in a number of ways. The town is situated ten miles south of London, well away from the distressed areas where unemployment remained stubbornly high. The official reports comment on the steady increase in the town's population from 233,115 at the 1931 Census to an estimated 243,900 in 1939 and suggest that, to some extent, this increase was explained by the drift of population to the favoured South East from the North and West during these years. Situated on the main road and railway between London and Brighton, the town was ideally placed as a dormitory for commuters to the City and West End and also as a location for industry. The traditional industries of engineering and bell–founding were added to in the 1930s by factory development along Purley Way.

Apart from being an important commercial centre, Croydon became famous nationally as the headquarters of Imperial Airways and the possessor of the main

commercial airport in the country. With a history going back a thousand years, Croydon, now a County Borough, had developed a strong civic and community sense. This civic pride comes through strongly in the records of the time.

Infant Mortality

This is officially defined as the number of deaths during the first year of life per thousand live births. It is generally agreed that it is a reliable and sensitive indicator of public health as it reflects not only the quality of medical and midwifery care received by mothers but also that of post-natal supervision and the environmental factors in which infants are brought up at the most vulnerable stage of their development. Croydon's infant mortality during the 1930s is given in the following table; and alongside are the corresponding figures for the United Kingdom.

	Croydon	United Kingdom
1931	58	68
1932	49	68
1933	47	66
1934	46	61
1935	45	60
1936	41	62
1937	60	61
1938	40	55
1939	38	53
1940	39	60

It is obvious that Croydon's figures fall well below the national average with the sole exception of the year 1937. This may be explained by the comparative prosperity of the town as evidenced by the comparatively low rate of unemployment, the comparatively good housing of the people, a healthy location near to the open spaces of the North Downs and the Kent and Sussex Weald, and a fairly comprehensive public health programme which appears, by the standards of the time, to have given good service to the community.

It is notable that within Croydon, infant mortality was much lower in the more prosperous areas like East Croydon than in the poorer wards like Whitehorse Manor.

Maternal Mortality

The number of deaths of mothers either in childbirth or as a direct result of it is another indicator of public health. This caused much anxiety nationally because governments were gravely concerned at the falling birth-rate in Britain during the 1920s and 1930s and did not wish to discourage child-birth. This may also help to account for official hostility towards Marie Stopes and her birth-control clinics. Furthermore, it was embarrassing to Ministers to see maternal mortality

rising at a time when other public health indicators showed a favourable trend. The index of maternal mortality for England and Wales reached a peak with 4.6 deaths per thousand live births in 1934.

In Croydon maternal mortality showed a downward trend from the high figure of 6.2 in 1931 to 1.7 in 1940:

1931	6.2
1932	2.1
1933	3.7
1934	3.9
1935	2.9
1936	3.9
1937	3.9
1938	0.9
1939	1.2
1940	1.7

There was a considerable improvement in midwifery services in Croydon in the late 1930s stemming partly from the Midwives Act of 1936 which required Local Authorities to provide trained personnel, and this may help to explain the much better figure for that period. A Superintendent and six district midwives were appointed; by 1938 the number of midwives had increased to ten.

Infant Welfare Centres

The Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 provided a framework for local authorities to expand their infant welfare activities. Croydon had already begun this work in 1915, though on a voluntary basis, through the Women's League of Service which set up five infant welfare centres in various parts of the borough. In addition, a small maternity hospital was opened in 1917. To some extent this activity may have been sparked off by public alarm both at the vast military casualties sustained in the First World War and at the lamentable state of physique of a large number of potential recruits for that war. Further progress was made with the opening in 1930 of a post-natal clinic and the appointment of an obstetrical officer to provide continuity of care for mothers throughout ante-natal, natal and post-natal periods. A large new council estate was built at New Addington on the south-eastern fringe of the town. Here the Mothers' and Infants' Welfare Association opened a new infant welfare centre in 1938. This was so popular that it had to be enlarged, and the popularity of infant welfare centres increased greatly in the 1930s with record attendances. It became much more a matter of routine for mothers to take their children to these centres than for visits to be made simply because of illness or other problems.

Hospital Provision

The official reports comment regularly on the overcrowding and shortage of beds at Mayday Hospital, the town's main hospital. Expansion took place gradually, but not quickly enough to cope with the rising population. It had previously provided infirmary services for the Croydon Workhouse located at Queen's Road, and perhaps the stigma attached to its Poor Law origins placed it at a disadvantage compared with Croydon General Hospital, which was a voluntary hospital. The Croydon Isolation Hospital also suffered from land nearby being encroached upon by industry and by its proximity to a sewage farm. The shortage of nurses was also commented on and it was pointed out that there was no scheme of preliminary training with salary attached.

In general it would seem that hospital provision in Croydon was less satisfactory than health care in the community.

Slum Clearance and Housing

Each of the annual reports of the Medical Officer of Health refers to streets condemned as unfit for human habitation, especially in the older parts of the town. The problem of re-housing the people displaced seems to have slowed up demolition and left the unfortunate occupants longer in their slum houses than should have been the case. Regular reference is also made to the health risk involved in the proximity of industrial premises to residential housing. Nevertheless, a rolling programme went forward during the 1930s and the building of the New Addington estate undoubtedly eased the situation.

Another problem concerned the sub-letting of large Victorian family houses into flats. This had caused considerable over-crowding and attendant health problems. Particular concern was caused by the basement flats with insufficient light and ventilation and with problems of dampness. Some attics were being used to accommodate families also. In 1936 650 families out of 17,539 were suffering from over-crowding. The passing of the Housing Act of 1936 gave the local health authority power to deal with this situation, and this was appreciated.

Infectious Diseases Among Adults

Pneumonia and tuberculosis were still the major scourges among Croydon's adults in the 1930s, though their incidence gradually decreased as the decade progressed. Bad housing and overcrowding were gradually being reduced and this must have played a part in the improvement. Comment was made in 1938 on the discovery of the drug M and B 693 which, it was hoped, would be efficient against pneumonia. In the case of tuberculosis there was much concern in the early 1930s at the lack of cleanliness in the delivery of milk, some of which was still being done by churn and jug. A major effort was made to ensure that milk was delivered either in bottles or in sealed wax cartons, thus reducing the likelihood of infection. This appears to have been successfully accomplished by the end of the decade. Much attention was paid to the rehabilitation of the

victims of tuberculosis when they were unable to work and in danger of relapse. Croydon made use of Cheam Sanatorium which ran an occupation scheme for those recovering from the disease.

The figures for the incidence of tuberculosis during the decade are given below. They show a modest downward trend, and this may reflect an improvement in housing and a decline in overcrowding. But it was not until the coming of mass radiography and the wider availability of B.C.G. vaccines in the middle and late 1940s that the disease could be brought properly under control.

	New Cases	Incident Rate per 1,000 population	Deaths
1931	412	1.8	155
1932	369	1.6	144
1933	346	1.4	162
1934	325	1.4	162
1935	333	1.9	148
1936	311	1.3	128
1937	338	1.4	140
1938	332	1.1	119
1939	279	1.1	96
1940	263	1.3	128

The Health of School Children

The annual reports of the School Medical Officer in the 1930s provide some interesting insights into the health of Croydon's school children at this time. Medical examinations of school children had begun as far back as 1907, and, by the 1930s, had fallen into a set pattern of three examinations, one for school entrants, one for intermediates and one for leavers. The findings of these examinations indicate a slow but steady improvement in the physical condition of elementary school children in Croydon. Perhaps the clearest example of this was the decline in the percentage of elementary school children reported by School Doctors to be verminous. From 9.1% in 1930 and 4.3% in 1931, the figures had fallen to 3.4% in 1938, and 2.9% in 1939. Other indications are less definite, but one sign of deprivation is revealed by the number of children who were judged to be undernourished: the 1931 Report puts the total for all the children examined at the three stages at as high as 15%, with slightly more girls than boys being malnourished. Indeed, by 1939, the figure among boy entrants had risen to 17.4% (13.5% for girls) and this was put down to prolonged unemployment among some of the parents – an interesting contrast to the official Government view that unemployment and malnutrition were unrelated. By 1936, however, the proportion of entrants malnourished was down to 8.6% for boys and 7.9% for girls.

A constant complaint recurs in the Annual Reports regarding the gap between the ages of 1 and 5 when most children were not seen by a doctor. Many of the problems seen in children aged 5 could have been rectified or ameliorated if there had been examination and treatment during these years. Possibly the parents of the children concerned were chary of going to the doctor because of the fees which might be charged. Among the diseases prevalent among children, measles, diptheria, whooping cough and scarlet fever appear to have been the most dangerous. Immunisation against diptheria was actively promoted by Croydon's health authorities with the use of the Schick Test to establish liability to infection and then a course of three injections. Some opposition came from the Anti–Vaccination League, but the arguments advanced by this body were not stated in the records. It seems that progress was being made in preventing deaths from these diseases during the course of the 1930s, but none of them had been conquered by the end of the decade.

Dental decay is a constantly recurring theme in the Reports. In 1931 it was noted that only 42% of the children entering school had perfect sets of teeth: 14% of both boys and girls had more than four teeth decayed on their first examination. It was pointed out that dental treatment between the ages of 1 and 5 could have alleviated this situation: again, the cost of treatment by a dentist could have deterred some parents. Even those children found to have dental defects while at school did not always receive treatment. The 1937 Report states that as many as 43% of parents who were offered dental treatment for their children refused it. The cost was 8 d per attendance and a 2 shilling fee for gas if extraction was required. The Report comments that some parents did not wish to admit that they could not afford the fees although they were entitled to free treatment: perhaps this comment is also valid for other forms of medical attention available for children. Croydon in 1937 introduced a 1 shilling per year flat rate charge for dental treatment, and this seems to have increased attendances. However, it seems clear that dental decay among Croydon's school children remained a serious problem at the end of the 1930s.

The Typhoid Epidemic of 1937

The outbreak of typhoid fever in Croydon from October to December 1937 caused great concern: there were 297 recorded cases and 43 deaths occurred. It was the first outbreak of typhoid in Croydon for more than 60 years.

The source of the infection was a well at Addington. Pump repairs had been going on there, and chlorination had been suspended. One of the men involved in the work was a typhoid carrier, and thus the infection penetrated the water supply.

It is ironic that the identification of the source of infection came not from the Medical Officer of Health's Department but from a group of private individuals whose families had been affected by the disease. They eliminated the various possibilities and found the common factor in the water supply from the Addington well. They then invited the Medical Officer of Health and the

Borough Engineer to a private meeting and put their case. They also applied successfully for the setting up of a public enquiry by the Ministry of Health. This enquiry, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harold Murphy, K.C., examined all aspects of the outbreak in detail. Its main finding was that there was a serious lack of co-ordination among the Borough's departments: the Medical Officer of Health did not know that the work at Addington was going on; the Borough Engineer did not know that chlorination was in abeyance. The recommendations of the Enquiry were speedily implemented by the Council, namely that local general practitioners should set up a committee to liaise with the Medical Officer of Health so that speedy action would be taken in an emergency of this kind, and that the Council should set up a Water Committee to supervise all aspects of the town's water supply.

In addition, the Council appointed, for the first time, a fully qualified water engineer. All employees of the Water Department had to be medically examined and have a blood test taken to establish whether they carried typhoid. The outbreak was clearly a one-off event, arising from a combination of unfortunate circumstances, but it illustrated the shortcomings of the Local Authority in an embarrassing way – a theme to which we will return when we look at official attitudes to health.

Croydon's Measures to Improve Health

Reference has already been made to slum clearance, hospital provision and the care of pregnant and nursing mothers and their children.

The Medical Officer of Health paid a good deal of attention in the early 1930s to the nursing of sick children. There was an Observation Nursery for young children at Mayday Hospital and a Children's Convalescent Home in a large house at Coombe Cliff. Much attention was paid here to diet and hygiene, and it was an object of particular pride to the Department, being described in one of the Reports as "being as good as beside the seaside".

Croydon was also well to the fore in promoting health in schools. The Report for 1931 complains of the diet of some schoolchildren as relying too much on cheap carbohydrate 'filler' foods to the neglect of the more expensive protein and fat rich foods. To help to improve this situation, the Council co-operated with the National Milk Publicity Council, set up in 1929, to provide one third of a pint of milk for children per day at the cost of 1d. Almost all schools in Croydon adopted the scheme. In 1930, 8,723 bottles were supplied; by 1931 the figure was 946,000 bottles.

There was a temporary fall in 1932, put down to the financial pressure caused by unemployment, but a large rise in 1934 when the Milk in Schools Legislation came in. A recurrent theme was the failure of some parents to join in the scheme, despite the fact that the School Medical Officer would recommend a free issue of milk to malnourished children. There was clearly a significant group of children "who would benefit most but who do not get the milk". (1933 Report)

These children were not in such poor physical shape as to be 'malnourished' but came from poor backgrounds. After 1934, the provision of milk in schools does not feature much in the annual Reports, and it would appear that by the late 1930s the 1934 legislation had come fully into operation, to the benefit of Croydon's schoolchildren.

Attention was also paid to the introduction of domestic science into the school curriculum and the inculcation of the concept of a balanced diet. The 1934 Report actually spells this out; it recommends "a plain straightforward diet on old-established lines" consisting of meat once a day, green vegetables, bread and butter and milk which "contains all the necessary food factors and main chemical groups necessary for proper nutrition."

The Medical Officer of Health also organised lectures on public health. These were targeted at the parents of schoolchildren. Attendances were sparse, and this prompted complaints of apathy, but since a number of them were held in the afternoon when mothers would be anxious to get away to collect their children from school, perhaps such complaints are a little harsh.

More significant was the monthly magazine "Better Health", which was published by the Local Authority in conjunction with the Central Council for Health Education of the Society of Medical Officers for health. This cost 2d and was strongly promoted by the Authority. There is no clear indication of how wide a circulation this magazine had and it may be suspected that it was not read by those who had the most need of it. Nevertheless this does not detract from the effort made by the Authority to promote better health. The contents make interesting reading with a series of articles on infectious diseases, much attention to tonsils and adenoids – an apparent obsession in the 1930s – commonsense advice on hygienic handling of food, the elimination of flies and vermin, and the merits of healthy exercise. The latter subject even prompted an article giving advice about the way to take a healthy walk ; "head up, chin in – as in the Army – swing the arms, observe all that is going on around you." Even the advertisements were given a health slant by the tradesmen concerned: one suggests that the clothes he sells are the healthiest on the market! But the local undertaker had booked a permanent space in the magazine, and his lugubrious announcement of funeral services, provided without comment, were a monthly reminder that, despite all our efforts, the inevitable end had to be provided for.

For schoolchildren the Authority organized an annual summer camp at Pilgrim Fort near Caterham. It is recorded that in 1936, 344 children from the elementary school spent a week at the camp.

It would seem that Croydon did a good deal to promote the health of its citizens and their children and its record in this respect appears commendable by the standards of the time.

Official Attitudes

It is impossible to read the official Reports and publications such as "Better Health" without receiving a very strong flavour of official (and class) attitudes in the 1930s

The officers appear to be very defensive about the cost of the services which they are providing. They constantly reiterate that it is cheaper to prevent than cure, that good health helps the rates, and that bad health is not only foolish but expensive. It appears that councillors and others were questioning the amount of ratepayers' money spent on health, just as some still question the spending of any public money on anything, however laudable.

There is also a tendency to berate the ignorance and fecklessness of a minority of Croydon's townspeople and to blame them for the poor health from which they and their children suffer. Again and again, the officials deplore the failure of parents to consult a doctor early, without any reference to the fact that this would usually cost money.

Such fecklessness is contrasted with the hard work and far-seeing wisdom of officialdom. In the 1935 Report the Medical Officer stated: "A perusal of the contents of this Report will show how thoroughly the Corporation endeavours to safeguard the health of its citizens." But it then goes on to state that the full co-operation of all citizens is essential if good health is to be achieved. Epidemics can start as a result of one person's foolishness or thoughtlessness despite all the best endeavours of the powers that be. In "Better Health" for June 1934 comes the following statement: "All engaged in Public Health will certainly come across families who seem to have reverted to the primitive habits of their forefathers, and who do not have any regard for the comfort or safety of their neighbours, or the well-being of themselves. Such people appear almost ineducable, but it is surprising to find how great a change persistent and patient teaching, and personal demonstration, will bring about." Condescension indeed! In one of the 1930 issues the writer states:

"What senseless marriages we see every day. The brute beasts mate with greater discrimination."

Indeed it is clear that the officials saw but little hope for the ignorant and foolish of the present adult generation and looked to better education to knock some sense into their children. The whole approach pre-supposes absolute individual responsibility for poor health without much regard to poverty or other environmental factors which might help to explain why some people appeared to neglect their health.

However, when the birds came home to roost in the typhoid epidemic of 1937, the story was very different. Significantly, the official Report for that year says scarcely anything about the outbreak on the grounds that "the facts are already well known". There is even peevish criticism of those who called for a public enquiry right in the middle of the outbreak "when there was much pressure on the staff who were trying to contain it." The enquiry was described as

elaborate and costly. Medical Officers of Health "may have to protect themselves if this is to become a precedent". Yet the authorities were alerted by a public–spirited group of citizens (highly commended in the Enquiry's Report); 43 people died; the authorities were caught napping. It is considerations like these that make the condescending moralising of the authorities somewhat nauseating.

One can only surmise that the middle-class attitudes towards the poor described above were by no means confined to Croydon: it was only when their betters were found wanting that the argument that bad health was caused solely by a minority of ignorant ne'er-do-wells collapsed.

Summary

Despite the attitude of officialdom described above, it is only fair to state that considerable progress towards the improvement of public health was made in Croydon during the 1930s. It is particularly notable that the marked gains in most of the indicators in the latter half of the decade took place against a background of rising unemployment. In this respect, Croydon bucked the national trend; whereas in the country at large unemployment fell steadily from 1933 onwards, apart from a mini recession in 1938, in Croydon the reverse was true. Registered unemployment stood at 4,000 in 1932 and was up to 8,000 by 1939. A possible contributory factor here may be the electrification of the Southern Railway from 1933 onwards which had led to the shedding of many of the jobs generated by the labour-intensive days of steam.

Seen against this background, Croydon's efforts to promote better health did indeed bear fruit commendably by the outbreak of war in 1939 and for this the natural advantages of the town's location, its favoured economic position generally, action by Government, action by the local health authorities and, above all, action by the citizens of the town itself can justly claim credit.

SOURCES

Better Health 1928 to October 1933 continued as Croydon Better Health February 1934 to 1939 [Museum of Croydon Local History Collection S70 (610) CRO]

Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health 1919–1972 [Museum of Croydon Local History Collection S70 (610) CRO]

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annal for 568, *Wibbandun*, and control of the Surrey area in the late sixth century

Rob Briggs, with contributions by Dennis Turner

> 'From the beginnings of written history, Surrey was neither a separate kingdom nor a stable element within a kingdom. Already in the annal ascribed to 568 … it appears as frontier[1] territory buffeted between southern English rulers, and this was to be its fate for nearly three centuries.'[1]

The annal for the year 568 found in several versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has often been claimed as the earliest historical reference (albeit indirect) to an event that took place in the area of the historic county of Surrey in the post-Roman era.[2] But it has never been the subject of a dedicated analysis to critically assess both its veracity and the ways in which it relates to Surrey. Instead, scholars who have had cause to appraise the annal have taken one of two very different approaches: either proffering extended discussions of the location of *Wibbandun* and the broader political significance of the events that are supposed to have taken place in 568, or brief acknowledgements of the bare facts of the annal that offer little or no engagement with its underlying implications.

The purposes of this essay therefore are threefold. First, to examine the credibility of the assignation of the events documented in the 568 annal to that year. Second, to review the various suggestions for the location of *Wibbandun*, the one place named in the annal, that has been generally surmised to have lain somewhere within the bounds of the historic county of Surrey. Third, to reconsider if there are any archaeological remains in the Surrey area that stem from this period of political flux and instability. Evidence from the early medieval period is so often meagre and ambiguous – none more so than historical accounts written centuries after the event they purport to record – that it can seem to have limited value as a credible record of past realities. While this is true in some respects, with time and care something of the truth behind the words or objects can be recovered, making the early medieval centuries seem less remote and incomprehensible, and thus a period onto which overly-simplistic or outright false narratives can be foisted.

The annal for 568

The Old English (hereafter OE) text of the annal from the earliest surviving recension of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS A (frequently referred to as the Parker Chronicle), written at the end of the 9th century, is as follows:

> *Her Ceaulin 7 Cuþa gefuhton wiþ Ęþelbryht 7 hine in Cent gefliemdon 7 tuegen aldormen on Wibbandune ofslogon, Oslaf 7 Cnebban.*[3]
>
> "Here Ceawlin and Cutha fought against Æthelberht and drove him into Kent; and they killed 2 ealdormen, Oslaf and Cnebban, on *Wibbandun*."[4]

The annal is largely identical across other, later recensions, with differences being relatively minor in nature: the omission of the verb *ofslogon* in MSS B and C; different prepositions and inflectional endings (*on Wibbanduna* MS E, *of Wibbandune* MS F); the rendering of the names of the ealdormen as Oslac in MSS E and F and Cnebba in MS F; and the addition in MS F of the information that Cutha was *Cewlines broðer* "Ceawlin's brother". There can be little doubt that they all derive from a common ancestor, perhaps an entry in a lost historical source or alternatively from an oral poetic tradition.

The context of the events documented in the 568 annal is important. Ceawlin and Cutha were members of the ruling family of the Gewisse, later and better known as the West Saxons. At the time, the heartland of this people was not around Winchester and the Solent, but in the Upper Thames Valley.[5] Myres viewed the various annals mentioning Ceawlin and his close family members as presenting 'a reasonably coherent story' of the formation and expansion of the Gewissan polity, yet he also conceded that many of the relevant details may not be reliable.[6] So it is that in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ceawlin is attributed a lengthy reign, reputedly beginning in 560 and ending with his exile in 592. However, problems with the regnal dates of the early Gewissan/West Saxon kings are legion and, as will be shown below, have a major bearing upon the interpretation of the content of the 568 annal.

Æthelberht, meanwhile, was king of Kent, and (after this early setback) a remarkably powerful one at that.[7] However, the precise geographical extent of the Kentish kingdom in the second half of the 6th century is moot. Certainly, there seems to have been a phase of territorial expansion whereby the original Kentish polity encompassing the eastern half of the historic shire annexed the territory to its west, which funerary archaeology strongly suggests at this time included the area of historic eastern Surrey.[8] But it may well be impossible to ascertain how far this had gone by the date of the annal (or of the events described therein). It is at least worth underscoring that the present boundary between Surrey and Kent, while undoubtedly of considerable age, may not be coterminous (even as a zone rather than a well-defined line) with the border of the Kentish kingdom in the later 6th century.

Did it really all happen in the year 568?

Kent has an earlier 'historical threshold' – that is the period from which written sources first survive – than any other Anglo-Saxon kingdom.[9] Indeed, it is with Æthelberht that it crosses the historical threshold more definitively. As the first Anglo-Saxon king to accept Christianity and be baptized, as the most powerful English ruler of his day, and as the progenitor of the later kings of Kent, there were good reasons for Æthelberht to be remembered.[10] Furthermore, because there is no evidence for an earlier Kentish elite figure of the same name, it is all but certain that the historical Æthelberht was one and the same as the man named in the 568 annal.

In respect of Æthelberht and verifying the chronology of his reign, the evidence of the contemporary Frankish historian and bishop, Gregory of Tours, is important. In his famed *History of the Franks* written towards the end of the 6th century, Gregory refers to Æthelberht not by name but as 'the son of a certain king in Kent', at a date which seems to be in the late 570s or early 580s.[11] Nicholas Brooks, in an important contribution in terms of chronology and much more besides, carefully reviewed the key events of Æthelberht's life and reign as evidenced in a number of early textual sources. Crucially, he made a powerful case for the claim in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Æthelberht reigned for 53 winters (i.e. years) to be a mistake for the fact that he lived for that amount of time. On this basis, working back from a probable date of death in the years 616 × 618, Æthelberht was most likely born 560 × 562; married Bertha the Frankish princess c.580, succeeded to the Kentish kingdom c.580 × 593, became overlord of a large swathe of lowland Britain c.593–597, and, most famously (and closely dated) received the Augustinian mission in 597.[12] This makes the date of 568 for the events described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle untenable. But is there a means of pinning down the date of the events recorded in the 568 annal?

The lack of a royal styling accorded to Æthelberht is not inconsistent with other late 6th-century Chronicle annals, so it is not necessary to posit that he was not king at the time of his flight; regnal status may have been implicit from the context.[13] Æthelberht could have been a new, young king at the time, and it is tempting to read from what little is known of the circumstances of the event that he was not an experienced military leader, but this is nothing more than inference. Either way, this does nothing to narrow down the time period in which the events of the 568 annal took place.

Although it is unwise to put absolute faith in the testimony of the Chronicle, it is not wholly unreasonable to apportion some credence to the West Saxon tradition that Ceawlin was driven out of Gewissan territory in 592 and died the following year, which would set a terminal date before which the events must have taken place. Working on the basis of this and another not-unreasonable assumption, that the events described took place three years after Æthelberht became king of Kent as per the gap between the respective Chronicle annals,

generates a date range of *c*.583–592 – significantly later than the usually accepted (or quoted) date of 568.

Further refinement is hampered by the confusion between the names Cutha, Cuthwulf and Cuthwine in subsequent annals for the late 6th century. The Cutha of the 568 annal seemingly reappears as Cuthwulf in Chronicle MSS A-D in the annal for 571, a year in which he is said to have both tasted military victory and died, whereas in MS E his name is again given as Cutha, along with the note that he was Ceawlin's brother. Ceawlin recurs in the 577 annal, this time in combination with Cuthwine, whose name is duly shortened to Cutha in the annal for 584 in which it is recorded that he was killed in battle at *Fethan leag*. Cutha would be a regular short-form of both Cuthwulf and Cuthwine, but, for the reasons set out above, Cutha/Cuthwulf cannot have died in 571 if he was present alongside Ceawlin when they put Æthelberht to flight. It is possible the Cutha of the 568 annal was in fact Cuthwine. If so, and treating the events documented in the 584 annal as having indeed occurred in that year, the date range for reassigning the events of the 568 annal may be narrowed considerably, to *c*. 583–584.

However, it is all but certain that the West Saxon annals for the period 560–593 embody factual and chronological inaccuracies, and little if any reliance can be put on the precise alleged date of any 6th century event for which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the sole source of evidence.[14] Meticulous study of the versions of the so-called Genealogical Regnal List of the West Saxon kings, which assign Ceawlin a reign of either 17 or seven years, led David Dumville to posit the king reigned during the years 581–588, but it is far from out of the question that his reign was another decade in duration.[15] In many ways it is preferable to fall back on the more reliable chronology of Æthelberht's life established by Brooks in order to reattribute the events of the 568 annal to a year in the final two decades of the 6th century, with there being some grounds for suspecting a date earlier rather than later in this timespan.

Where was *Wibbandun*?

The etymology of the name *Wibbandun* is not difficult to determine. The first element is the genitive singular inflection of either the OE noun *wibba* 'beetle', or an unattested personal name **Wibba*. There are two possible origins for the latter: as a byname derived from the aforementioned noun, or as a short-form of personal names like *Wigbald* or *Wigberht*.[16] The second element is OE *dūn* 'hill, upland expanse'.[17] There is no recorded Surrey place-name with later spellings clearly consistent with *Wibbandun* (nor, it should be said, is there any name outside the county for which this is true). Nevertheless, a number of possibilities for its site lying within historic Surrey have been advanced over the years, using historic place-name evidence in conjunction with contentions concerning the strategic geopolitical context. Unfortunately, all of these claimed identifications are as flimsy as the evidence that is supposed to anchor them. To leave aside the geographical aspects for now, the treatment of the toponymic evidence time and again falls down when subjected to basic onomastic review.

The suggested location of *Wibbandun* with the longest lineage in antiquarian writings is Wimbledon in the north-east of the historic county. The connection was first made by William Camden in the 16th century, and has been repeated – albeit with varying degrees of qualification – ever since.[18] Myres was justified in stating *Wibbandun* 'cannot be identified with Wimbledon', given the available philological evidence.[19] The earliest attestation of the place-name Wimbledon comes in the form of the charter boundary point *(bi) wimbedounyngemerke* 967 (albeit the spelling underwent some revision when the source charter was copied into a 15th-century cartulary of Glastonbury Abbey).[20] This and early 13th-century spellings like *Wimeldon* 1202 and *Wimbeldon(a)* 1211–42 are not easily interpreted, but have been taken to denote the first element was a personal name such as **Wineb(e)ald*[21] or **Wynnman*.[22] **Wibba* is feasible as a shortening of the former name but not the latter, yet it is hard to see why it is the unabridged version would be the one that prevailed given *Wibbandun* is on earlier record and the general trend in OE toponyms was for reduction in complexity over time.

Moreover, the earliest recorded name for the Iron Age hillfort on Wimbledon Common now known as Caesar's Camp, *(to) bænces byri* ?957 (11th),[23] serves to disprove Camden's admittedly ingenious claim that what he reported as being called Bensbury was earlier 'Cnebensbury', having been named after one of the two slain ealdormen. He gave his name as Cneben, when almost all Chronicle recensions spell it as Cnebban), a sleight of hand that, as his most recent editor so cuttingly observed, 'suited Camden better in his false derivation of Bensbury'.[24]

Of the other two toponyms in Surrey previously suggested in print to be the site of *Wibbandun*, Worplesdon, fancied to be the place by an unnamed 'local Surrey antiquary',[25] is in fact derived from OE **Werpels-dūn* 'hill with a path'.[26] Similar shortcomings attend the equation of *Wibbandun* with the point *(to) Wipsedone* in the vernacular bounds of Chobham, most likely of 11th-century date, appended to an earlier Latin charter text in the oldest Chertsey cartulary. Malden favoured this as a likely battle-site, and based a significant part of his case on the resemblance of the name to *Wipandune* as supplied by the 12th-century chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon.[27] However, it has been noted on multiple occasions that the received form is likely to incorporate a fundamental error, namely that the original spelling was **Ripsedone*, which would be consistent with later medieval attestations of the suitably-located Ribsden in Windlesham.[28]

With no credible insights to be gained from recorded place-names, the evidential over-extensions of historians seeking the site of *Wibbandun* become all the more clear. Witney[29] saw it as a battle between the Kentish and West Saxon rulers that took place on the borders of Hampshire and Berkshire. A location in this area would certainly allow Æthelberht to have been driven back, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reported, into Kent; even into a Kent whose boundary was somewhere to the west of the present line. But such conjectures require extrapolations to be made from tiny slivers of evidence beyond the testimony of the 568 annal, which at best do not permit anything like the level of detail necessary to pinpoint the site of *Wibbandun*. The topographical situation of Kent

means it can be assumed that the encounter that caused Æthelberht's flight took place somewhere to the west, but beyond that nothing further of substance can be said on the basis of the available historical evidence.

What actually happened at *Wibbandun*?

Debates about the annal for 568 and the geographical location of the events it describes have tended to overlook one important point; that the wording of the annal gives reason to believe the 'fight' between the two sides that caused Æthelberht to flee did not take place at *Wibbandun*. The narrative sequence of the 568 annal is worthy of special attention, as can be demonstrated by comparing it with other annals recording broadly comparable events, here instancing those for 571 and 577:

> 568: names of protagonists in fight (Ceawlin, Cutha and Æthelberht) – first effect of fight (Æthelberht flees) – second effect of fight (killing of two ealdormen) – location (*Wibbandun*).
>
> 571: names of protagonists in fight (Cuthwulf/Cutha and Britons) – location (*Bedcanford*) – first effect of fight (taking of four settlements) – unrelated event (death of Cuthwulf/Cutha).
>
> 577: names of protagonists in fight (Cuthwine, Ceawlin and Britons) – first effect of fight (deaths of three British kings) – location (Dyrham) – second effect of fight (taking of three former Roman cities).

If *Wibbandun* was the site of a major armed encounter, it would be expected to follow and/or qualify the statement than Ceawlin and Cutha fought with Æthelberht. Hence, the structure of the 568 annal can be read as admitting the possibility that there was no "Battle of *Wibbandun*", with the toponym instead pertaining to the place where the two ealdormen were put to death. The contact between the Kentish and West Saxon forces was decisive in two respects – Æthelberht being put to flight, the capture of the two ealdormen – but it may have been too brief and bloodless to warrant the record of its location in the manner of other military engagements of this period.

Not so what happened at *Wibbandun*. Just as the implication is that Æthelberht, along with his ealdormen and other forces, was outside Kent both prior to and at the time of the fateful encounter with Ceawlin and Cutha, so it can be inferred that *Wibbandun* was outside of whatever was reckoned to be Kent at this time. The two ealdormen – logically Kentish noblemen – may have been the victims of formal executions ordered by the West Saxon royal brothers, rather than deaths in the midst of battle. Without separate references to events that took place at *Wibbandun*, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was an execution site, inhabited centre of West Saxon royal power, or some other type of place. But there is no compelling reason to see *Wibbandun* as the site of a battle.

The Surrey-Kent border dyke

Alongside the folk-etymological explanation for the name Bensbury (Caesar's Camp) offered by Camden, one other Surrey earthwork has been linked to the events of the 568 annal and the fallout from them. In a short 1960 article, Tony Clark tentatively assigned the cross-valley boundary dyke that separates the counties of Surrey and Kent in the Holmesdale between Limpsfield and Westerham to Æthelberht 'after he had been driven back behind his own frontier'.[30] It is true that the bank is on the eastern, Kent side, indicating it was designed to withstand or impede aggressors coming from the west, but this does not prove a late 6th-century genesis. More recently, a late 8th- or early 9th-century date of construction has been proposed, wisely eschewing correlation with a specific historical reference/event for a broader, better-understood and better-evidenced period in which analogous dykes were constructed.[31] Ultimately, allowance must be made for a possible difference in date between construction of the dyke and its use as the boundary of Kent; to this end, dating evidence recovered from archaeological excavation or palaeoenvironmental sampling are the only ways an accurate date of construction might be obtained.

Conclusions

The sequence of events revealed by the 568 annal of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle suggests a military setback early in Æthelberht's reign, one that may have stimulated him to favour diplomacy to extend his influence and to become over-king. Quite what it signifies for the area of historic Surrey is a very different issue. Hines was right to note that it is 'inappropriate to read the Chronicle entry for 568 … as evidence that there was nothing of note or name between Wessex and Kent in Southern England at that time'; it is a product of the brevity and purpose of the annal that Surrey is not named, despite the original OE district-name **Sūþre-gē* very likely being of pre-550 coinage.[32] But to deduce that Æthelberht passed through Surrey while fleeing back to Kent is quite different from assuming the stimulus for his escape and the killings of ealdormen Oslaf and Cnebban occurred within the historic county area.

It has been argued above that *Wibbandun* was not the site of a battle or other form of military engagement between Kentish forces under Æthelberht and those of the Gewisse/West Saxons under brothers Ceawlin and Cutha. Instead, it was the site of the executions of two captured Kentish ealdormen, Oslaf and Cnebban. Both places can be expected to have lain somewhere between the Gewissan heartland of the Upper Thames Valley and the edge of the kingdom of Kent, making Surrey a likely location for them as well as intimating that the area was no longer under Kentish control. However, efforts to seek *Wibbandun* through later place-name spellings, or the location from where Æthelberht fled back to his kingdom through historical geographical deductions, amount to no more than spurious speculations. The area of the historic county of Surrey may contain the site or one or both of these places but, on the strength of the evidence

available at the time of writing, there is no obvious way of proving this now or in the foreseeable future.[33]

NOTES

1. John Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300*, Stroud and Guildford: Alan Sutton Publishing and Surrey Archaeological Society, 1991, 6.
2. Perhaps most recently and notably by Blair 1991, 6, and John Hines, '*Sūþre-gē* – the Foundations of Surrey' in *Aspects of Archaeology and History in Surrey: towards a Research Framework for the County*, ed. by J. Cotton, G. Crocker and A. Graham, Guildford: Surrey Archaeological Society, 2004, 92–102 (p. 98).
3. Janet M. Bately (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a collaborative edition. Volume 3, MS A*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986, 24.
4. Translation is lead author's own; other translations of passages from the Chronicle are taken from Michael Swanton (trans. and ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, new edition, London: Phoenix, 2000.
5. Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, London and New York: Routledge, 1990, 132.
6. J. N. L. Myres, *The English Settlements* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 165.
7. See Nicholas Brooks, 'The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent', in Bassett, *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 55–74 (p. 65–67), and, for a more interdisciplinary conspectus, Stuart Brookes and Sue Harrington, *The Kingdom and People of Kent AD 400–1066*, Stroud: History Press, 2010, 69–92.
8. Yorke 1990, 27; Hines 2004, who advocates the notion of a 'Greater Surrey' as opposed to a 'West Kent' conjectured by the likes of Brookes and Harrington (2010), 65.
9. Brooks 1989, 55.
10. Brooks 1989, 65.
11. Brooks 1989, 64.
12. Brooks 1989, 65–67.
13. On the general strong royal focus of the Chronicle, see Nicholas Brooks, 'Why is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle About Kings?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 39 (2010), 43–70.
14. A point well made by Barbara Yorke, 'Fact or Fiction? The written evidence for the fifth and sixth centuries AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 45–50.
15. David N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 21–66; also the comments of Yorke 1990, 133.
16. See John Baker, 'Entomological Etymologies: Creepy-Crawlies in English Place-Names', in *Representing Beasts in Early Medieval England and Scandinavia*, ed. by Michael D. J. Bintley and Thomas J. T. Williams, *Anglo-Saxon Studies* 29, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015, 229–252 (p. 235).
17. Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, new edition, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014, 164.
18. Gordon J. Copley (ed.), *Camden's Britannia: Surrey and Sussex. From the edition of 1789 by Richard Gough*, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1977, 20–21; cf. John Morris, 'A Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 56 (1959), 132–158 (p. 156).
19. Myres 1989, 165 note 1. This has not stopped the inflected form 'Wibbandune' being used as the name of a Colliers Wood sports ground and cricket club in the Wimbledon area. Wimbledon also boasts a pub named The Wibba's Down Inn.
20. Sawyer 747, online at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/747.html> (accessed 12th September 2017); J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton with Arthur Bonner (1934), *The Place-Names of Surrey* [PNS], English Place-Name Society 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 38.
21. PNS, 38.

22. Victor Watts (2004), *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 683.
23. Sawyer 645, online at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/645.html> (accessed 12th September 2017); PNS, 39.
24. Copley 1977, 20–21, especially note 41.
25. As cited in H. E. Malden, 'The West-Saxon Conquest of Surrey', *English Historical Review*, 3 (1888), 422–430 (p. 428).
26. PNS, 162; Gelling and Cole 2014, 96.
27. Sawyer 1165, online at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1165.html> (accessed 12th September 2017); Malden 1888, 428–429; cf. Reginald A. Smith 'Anglo-Saxon Remains', in *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, 1, ed. by H. E. Malden, London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1902, 255–73 (p. 257).
28. G. R. Corner, On the Anglo-Saxon charters of Frðwald, Ælfred, and Edward the Confessor, to Chertsey Abbey, *Surrey Archeological Collections* 1 (1858), 77–96 (p. 92); PNS, 154; S. E. Kelly (ed.), Charters of Chertsey Abbey, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 19, Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2015, 112, 114.
29. K. P. Witney, *The Kingdom of Kent*, Chichester: Phillimore, 1982, 77, 89–92; he did not acknowledge that Malden was well ahead of him in promoting this idea in his 1888 article.
30. Anthony Clark, 'A cross-valley dyke on the Surrey-Kent border, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 57 (1960), 72–74 (p. 73).
31. Brookes and Harrington 2010, 96; cf. Peter Drewett, David Rudling and Mark Gardiner, *The South-East to AD 1000*, Longman: London and New York, 1988, 289–90.
32. Hines 2004, 98; Keith Bailey, 'Some Observations on *gē*, *gau* and *go*', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 31 (1998–99), 63–76 (especially p. 74).
33. This essay contains elements from a much larger draft article by DT, incomplete at the time of his death. RB is grateful to Audrey Monk, DT's literary executor, for being given the latitude to redeploy material from that draft in this article. It is intended that more material from the same source will be worked into two further articles to be published in the future volumes of *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.

The Tin Tabernacles of Surrey

Gerard P Moss

In 1829 Henry Palmer took out patent 5786 for 'indented or corrugated metallic sheets' as material for a cheap lightweight material for roofing over large areas in the London Docks. He quickly sold on the patent in 1832 to Richard Walker of Bermondsey who manufactured the corrugated iron. Although successful it suffered from corrosion unless sealed by paint. The corrosion problem was overcome by Commander H.V. Craufurd with his 1837 patent 7355 for coating the iron with a thin coat of zinc (galvanization). This was probably based on the 1837 French patent of Modeste Sorel. Walker's patent ran out in 1843 and competition saturated the market for the use of corrugated iron.

Iron churches, chapels or mission churches are often called tin tabernacles. They are of timber construction with corrugated iron external walls and roof. Internally they are clad in timber panelling. A problem is often that they are too cold in winter and too hot in summer. This is mainly due to the roof. Hence this is often replaced with better insulation or the roof is also lined with timber panelling.

Where there is a rapid increase in population many considered the provision of a church a priority. The solution chosen by many was a temporary tin tabernacle. In a few cases this solution turned into a permanent structure. However in most cases the tin tabernacle was sold on to a ready second hand market. The quote by J C Humphreys for Ash church illustrates its construction and its possible resale when a permanent structure has been constructed. In the case of Ash it was erected in 1885 and replaced in 1906. However the old building was not sold but used as the church hall which continued in use until 1980.

1884 Quote for Ash Galvanized Corrugated Iron Church
(SHC ASHV/8/1)

Chancel 10′ × 8′, Vestry 9′ × 6′, Porch 6′ × 4′ as per plan
Building 40′ × 20′, 8′ to eves, 17′ to ridge
Morticed and tenoned not spiked
Principles 6½″ × 2½″, rafters 4″ × 3″, beams 4″ × 3″
Floor joists & sleeper wall plates 4″ × 2″
Floor 1″ × 7″ board tongued and grooved nailed 14″ apart
Interior ⅝″ yellow matching boarding
Roof, gables and walls lined with felt
Windows 4′6″ × 3′0″, Doors 3′0″ × 7′ × 0″, 6 courses of bricks
To be complete in 21 days from possession of ground
Stove, reading desk, communion table and bell £204
If wishes will repurchase for £95 after 3 years

The clause on only taking 21 days was on the condition that the foundations had been laid. These were usually several levels of brick around the footprint plus more brick joists about 2½′ apart to support the floor.

The first use of corrugated iron for churches was in the 1850s. By 1857 there were five iron churches in London including one at Newington Butts. From 1871 to 1927 the London Post Office Directory had a separate listing for Iron Church Builders. Starting with eleven firms it rose to twenty-two and then fell after the first world war to finally five.

In modern Surrey there are still five iron churches (Deepcut Garrison church; St Michael's church, Peasmarsh; Reigate Heath church; West End Esher St George's mission church; and Windlesham Woodcote House School chapel). In addition a number survive but are no longer used as a church. The major domination is Church of England (including mission churches) with smaller but roughly equal numbers of Baptist, Brethren, Congregational, Methodist, Roman Catholic and other churches (fig 1). Construction peaked in the 1880s and 1890s (fig 2).

There were many manufacturers of iron churches. The London Post Office Directory had a separate section for iron church builders and listed ten to twenty from 1870 to 1918. The number then declined to five in 1930. The most common manufacturer identified in the records of Surrey churches is J.C. Humphreys. In their 1892 catalogue they list a range of churches from 15ft × 12ft for 36 people costing £37 to 70ft × 30ft for 400 people costing £391. The basic church could

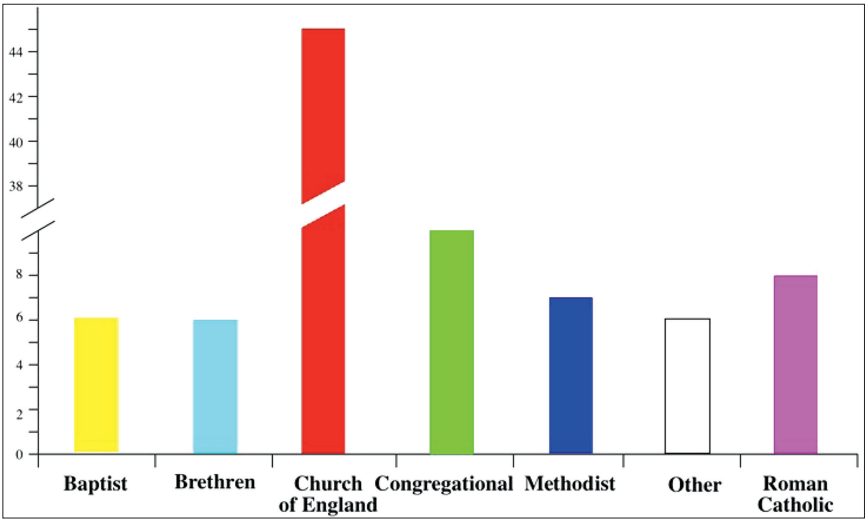

Figure 1 Denomination of the iron churches when erected

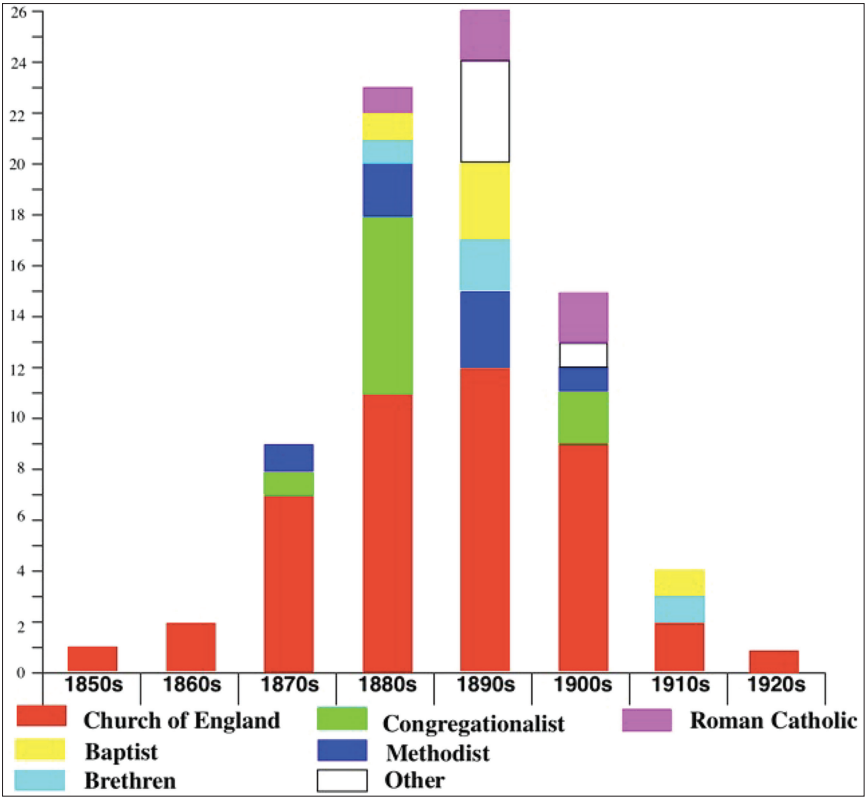

Figure 2 Date of erection of the iron church, if known

then have various extras such as a porch, vestry, separate chancel and side aisles. Deepcut garrison church is considered to be one of the largest built.

Gazetteer of Surrey Tin Tabernacles

The tin tabernacles of modern Surrey will be considered by Borough or District Council. The maps show the original location with the original denomination. These are classified under seven categories – Baptist (both strict and particular), Brethren (both open and exclusive), Church of England (including mission churches), Congregational (including Presbyterian, now United Reform Church), Methodist (both Wesleyan and Primitive now United), other (unknown, Free Church, Unitarian, Independent Evangelical, and Quaker), and Roman Catholic. The OS grid reference numbers refer to the original location of the church.

Elmbridge District Council

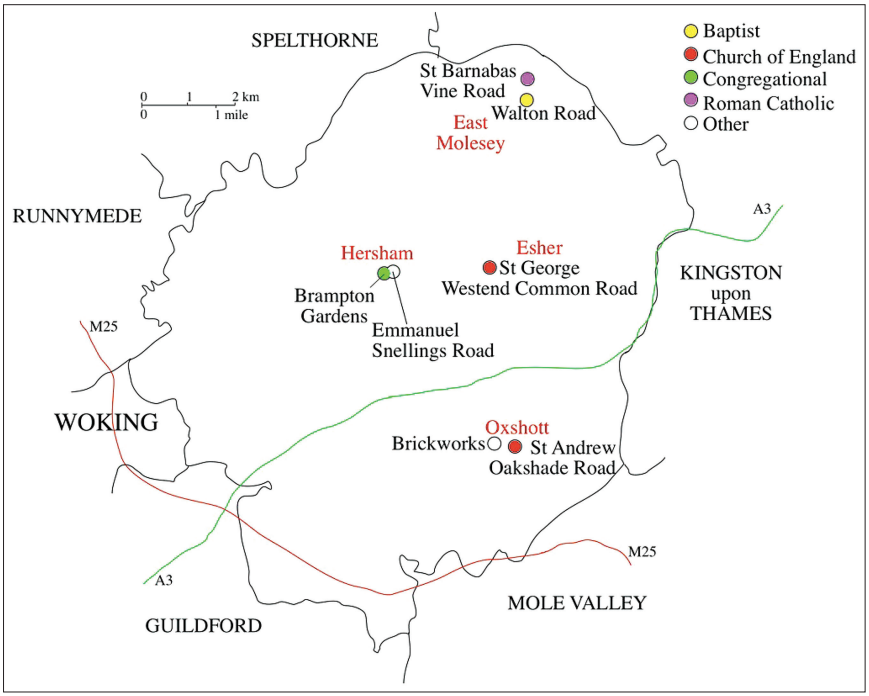

Figure 3 Tin Tabernacles of Elmbridge

East Molesey

In 1897 an iron church was erected in Walton Road (near Park Road) for a revived Baptist congregation. It had seating for 250. Originally it had a spire but it was blown off in a bad storm ending up imbedded in the road. It was closed in the 1930s and sold to the Molesey Labour Party. Finally it was demolished in the 1940s. (TQ 143 681)

St Barnabas Roman Catholic church was erected in 1906 alongside Stoneyhurst in Vine Road, East Molesey, a convent of French nuns, Les Dames de la Mere de Dieu. It was an iron church that had previously been used in Putney (probably the congregational chapel in Oxford Road, Putney). In 1931 it was replaced by the present building. (TQ 144 684)

Esher

In 1879 an iron church, costing less than £300, was erected in West End Lane on a site donated by Queen Victoria. West End, St George's Mission church is still in use today. (TQ 128 637)

Hersham

In about 1895 Emmanuel Evangelical Church erected a corrugated iron building in Snellings Road that was used until destroyed in 1944 by the blast from a flying bomb. The present church replaces it. (TQ 112 644)

In 1907 Brampton Gardens Congregational Church was formed as a break-away from the established congregational church. It met in an iron building in Green Lane probably adjacent to the field that became Brampton Gardens. However by 1909 it was unused. (TQ 101 642)

Oxshott

John Early Cook owned the Littleheath brickfield. He provided for the workers an iron hut as a community centre, games club, school room and on Sunday afternoon church services. (TQ 134 604)

St Andrew church started in 1905 in an iron church in Oakshade Road. However, by 1909, it was not large enough to cope so was replaced by a larger brick building in 1912. The iron building remained in use until 1969. (OS 142 605)

Thames Ditton

An accident report in 1915 stated it occurred in the Portsmouth Road, Thames Ditton near the Iron Church. The location of this church has not been identified.

Epsom and Ewell Borough Council

Cuddington

The Landed Estates Company erected an iron church in The Avenue in 1867. It was replaced in 1895 by the present building which was designated St Mary the Virgin. It replaced the original church demolished in 1538 for Nonsuch Palace. (TQ 214 656)

Epsom

St Michael's mission church was erected in 1878 on the Wells Estate between Woodlands Road and the railway. It is shown on the 1895 OS map but by the 1913 edition this building was called "Club". In 1908 a new Mission Room was erected near the end of Woodlands Road. It was demolished in 1956. (TQ 192 598)

In 1899 a tin tabernacle was erected at the newly created Horton Road cemetery for burials from the mental hospitals. (TQ 201 630)

Also in 1899 St Barnabas church started as a daughter church from Christ Church in a corrugated iron structure in Hook Road. Subsequently in 1909 it moved to a brick church in Temple Road. (TQ 208 614)

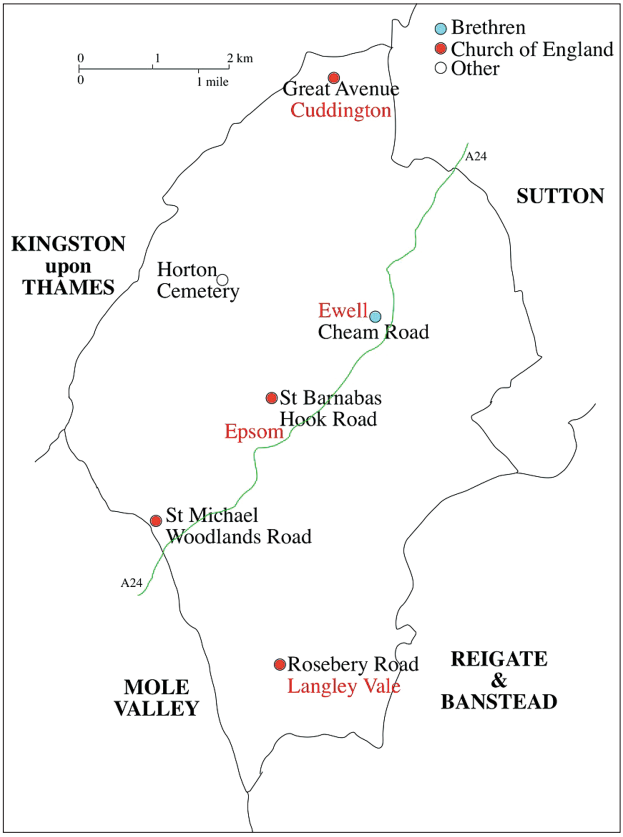

Figure 4 Tin Tabernacles of Epsom and Ewell

Ewell

Glyn Hall (Mary spiritualist chapel) was originally registered for use by the Open Brethren. Their permanent building, Staneway Chapel, was opened in 1955. Today it is a community venue used by a variety of groups and individuals without any religious connection. (TQ 221 626)

Langley Vale

A tin church was erected in about 1907 at Rosebury Road, Langley Vale, Epsom Downs. It continued in use until St Stephen's was dedicated on 17 December 1961 on the opposite side of the road. (TQ 211 579)

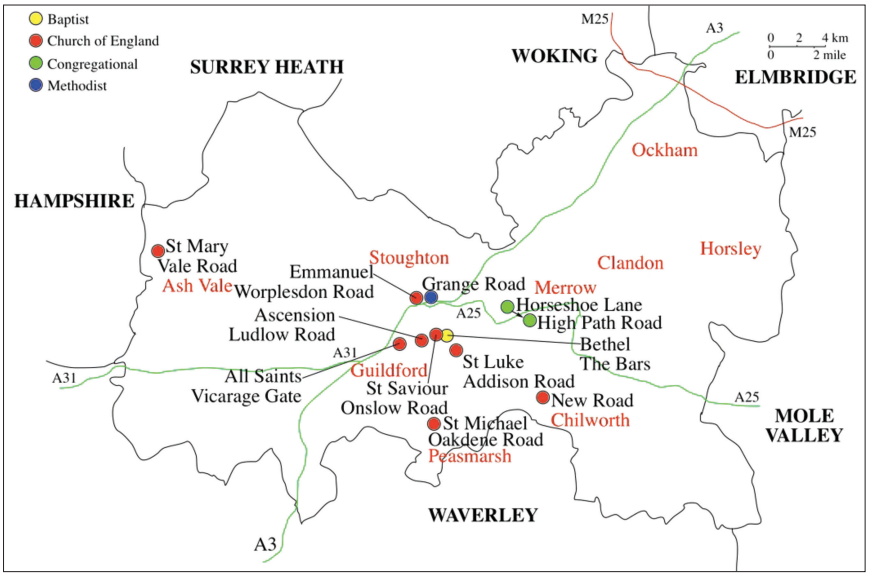

Figure 5 Tin Tabernacles of Guildford

Ash Vale

St Mary's, Ash Vale iron church was erected in 1885 at a cost of £205 and was replaced by the present church in 1906. It continued in use as the church hall until 1980. (SU 893 525)

Chilworth

An iron church was erected in 1892 near the Chilworth railway station in New Road. It had previously been the Gresham (or Greshambury) Institute (for science and arts classes for employees of the nearby Unwins printing works and the gunpowder works). George Unwin donated it to the village. When St Thomas's church was built in 1896 to take the growing congregation the iron church was moved to a new site about 1 km along New Road where it became the village hall. (TQ 033 473)

Guildford

In 1876 an iron church was erected by Stoke church at the junction of Woodbridge Road and Onslow Street. The parish was divided in 1893 to form St Saviour's. The iron church unusually had its entrance at the east end and chancel at the west end. The present church was consecrated in 1899. (SU 995 498)

Bethel Chapel was erected in 1880 in Martyr Road by a break away group from the Old Baptist Chapel in Castle Street. It is a Strict & Particular Baptist church. The chapel was replaced by a brick church in The Bars in 1910. The old church was taken over by the Railway Mission. (SU 997 497)

In 1885 a daughter iron church of St Nicholas was erected in Ludlow Road called the Church of the Ascension. It use ceased in 1926. (SU 989 495)

An iron mission church, St Luke's, was erected in 1897 at the end of Addison Road. It was a daughter church of Holy Trinity. In 1963 the site was sold for housing but it included a chapel dedicated to St Michael. (TQ 007 494)

All Saints, Vicarage Gate, Onslow Village, was erected as 'The Tin Tabernacle' in 1927 as a daughter church to St Nicholas. The building was replaced by the present church in 1967. (SU 981 494)

Merrow

In 1881 a congregational iron room was erected by Mr and Mrs Broad in a rather unsuitable position in Horseshoe Lane. It was subsequently moved to High Path Road. (TQ 017 505 moved to TQ 022 502)

Peasmarsh

St Michael's Church, Broadford Road, is a tin tabernacle where occasional services are still held. It is a mission church of Shalford parish and is shown on the 1934 OS map but not the 1913 edition. (SU 992 464)

Figure 6 St Michael's Church, Peaslake

Shalford

The two mission churches of Shalford are now listed under Chilworth and Peasmarsh.

Stoughton

Emmanuel Church started in 1881 in an iron church at the junction of Worplesdon Road and Shepherds Lane. It was moved to North Road and became the church hall when the present church was opened in 1904. After fifty years it was sold to the Conservative Association and renamed Nugent Hall. (SU 982 516)

Stoughton Methodist was erected in 1891 on the corner of Stoughton Road and Grange Road. It was replaced by a more permanent building in 1895. The old tin tabernacle was used for Sunday School until 1953. (SU 986 516)

West Clandon

In 1911 a Mission Room was given by Mrs G Dalton to Rev A H Wood who gave it to the parish in 1919. Its location has no been identified.

Mole Valley District Council

Ashtead

In 1882 Sir Thomas Lucas presented an iron church, to be erected in Barnett Wood Lane. St George's Church was replaced by the present church in 1906. The iron church was then moved over ten days on rollers at a cost of £120 to a nearby site in Woodfield where it became the church room. In 1931 it became the headquarters of the 1st Ashtead-Pelham scout group although they had met there since their formation in 1920. It was finally demolished in 1956. (TQ 180 586)

In 1895 Ashtead Gospel Mission was formed in an iron church in Barnett Wood Lane. In 1913 it became Ashtead Free Church. The iron church was replaced by the a new building a few yards to the west in 1924. The iron church then became the Constitutional Hall. (TQ 179 585)

St Michael's Roman Catholic Church started in 1942 in the Constitutional Club (see above). In 1944 the church moved to the present site in Woodfield Lane, initially in a corrugated iron garage. (TQ 185 584)

Beare Green

The Beare Green Mission Room was donated by Mr & Mrs Charles Mortimer of Wigmore in 1896. Originally located in the south-west corner of the Green it was later moved across the Green to a site near the Dukes Head. It continued in use until destroyed by fire in the 1960s. (TQ 178 428)

Bookham

A congregational mission hall was erected in 1895 at the junction of Sole Farm Road and Church Road. The building came from Stoughton and cost £70. It

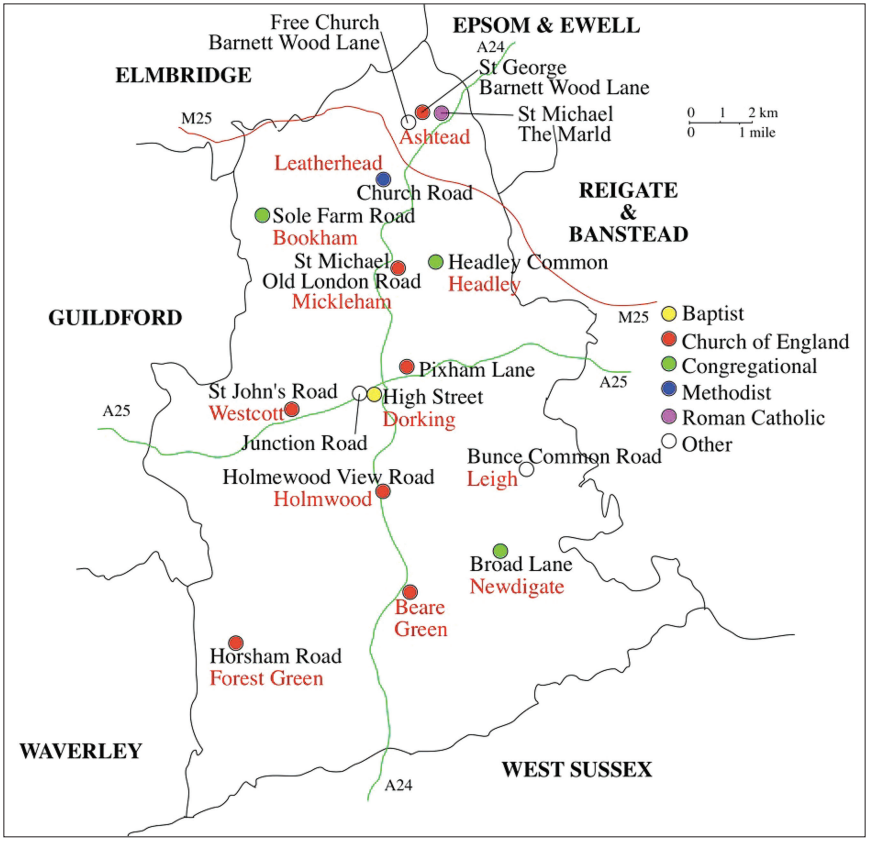

Figure 7 Tin Tabernacles of Mole Valley

was demolished in 1929 when the church moved to a new building in Eastwick Road. (TQ 132 550)

Dorking

In 1883 a Humphreys corrugated iron building was constructed in Pixham Lane. It was 45 ft × 24 ft 3 in. In 1890 an altar and a small sanctuary were added which was replaced in 1903 by the present church, designed by Edwin Lutyens. The old iron church was auctioned in May 1903. In 1990 the church was given the name St Mary the Virgin, Pixham. (TQ 176 504)

In 1910 the Strict Baptists erected a secondhand tin tabernacle from Cheltenham at 298 High Street. It had brick foundations and walls, which suggests only a room came from the Cheltenham church. (TQ 169 496)

A mission hall was erected in Junction Road by Lady Hope. It remained until 1991.

Forest Green

In 1887 a tin tabernacle Anglican Mission Church dedicated to St Barnabas was erected in a corner of Tillies Farm. It commemorated the Queen Victoria's Jubilee and was replaced by Holy Trinity Church in 1872. Then it was used as a reading room and was destroyed by fire in February 1908. (TQ 123 410)

Headley

A congregational iron chapel was opened in 1883 which was closed in 1908. It is not shown on the 1913 OS map. (TQ 206 541)

Holmwood

In 1891, after the work on Mickleham church was completed (see below), the temporary iron church was moved to mid-Holmwood behind the Norfolk Arms. It is probably the building moved in 1908 to land in the garden of Priory Cottage where it was called the Brook Valley mission. (TQ 169 462)

Leatherhead

The Methodist church started in 1887 in an iron building in Church Road until the present building was built in 1893. (TQ 168 564)

Leigh

An iron building was erected in Bunce Common Road, Dawes Green. It later became a clinic, a scout hall, crèche and village hall, before it was demolished in 1976. The building had a plaque recording that it was built by W. Harbrow, South Bermondsey Station. (TQ 218 470)

Mickleham

When St Michael and All Angels church was closed during the 1891–2 restoration a temporary iron church for services was hired from Humphreys using a building previously in Mitcham. It was erected in the churchyard and was still in use in 1892. Afterwards it was removed by Humphreys and sold to the landlord of the Norfolk Arms, Holmwood. (TQ 171 534)

Newdigate

In 1885 congregational iron mission chapel was erected in Broad Street. It closed in the 1960s and was used by the local scout group. In 1997 it became a private house. (TQ 209 441)

Westcott

In 1891 an iron mission hall was erected by Holy Trinity church in St John's Road. The building was 27ft 6in by 17ft 0in and held 80 people. It was put up

for sale in 1906 but continued in use until damaged by blast in 1944 and then demolished. (TQ 143 490)

Borough of Reigate and Banstead

Banstead

An iron mission hall was erected in 1896 at the east end of the High Street. It was damaged during the second world war. Even so it was renovated and modified several times before it was replaced in 1971. It was variously known as an Undenominational Gospel Mission, Baptist Free Church, Banstead Baptist Church and now Christ Church Banstead. (TQ 257 598)

Horley

The Roman Catholic Church of the English Martyrs made of wood and corrugated iron was erected in Ladbroke Road in 1935. Replaced by present church in Vicarage Road in 1962. (TQ 286 440)

Redhill

In 1853 St John's Church sent a curate, William Kelk, to Warwick Town (now modern Redhill) where he established St Matthew's corrugated iron church. It was orientated on a north-south axis so as to maximise the space for a permanent church. After the present church was completed alongside the iron church in 1866 the iron church became St Matthew's School. It remained in use until 1884. The iron church was one of the earliest iron churches to be erected in Surrey. (TQ 277 506)

A St Matthew's iron mission church was erected in Grove Road but was moved in 1873 to the High Street. It was replaced in 1900 by a more permanent structure. (TQ 278 502)

Battlebridge Mission Hall was erected in 1875 by St Matthew's church. When the parish was divided in 1907 it passed to Holy Trinity Church. It is still there but no longer used as a church. (TQ 286 520)

The Wesleyan Methodist Iron Mission Chapel Earlswood was erected in 1876 in Woodlands Road. This was replaced by a new church in Earlswood Road in 1899. (TQ 277 492)

A Primitive Methodist iron hall at 6 Monson Road was built in 1888. It was replaced by a new building in 1896. The old building was re-erected in 1899 at the rear of the Brighton Road Church (TQ 280 517)

St Matthew's iron mission room at 71 Monson Road was opened in 1890. It cost £200. When the parish was divided in 1907 it became a mission church of Holy Trinity Church. In 1936 it was sold to the Borough for housing. (TQ 279 519)

St Paul's Presbyterian Church started in the Market Hall before moving in February 1900 to the "tin tabernacle" at Shaw's Corner. The present church (now a URC church) opened in 1902. (TQ 270 502)

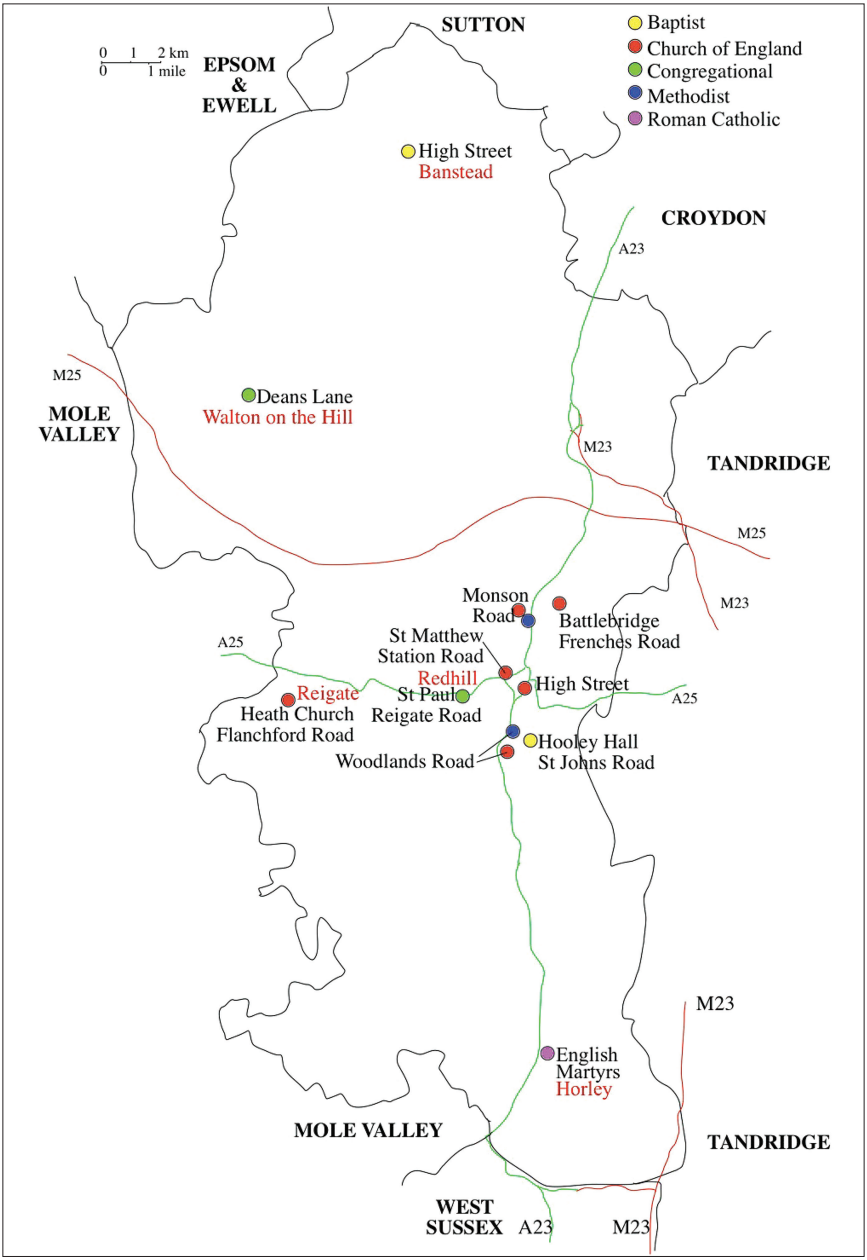

Figure 8 Tin Tabernacles of Reigate and Banstead

St Johns Iron Room or Tin Chapel in Woodlands Road by Earlswood Road was erected in 1900 costing £287.10.0d. It was sold in 1938. (TQ 276 492)

The Baptist Tabernacle Mission Hall was opened in St John's Road, Earlswood (by Emlyn Road) in 1909. It was also known as Hooley Hall. (TQ 281 495)

Reigate

The Heath church was erected in 1907 and has been in use ever since. It is a daughter church of St Mary's. (TQ 241 503)

Figure 9 Reigate Heath Church

Walton on the Hill

In 1885 a congregational iron church was erected in Deans Lane. It was replaced by the present church in Kingswood Road in 1910. (TQ 228 551)

Runnymede Borough Council

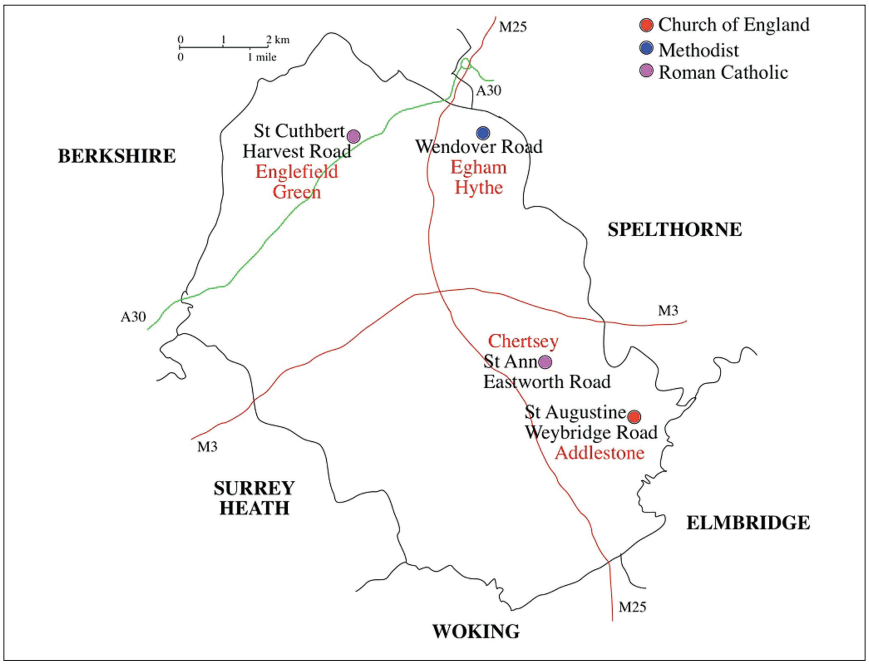

Figure 10 Tin Tabernacles of Runnymede

Addlestone

St Augustine church was erected in Weybridge Road as a mission church of St Paul's church Addlestone. 'The Tin Church' was consecrated in 1891 and was replaced by the present church in 1939. (TQ 059 651)

Chertsey

In 1899 the Salesian Sisters were invited to use Eastworth House as a residence and were permitted to build a corrugated iron chapel in the grounds for Catholics in Chertsey. This remained in use as St Ann's church until 1972 and was demolished in 1974. (TQ 042 663)

Egham Hythe

The second hand tin tabernacle was erected as a Primitive Methodist church in Wendover Road in 1898. It had previously been used in north London. It was planned to replace it in 1939 but the war held up progress. During the war it was used as a reception centre for evacuees, as headquarters for the home guard

and as a school room. It then housed a youth club until demolished in 1952. (TQ 026 712)

Englefield Green

In 1903 Major General Arthur Rideout arranged for a corrugated iron chapel for Roman Catholic services in the garden of his house, Sandylands. Subsequently a wooden church was built in Harvest Road with the original church formed the vestry. It was dedicated to St Cuthbert. In 1930 the present church replaced it and the old church became the church hall. The dedication was also changed to The Assumption of our Lady church. (SU 997 709)

Spelthorne Borough Council

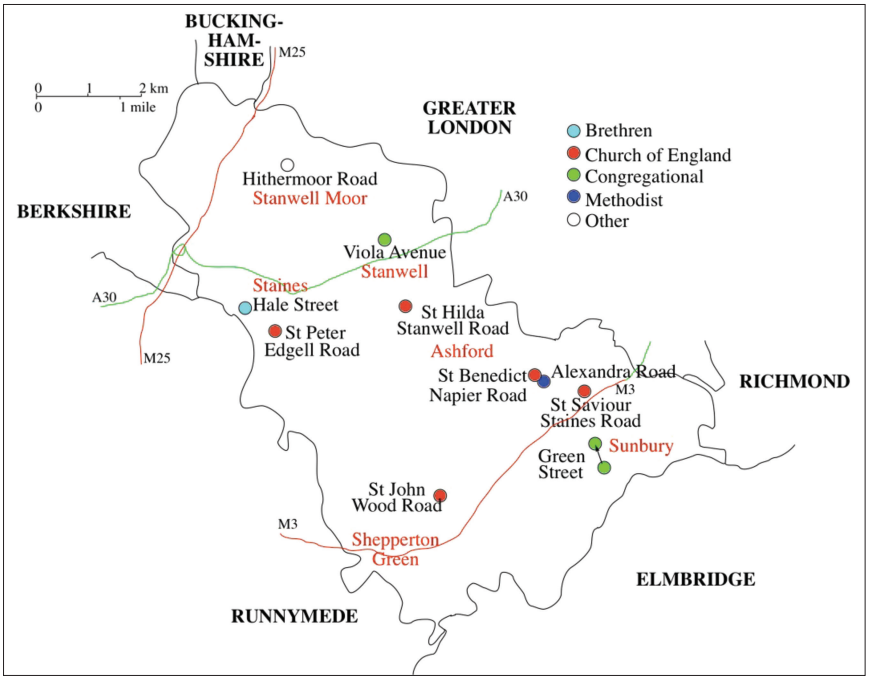

Figure 11 Tin Tabernacles of Spelthorne

Ashford

A Primitive Methodist iron chapel was erected in Alexandra Road, Ashford Common in 1894. It was used by soldiers during World War I but was not replaced by the present church in Feltham Hill Road until 1960. (TQ 090 704)

An iron mission room from St Matthew's church was erected in 1899 at the junction of Woodthorpe Road and Stanwell Road. It was known as Ashford Common Mission. In 1912 the mission room was replaced by the present church, which was renamed St Hilda's church The previous building continued in use as the church hall. (TQ 063 717)

A second mission church was erected in 1906 in Napier Road dedicated to St Benedict. In 1949 it became part of the parish of St Saviour, Sunbury Common. It was demolished in 1969 to be replaced by a new building. (TQ 088 705)

Shepperton

A tin hut, still surviving, was built as a church hall for the Mission Church of St John, Shepperton Green, in Wood Road, sometime around 1900. It later became a Scout HQ but closed some years ago and is currently empty. (TQ 073 682)

Staines-upon-Thames

In 1880 the Brethren opened a church in Hale Street in a building formerly a school, probably the boy's British School. A corrugated iron part was added at the back in the late 19th century. (TQ 033 714)

St Peter's Church started as a mission chapel of St James. A temporary iron church holding 400 people was erected on the corner Edgell Road and Budebury Road in 1885. The church had since 1873 been in a building in Wyatt Road. The church was replaced by the present building in Laleham Road, consecrated in 1894. The iron building continued in use for church purposes. (TQ 040 712)

Stanwell

In 1904 the Society of Friends erected an iron mission room at Stanwell Moor in Hithermoor Road. In 1912 it was transferred to the established church. It was still in use in 1956. (TQ 041 743)

Stanwell Congregational Church in Viola Avenue was opened in 1940 as the Albion Mission. It was obtained from a church in Hammersmith and was damaged in the second World War. It was replaced by the present church in Viscount Road in 1960. (TQ 060 732)

Sunbury

Sunbury Congregation Church iron church was erected at the corner of Green Street and School Walk in about 1889. It replaced an earlier building. In 1903 the building was moved further along Green Street, by Rooksmead Road. A permanent church was erected in 1904. Thereafter the iron church was used as a church hall, and other uses, until demolished in 1971. (TQ 102 691)

Surrey Heath Borough Council

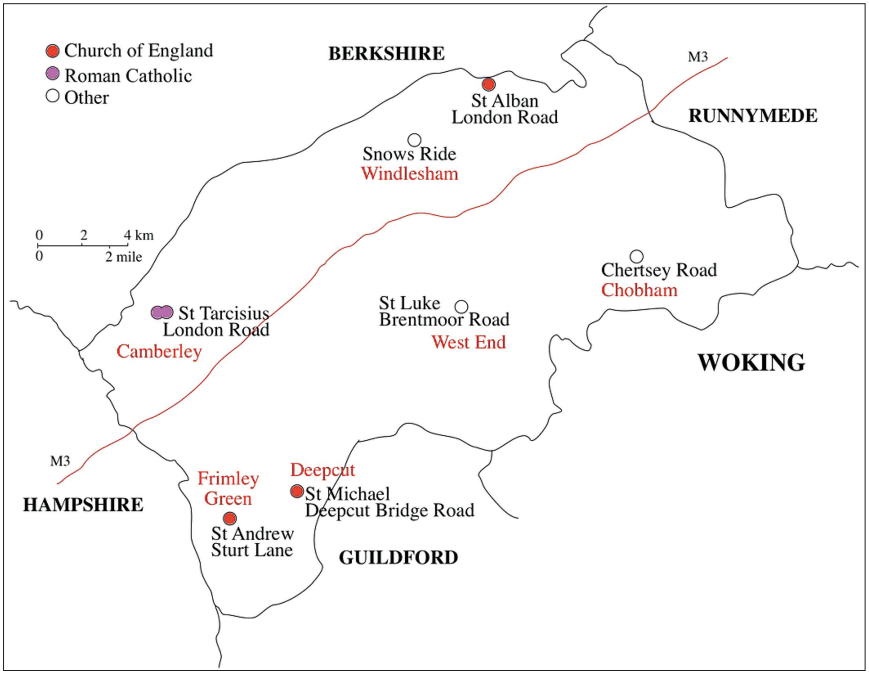

Figure 12 Tin Tabernacles of Surrey Heath

Camberley

In 1884 an iron catholic church was erected by the school in Obelisk Street. In 1888 it was moved to the site of the priest's house in London Road and replaced by the present church, St Tarcisius, in 1924. (SU 874 607)

Chobham

A Gospel Hall is still in Chertsey Road. No information on its history has been found. Shown on the 1912 OS map it is not on the 1894 edition. (SU 976 621)

Deepcut

The Garrison Church, in Deepcut Bridge Road, was erected in 1901 as St Michael and All Angels. When the corps church, St Barbara, was closed at Hilsea the Deepcut church was renamed St Barbara. It remains in use at Deepcut. (SU 904 572)

Frimley

The "tin" church of St Andrew's, Sturt Road, Frimley Green, was built in 1896 for £298.16.5½d on what is now the site of St Andrew's Hall. It became the church hall when the present church was opened in 1909. (SU 887 561)

West End

St Luke iron mission chapel was erected in 1881 in Donkey Town on the corner of Brentmoor Road and Birch Lane. It was still there in 1913. (SU 939 608)

Windlesham

An iron chapel was erected originally as the family chapel of the Pears family at Windlesham House some time before 1865. The house became Woodcote House School and the chapel is still in use by the school. (SU 929 643)

St Alban's mission church, London Road, was unusual being an iron building with a thatched roof. It had previously been in the grounds of Broadlands, Sunninghill, Berkshire and was moved to Windlesham in 1902. It was deconsecrated in 1971 and then used as a garden shed until it was demolished in about 1995. (SU 943 660)

Tandridge District Council

Bletchingley

An iron room was erected at Warwick Wold in about 1881. It was a congregational chapel that was still there in 1908. Its exact location has not been established. A reference to Warwick Wold mission church in 1941 probably refers to St Andrew church (first recorded in 1912). (TQ 31 52)

Caterham

Bethany or Gospel Hall, now Caterham Christian Centre, in Croydon Road, was erected in 1892 as an open brethren meeting hall. It was rebuilt in 1944 after damage by a flying bomb. (TQ 341 557)

Ebenezer Strict Baptist Church was opened in 1895 in Beechwood Road. The building was replaced by the present Baptist chapel built 1967–78. (TQ 342 560)

Lingfield

Baldwin's Hill iron mission room is mentioned in the 1891 Surrey Directory (TQ 386 396)

Outwood

Some time after 1860 a benefactor in Nutfield provided a corrugated iron building to be used on the site of St John the Baptist Anglican Church in Brickfield Road. When the present church was consecrated in 1869 it was dismantled and it has been claimed that it was re-erected at Reigate parish Church. (TQ 320 460)

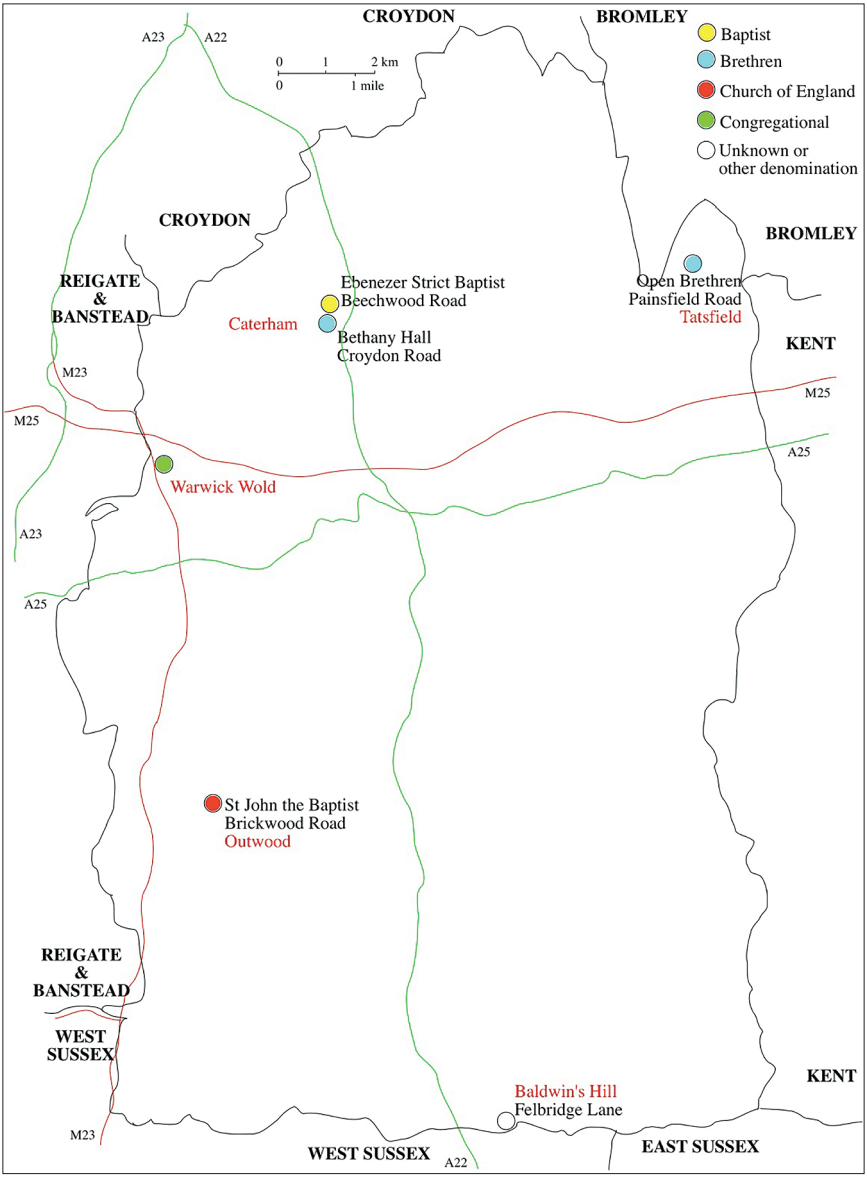

Figure 13 Tin Tabernacles of Tandridge

Tatsfield

The Open Brethren branch of the Plymouth Brethren used a tin tabernacle in Paynesfield Road from 1911 to 1964. The building is now used by the Women's Institute. (TQ 414 571)

Waverley Borough Council

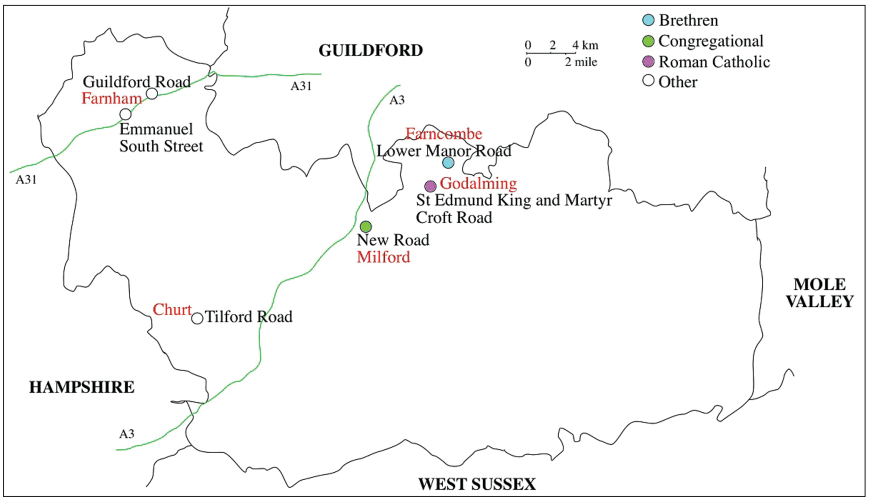

Figure 14 Tin Tabernacles of Waverley

Churt

A corrugated iron building, described incorrectly as an 18th century barn, was moved to a site by the junction of Tilford Road and Green Lane in the 1940s for Canadian soldiers to use as a church. It was subsequently used as a store and workshop. (SU 875 380)

Farncombe

There was a small iron chapel in Lower Manor Road used by the Plymouth Brethren in 1891. It was still in use in 1991 but is now the Little Lanes Pre-school. (SU 975 448)

Farnham

The members of the Reformed Episcopal Church of England worship in a corrugated iron chapel near Bourne Mill. When the congregation grew too large for the chapel they moved to a school room in East Street before moving in 1889 to an iron church in South Street, seating about 180 persons. Finally in 1900 they moved to a brick church further along South Street, now called Emmanuel Evangelical Free Church. (SU 852 474 moved to SU 843 467)

Godalming

In 1899 St. Edmund King and Martyr Roman Catholic church started in an "iron building" in Croft Road which was replaced by the present church, located at a nearby site in Croft Road, in 1906. The original building continued in use as St Edmund's Hall until it was replaced in 1925. (SU 970 437)

Milford

In 1872 a congregational iron chapel that had previously been in Alton was erected in New Road to replace a wooden chapel erected 1860. The chapel was called Lady Cross Chapel, later giving its name to the road built alongside it. The chapel was replaced by a stone building, built on land between the chapel and New Road, in 1902. It remained behind the new building. (SU 943 420)

Woking Borough Council

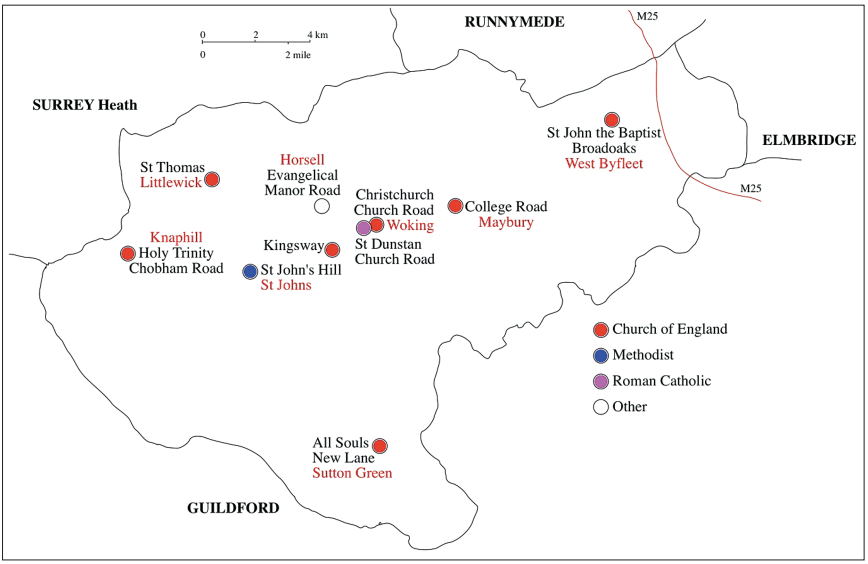

Figure 15 Tin Tabernacles of Woking

Horsell

Horsell Evangelical Church was formed in 1896. In 1900 it moved to a tin tabernacle in Manor Road which continued in use until demolished in 1983. The present church was opened in 1984. (SU 994 592)

Knaphill

The original Holy Trinity Church, Chobham Road, Knaphill, was known as the "old tin church" and was erected in 1885 as part of St John's parish. The church was replaced by the present building in 1907. (SU 959 584)

Littlewick

St Thomas' church, Littlewick Common, opened in 1901 as a daughter church of St Mary the Virgin church, Horsell. It had 60 sittings and was built at a cost of £103. It remained in use to *ca* 1990. It is now the Peter Pan pre-school group. (SU 975 696)

Maybury

St Paul's Church Maybury was erected in 1894. Its first church hall was an iron room in College Road. It was sold in 1903 when a Mission Hall was erected in Walton Road. (TQ 020 591)

St Johns

A Methodist Wesleyan chapel was erected at the corner of St John's Road and St John's Hill Road in 1903. Permission was obtained in 1932 to sell the temporary iron Wesleyan Chapel at St Johns. (SU 981 579)

Sutton Green

An iron church was erected in New Lane in the 1880s as a mission church from St Peter's Woking. The building was replaced by the present church located further along New Lane in 1920. The old building became the Village Hall. (TQ 006 547)

West Byfleet

St John parish church in West Byfleet started in 1872 as a daughter church of St Mary's in a temporary iron building by the entrance to the Broadoaks estate (now called Hobbs Close). A plank bridge crossed the ditch to the front door. The iron church was replaced by the present building in 1912 when it was relocated to the junction of Camphill Road and Parvis Road. The iron church was probably moved to a site in Claremont Road and used as the church room. (TQ 048 609)

Woking

An 'Iron Room' was erected in Church Street for a growing congregation of Christchurch in 1877. (TQ 006 589)

In 1899 St Dunstan's Roman Catholic church started in an iron mission church in Percy Street (now part of Victoria Way). St Dunstan's church was replaced by a permanent church in White Rose Lane in 1925. The iron church was then used as Woking library. (TQ 004 587)

Kingsway Hall known as the 'tin tab' was erected in 1911. It was the church hall of St Mary of Bethany church. Eventually it was destroyed by fire in 1972. (TQ 006 583)

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ACCESSIONS RECEIVED IN SURREY HISTORY CENTRE, 2016

Edited by Michael Page, County Archivist

During the course of 2016 we took in 291 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.

To prepare a full archival catalogue of an accession of record can take many hours of an archivist's time but without that investment of time and professional expertise the contents of the records remain hidden to researchers. Our cataloguing resources have always been insufficient to deal with the quantity of new material coming in and we, like almost every record office, have built up a backlog of uncatalogued accessions requiring attention. Each year we attempt to make inroads into this backlog, often with the aid of volunteers working under the oversight of an archivist. I have taken the opportunity to mention a couple of significant backlog cataloguing projects, through which the riches of long held collections are finally revealed to researchers.

Surrey Businesses

Perhaps the most significant business collection we took in during the year was the records of George Wilson and Sons (Boat Builders) Ltd of Sunbury on Thames (SHC ref 9660). The business's origins go back to 1907 when George Wilson purchased the Ferry House at Church Wharf, Sunbury on Thames. The company originally ferried passengers across the River Thames and hired boats including punts and dinghies to the public. However the boatyard soon began to build punts and skiffs, then started to construct larger vessels for which additional premises were leased on Sunbury Lock Island from the Thames Conservancy (now the Environment Agency). Slipways, a dry dock and ancillary buildings were constructed on the land.

During and after World War II the company received orders from the Admiralty to build lifeboats, motor boats, passenger launches and cutters. To meet the demands of the war effort the company had to expand its premises and employ more staff. After the war, the company also began to construct pleasure craft to meet the demand for cabin cruisers, some of which were designed by the naval architect R C W Courtney. One of the best known was the 'Flying Swan' class, built by Wilsons for many years. In addition they offered for sale new

and second hand boats, carried out repairs and sold supplies for fishermen. With the increasing popularity of fibreglass hulls from the mid-1970s the company stopped building and concentrated on maintaining wooden boats for private owners, hiring out moorings and its own fleet of launches and punts for pleasure and fishing. In 2015 the company ceased trading, by which time it had passed to Brian Wilson, George Wilson's great-grandson.

The archives include many plans of boats built by Wilsons, specifications and photographs, as well as some plans for craft built by other makers including the Fairmile Construction Company of Cobham.

This history of George Wilson and Sons is largely derived from the article by Nick Pollard in the local magazine *Sunbury Matters*, September 2015.

We were also delighted to augment our holdings of records of the long-vanished Guildford Friary Brewery with three minute books of Friary, Holroyd and Healy's Breweries Ltd, 1899–1911, and deeds relating to public houses owned by the company and its successors (SHC ref 9637). The Friary Brewery was built by 1868, its products were being advertised in Guildford directories by 1876, and it grew under successive members of the Master family. In 1889 the Brewery merged with Holroyd's Brewery of Byfleet and in 1890 with Healy's Brewery of Chertsey, and Friary, Holroyd and Healy was formed as a limited company in 1895. The minute books provide a vivid insight into the conduct of the business: the brewing committee minutes of October 1905 report the dismissal of Mr Bullock of the Wine and Spirit Department for drunkenness, the receipt of a notice of the Sanitary Inspector that smoke from the brewery constituted a nuisance and the approval of a new bottle label; the minutes of April 1907, report that 23 draught horses were in use. The quality of the beer was routinely tested against the products of other regional rivals such as Hodgson's, Crooke's, Bruford's, Farnham United and Fremlin's.

Also of note among our accessions of business records were copies of the promotional magazine *Dry Plates*, produced by Cadett & Neall, photographic chemists, dry plate and film manufacturers of Ashtead (SHC ref 9673). The business was established in Ashtead in August 1892 as a collaboration between James William Thomas Cadett (c.1853–1949), a chemical engineer, and his brother-in-law, Walter Neall, a photographic dry plate and paper manufacturer. Having patented pneumatic shutters in the 1870s, Cadett took out 3 patents between 1886 and 1889 for coating machines which regulated the thickness of the emulsion on photographic plates and films. Setting up these machines at their factory, the Greville Works in Ashtead, Cadett & Neall manufactured photographic papers, plates and photographic accessories. Business obviously boomed, for by October 1892 they reported that their sales 'had doubled last month as compared with the previous'. A new factory, the Crampshaw Works, was opened late in 1893 and a further factory, for the manufacture of photographic paper, was built in 1898, also in Ashtead. Cadett & Neall became a limited company in 1897; it was taken over by Kodak in 1903, though the name Cadett & Neall was retained for some years. *Dry Plates* was produced primarily to advertise the firm's products

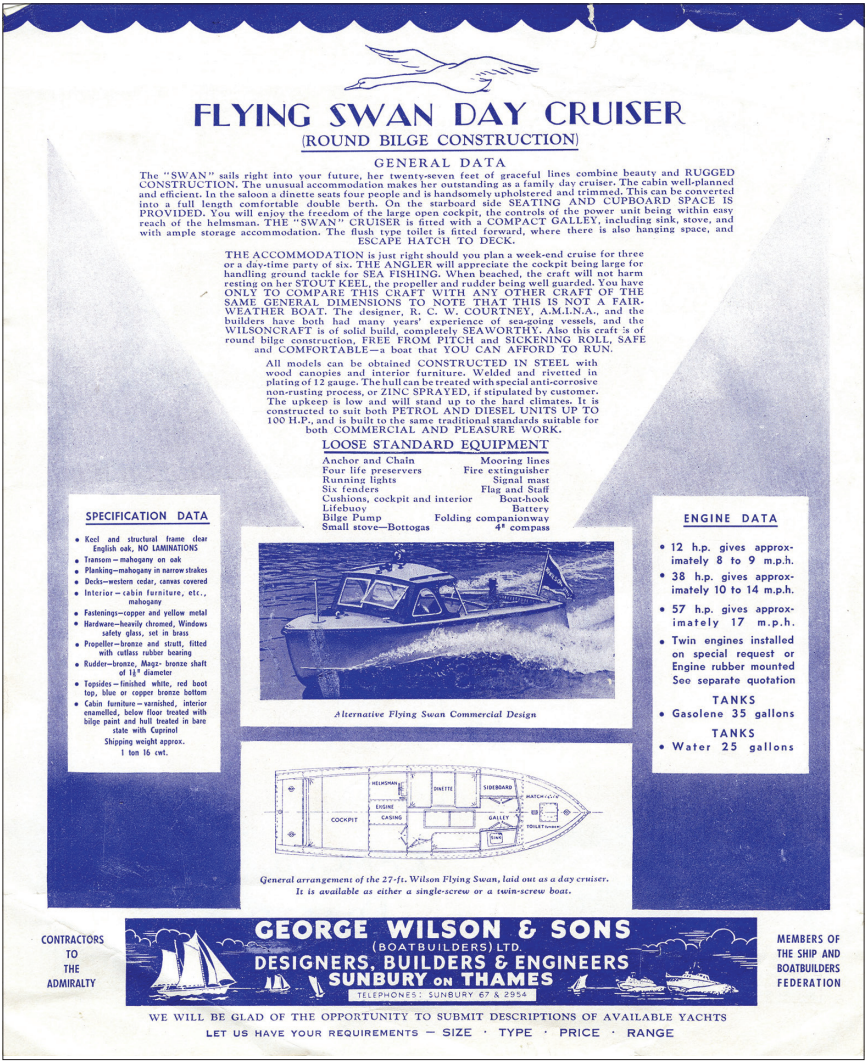

Figure 1 Leaflet issued by George Wilson and Sons for 'Flying Swan Day Cruiser', mid 20th cent, with specification (SHC ref 9660/5/1)

but also offered advice, technical know-how and inspiration to photographers. It was sent gratis 'to any Photographer, Amateur or Professional, on receipt of stamped addressed wrapper'.

Surrey and Refugees

Debates around the reception of refugees fleeing combat zones, persecution or poverty, have been much in the news recently. The Woking-based refugee charity, Ockenden International (formerly the Ockenden Venture), began as a personal response by three local schoolteachers to the sufferings of displaced people in camps across Europe after World War II but grew into a major aid agency, which rose to prominence during the rescue and resettlement of the Vietnamese 'Boat People'. The charity's records were first deposited at Surrey History Centre in 2002 and catalogued as part of a HLF project. Since then, we have been regularly contacted by people who were involved in some way with the organisation and last year, we were fortunate to receive the papers of two former Ockenden employees, both of whom have written about their time with the charity, and whose records are a valuable complement to the original deposit (SHC ref 7155).

Now a lively 101, 'Miss Elsie' Broughton worked as a cook and gardener at several different Ockenden houses between 1959 and 1994. Miss Broughton

Figure 2 Keffolds, Ockenden's refuge in Haslemere, painted by Eric Jones, 1979 (SHC ref 8831/16)

visited Surrey History Centre back in 2010 to view some of the Ockenden records and was clearly inspired to deposit her own papers, many of which were used in her 1990 book, *My Ockenden adventure*. The collection (SHC ref 8831) includes letters from refugees and staff, and photographs and illustrations of Keffolds, an Ockenden house in Haslemere. We also received the papers of Ailsa Moore, Ockenden's executive director from 1989 to 1995 (SHC ref 9642). Again, much of the material in the collection formed the basis for her autobiographical booklets, *An Ockenden story, seven steps to Ockenden*, and it offers a rare insight into the policies and strategies of the charity in its later years.

Continuing the refugee theme, in October 1961, the eruption of Queen Mary's Peak in the remote South Atlantic island of Tristan Da Cunha forced the evacuation of the whole population. The islanders were rescued by a Dutch passenger ship, MV Tjisadane, which took them via Cape Town to Britain. The master of the ship, Captain W A Giel, kept a scrapbook of the evacuation which includes photographs and newscuttings of the islanders at Pendell refugee camp in Merstham. We now have digital images of many of the items in the scrapbook which was loaned to us for copying by Captain Giel's granddaughter, Mrs Gilleon Rabey (SHC ref Z/665).

Health and Welfare in Surrey

We have taken in several accessions which chart the provision of health care in Surrey and add to our already fine holdings of charity and hospital records.

The records of Hambledon Almshouses, including committee and trustees' minutes, property records, accounts and correspondence, 1865–2006 (SHC ref 9572) offer an insight into local provision, outside the reach of the Poor Law and the National Health Service. Although the 20th century almshouses on Malthouse Lane were a new foundation, they had their origins in the old parish almshouses on Sandhole Lane, off Woodlands Road. These almshouses had always been managed by the parish officers (a 'hospital' had stood on the site since at least the mid 17th century), and throughout the 19th century, the vestry continued to support the idea of accommodation for pauper members of the parish aside from admission to the Hambledon Union Workhouse. During the 1860s, faced with condemning of the dilapidated cottages, the parish tried various solutions to preserve its independent provision of housing, but was beset with difficulties, including the lack of title to the site and the Hambledon Poor Law Guardians' opposition to the use of poor rates to renovate the existing buildings. An 1891 plan to sell the Sandhole Lane site and build new almshouses on land acquired in Malthouse Lane came to nought, and instead a new management scheme for the old almshouses was established on 1 July 1892. However, the sloping site caused continuing problems and in 1906 the retaining wall collapsed entirely and the houses were ordered to be closed under Public Health regulations.

A public meeting in August 1906 prompted by the cottages' threatened closure established a new committee for the Malthouse Lane site, fuelled by promises of £100 each from Miss Mary Bonham Carter and Robert Borrowman

for building two cottages. Although it was hoped that subscriptions would support the building of a further two, this was not achieved. The new almshouses were erected in 1907 and the profits from the sale of the old almshouses invested and a small pension paid to the tenants. The work of the charity in providing accommodation for two elderly persons or couples has continued ever since.

The early Byfleet United Charity records, including minutes, 1906–1943, and account books, 1906–1935 (SHC ref 9688) have also entered our care. The Charity came into being in 1905, when the Charity Commission re-organised five local charities, amalgamating them under the title of Byfleet United Charity. The five included the charity established by Wandsworth born Henry Smith (d.1628), the valuable landed endowment of which provided poor relief funds to many Surrey parishes; the Lady Magdalen Bruce's Charity, created in 1635 for 'the relief and comfort of the honest poor painful people, and such as were past labour'; the Poor's Land Charity which originated in the enclosure of Byfleet and Weybridge in 1811 which allocated certain common and wasteland for the benefit of the poor; the George Poulton Charity, established in 1878; and the Raper Charity for the Poor, which arose from a Determination Order made by the Charity Commission in 1904. Today, the Charity helps people in need with grants and has its own sheltered accommodation in West Byfleet. The Charity is restricted to helping those who have lived in the ancient parish of Byfleet for at least one year prior to their application.

The activities of the local Red Cross are also well represented. The Surrey Branch of the British Red Cross Society was established in c.1910 (when the first districts were registered) and made its first annual report in 1913. We have received two annual reports of the Branch for the years 1914 and 1916 (SHC ref 9595) which provide a wealth of information about how it responded to the challenge of World War I. The report of 1914 comments that work in the county 'had made steady progress towards greater efficiency during the past two years, and the movement had taken firm root and prospered. It was most satisfactory to find on the outbreak of war on the 5th August that the detachments were fully prepared to carry out any demands made upon them'. The Voluntary Aid Detachments which had been formed 'mainly for use with the Territorial Force in case of invasion' now found themselves 'called upon to equip and work permanent hospitals in the event of a war overseas'. By 1916 over 120 detachments appear to have been formed to assist with the many military hospitals and convalescent homes set up across the county. Other work included making hospital supplies and assisting in enquiries for the missing and wounded.

Complementing the reports of the Surrey Branch are the records of the Leatherhead Branch (Surrey Detachment 22) received in October 2016 and covering the years 1924–2001 (SHC ref 9681). They include parade rolls, record sheets, scrapbooks, photographs, newspaper cuttings and certificates and the branch's war service record, detailing the names and activities of all those members who worked during World War II at establishments such as Leatherhead

first aid post, the Leatherhead Emergency Hospital in the School for the Blind and Ashtead Mobile Unit.

As is well known, Surrey History Centre holds a nationally significant collection of records relating to the county's numerous mental hospitals, five of which were established in the vicinity of Epsom by the London County Council. Although these are now closed, we still occasionally take in additional records of these huge establishments, and were delighted to receive a fine set of patient index cards for the Manor Hospital in Epsom (SHC ref 8837) spanning several decades, particularly important as case files for the Manor have survived poorly. The details provided by the cards vary but they can include patient's name and number, date of admission, date of discharge or death, address, date of birth, age on admission, sex, marital status, religion, status (voluntary, temporary or certified), type of admission, occupation, details of previous admissions, diagnosis on admission, address to which patient left, status on leaving (voluntary, temporary or certified), age on leaving or dying, outcome and disposal, psychiatric diagnosis on leaving or death, whether a post mortem for held and cause of death as written on the death certificate.

The institutional records generated by the mental hospitals are a marvellously rich source, although unsurprisingly are subject to access restrictions for a long period. However the records tell us less about the experiences of those admitted as patients, and personal testimony is a vital corrective to the bureaucratic systems and language of the official hospital records. As such, we were very pleased to receive the vivid recollections of an in-patient at Brookwood Hospital, Woking, in the 1970s (SHC ref 9641), including details of staff, other patients, treatment and the daily routine.

Surrey Manors

Manorial courts lost their raison d'etre through the 1922 Law of Property Act which abolished the form of land tenure known as 'copyhold'. Thus the records generated by the courts, some of which stretch back to the Middle Ages, came to a sudden end. However, as proof of title to former copyhold land could still depend upon the account of the admission and surrender contained within the books and rolls of a manor court, it was essential that these records should not be lost or destroyed and preservation of the records came to be placed under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, who has periodically issued rules governing the protection of manorial documents. The Master also ordered a register to be kept recording the nature and location of surviving documents. Responsibility to maintain the register was first assigned to the Public Record Office and then to the Historical Manuscripts Commission and is now again with The National Archives.

Over recent years the computerisation and online publication of the register (before that in paper form) has proceeded rapidly. The Surrey section of the register was one of the earliest portions to be completed, being finished in 2004, and can be accessed via The National Archives' website (http://discovery.

nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search). At the time computerisation was undertaken great efforts were made to make the Surrey register as comprehensive as possible. However, manorial records do still occasionally turn up and, if they are deposited at the History Centre, we have to ensure the register is updated. In 2016, we purchased some rough minutes of the view of frankpledge and court baron of the manor of Epsom, alias Ebbisham, dating from 1583 (SHC ref 9579), which fill a gap in the surviving fair copy records. They include references to the appointment of officials and regulations for the use of the common and maintenance of boundaries. We also received as a donation minutes of the court of the manor of Smithbrook, Bramley, dating from September 1698 (SHC ref 9611) which complement other records of the manor which belonged to the Austen family at this point.

The Farrers of Abinger

The Farrer family settled in Abinger as their country home after Thomas Henry Farrer, later 1st Baron Farrer, purchased the Abinger Hall Estate in 1869, and rebuilt the mansion to designs of Alfred Waterhouse. New accessions of family and estate company records (SHC refs 9608 and 9609) include evidence of the Farrers' earliest years in Surrey, and are additional to our long-established archive of the 2nd Baron, Thomas Cecil Farrer (SHC ref 2572).

Thomas Henry Farrer, from a family of lawyers, spent the majority of his career working in the Board of Trade, where he distinguished himself as a public servant and an important thinker on issues of trade and currency. The Farrer milieu was a remarkable one, as they numbered among friends and relations the Wedgwoods and the Darwins as well as many political eminences including Thomas Henry's brothers-in-law Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Arthur Hobhouse. New accessions both in 2016 and a further one in 2017 are enabling us better to consolidate and provide access to Thomas Henry's correspondence, which although partly held, remained uncatalogued until now. The letters are an admixture of the familial and the political. The 'Eastern Question' (Russia and the Ottoman Empire), Irish Home Rule, Liberal Party politics and current legal issues are touched on, as well as thoughts on education, a strong preoccupation of the household (the over-emphasis on sport at Eton, or whether patriotism should be taught in board schools). A few papers written by Thomas Henry show his appreciation of the intellectually stimulating company he shared. He notes a visit to the Darwin family home Down House in November 1877, when Charles Darwin was 'in particular force.. out hour by hour from 7.30 til dark walking slowly to his greenhouse along with straw hat and short cloak, eyes on the ground taking measurements of plants which now occupy him'. "They say plants are distinguished from animals by want of motion: By Jove!" He says. "I believe at the beginning they have quite as much movement as animals and afterward lose what they don't want"'. In 1879 he draws a vignette of the political hostess Harriet Grote, who lived at Shere in her 80s: 'her talk was so good that one did not wish to interrupt it. Her rough sayings never had malignity and as often as not they were said to people's faces'.

Family visits and the hospitality offered at Abinger Hall are described: in 1898 Hope Wedgwood refers to the 'liberal open- dooredness of dear Abinger'. The novelist EM Forster's mother and aunt were tenants and neighbours, and the accession includes papers relating to the lease, Forster's purchase of the neighbouring woodland Piney Copse and some recollections of the author's tenure by Dame Frances Farrer.

Sale particulars of the earlier mansion, plans and photographs of the Waterhouse Abinger Hall and its occupants depict Surrey life for the Farrers from the 1870s to the first years of the 20th century. Photographs of the hall interior, including Thomas Cecil Farrer's, are of particular interest, showing such features as the Wedgwood fireplace, paintings and furnishings. Servants' wages books provide additional evidence of the household and life on the estate. Sadly the Hall could not be saved from dry rot and was demolished in 1959, leaving the stable block and grounds: the story is documented in the records of the family-owned Abinger Hall Estate Company.

Figure 3 Ida Darwin née Farrer on the first floor landing of Abinger Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse (1830–1905), architect of Manchester Town Hall and the Natural History Museum, London. Features include the minstrels' gallery and botanical tiles, both unique (SHC ref 9609/1/3/13). Copyright Emma Corke

The More-Molyneux family of Loseley

The correspondence of the More-Molyneux family of Loseley was deposited with us many decades ago, and the nationally important letters of the Tudor and Stuart period have long been mined for their historical gold. It is only very recently, however, that the later material has been catalogued, bringing our knowledge of this tremendous epistolary series up to its end in the mid 19th century. Last year, the catalogue covering the mid 18th century correspondence, prepared by our volunteer Sheila Doyle, was made available on-line (SHC ref LM/COR/11, around 1400 letters, c.1715–1785).

The Elizabethan heyday of Loseley, when respected royal servants Sir William More and his son Sir George acquired and dominated substantial parts of south west Surrey, was long distant by the time of the ownership (1719–1760) of Sir More Molyneux and his wife Cassandra, nee Cornwallis (d.1754). Although the family still enjoyed a considerable landholding and local influence, their gentry lifestyle had to be maintained with constrained budgets, and they worried for the five surviving sisters who were 'so very slenderly provided for'. The letters are a jumble of domestic lives, business, electioneering, estate management, friendships and enmities. Some themes run through many decades. A dominant topic is the long-running political manoeuvrings to hold the two parliamentary electoral seats of Haslemere, a borough which could not easily be secured in one landowner's pocket but provided a certain measure of out of the ordinary power to the ordinary resident. In 1751, James Molyneux's agent in Haslemere reassured him that the ever volatile will of the people might not in fact succumb to the subtle persuasion of his rivals Burrell and Oglethorpe, who intended to endow a school charity 'for some poor lads to have a little learning', explaining that the 'old folks of Haslemere are of such a perverse temper that most of them still think riches better than wisdom'. Bills for the elections ran to many hundreds of pounds.

Local figures in the Surrey social and political landscape feature, such as the august Arthur Onslow, 'The Great Speaker' of the House of Commons, or Sir Thomas Frederick of Burwood Park, Walton on Thames, aflush with his newly inherited baronetcy: Molyneux was warned to ensure he visited Frederick, as 'nobody minds respect more than he does, tho' a rattling young fellow'. Young Thomas More Molyneux appears as both correspondent and subject of the letters, being the second son who initially disappointed by choosing an army career instead of the church. Thomas would become a distinguished military authority on amphibious landings, although his early years were beset by such worries as the expenses of camp furniture and the embarrassments of a recruitment drive (in 1755 he pitifully wondered when he would be given leave, as the regiment wanted 100 recruits, while he had recruited only five; when Colonel Evelyn and the 1st Brigade were to camp on Peasmarsh, Thomas entreated his father Sir More to smarten up the house, saying 'I should be glad if you would get your pictures up, in case any of the gentlemen might come').

A large number of letters are of the ladies of Cassandra Molyneux's family, her mother and Cornwallis sisters, her cousin Lady Chandos and her cousin and close friend Emma Catherall. Cassandra's mother and brother are described as enchanted with the fashionable appearance of a young black boy, seemingly a servant of Lady Chandos whom they wished to educate and show off in Bath for the 1717 season; however 'my brother likes of the black very well but sister Cornwallis was never fond of them', and sadly we hear no more of the child's career. Emma Catherall's correspondence is overshadowed for more than 10 years by the mental illness of her brother, the Reverend Samuel Catherall, and the provision for his private care which she managed as his 'committee' as a lunatic: episodes of delusion as 'King James' (a pretender) or the Messiah, an 'accident' and an escape are documented. The women can be energetic correspondents,

Figure 4 It could be Molyneux! State lottery tickets from 1757, belonging to Thomas, Ann and Caroline Molyneux of Loseley (SHC ref LM/COR/11/995d-f). The family's hopes for a return on their investment had been raised when they heard of a maid in Guildford winning £500, but it seems it was not to be.

sharing political news, investment advice and satirical verse. Although, circumscribed by domestic care, they are also preoccupied with remedies and recipes and record the inevitable throes of illness and early death in their circle. Viper broth is perhaps the most striking recipe to modern sentiment, to be made using one medium-sized viper. Even mourning customs are the subject of fashion, as Cassandra mentions to her mother in 1735, how adopting grey furnishings, as a sign of mourning is no longer popular.

Golf in Surrey

We were very pleased to be approached in 2016 by the Senior Golfers' Society who were looking for a home for their archive. Despite being a national organisation with strong international links with other similar societies around the world, the Society's home club in England has been Woking Golf Club since 1949 (prior to that the Society was based at Stoke Poges). The records are of great social and cultural historical interest, chiefly because the Society's membership has always included aristocrats and prominent politicians and its matches around the world have provided opportunities for networking and informal diplomacy.

The Society was founded in 1926 and its members, the 'Seniors', are defined as being good quality golfers (some having represented their county or

Figure 5 Group photograph at first Society match, Rye, with founder Lt Col Popham seated second right, March 1927 (Society scrapbook, SHC ref 9627/11/1)

country) aged at least 55, who, having been proposed for membership have been successful in an annual ballot. Unsuccessful candidates may reapply, but after six ballots are advised that they cannot become members. Until the mid-1950s, the membership limit was 650, later raised to 700 in 1956 and 750 in 1967. As of 2017, the Society has 749 paying members and 212 Honorary Life Members, the latter category being introduced in 1961 for longstanding members aged over 80.

The idea of Seniors' golf was brought to Great Britain by prominent members of the United States and Canadian Senior Golfers' Associations, established in 1904 and 1919 respectively. In 1926, after a game of golf at Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, between Frederick Snare, Captain of the US Seniors, Clarence Bogert, President of the Canadian Seniors, and Lt Col Francis J Popham DSO (d.1945), it was suggested that a UK Society be formed so that three-cornered matches could be played. Colonel Popham grasped the nettle and at a meeting at the Golfers' Club, Whitehall Court, on 10 December 1926 the UK Society was formed. The forty men who attended the meeting enrolled as Life Members on payment of £2 and the first President, the Earl of Balfour, and two Vice-Presidents, Lord Lurgan and the Earl of Derby, were appointed. Other founders included F W Ashe, A C M Croome and J A Milne.

The Society's first Championship Meeting was held at Addington Golf Club on 2 July 1927 and the first Triangular International Tournament with the United States and Canada took place on 6–7 July 1927 at Sunningdale Golf Club. Over the following decades Seniors' Societies were formed around the world and now the UK Society plays approximately 140 foursome matches (according to the Society's website, 'the finest form of golf known to man') each year against British clubs and societies as well as less frequent fixtures with Seniors in other countries. In May each year, the Society holds its Championship Meeting in Woking, while the Autumn Meeting is held alternately at Muirfield and Prestwick in Scotland.

The records (SHC ref 9627) include formation papers, minutes, rules, annual accounts, candidate books, fixture cards, match records, international tour reports, correspondence files, handbooks, photographs, publications, cuttings and scrapbooks.

At the end of 2016 we also received the archive of Guildford Golf Club, the earliest golf club in the county, and among the earliest in England, founded in 1886 (SHC ref 9691). The records have yet to be catalogued but promise to give a picture of the sport and its social context in the county, particularly in its early years, when visitors came from afar to enjoy its amenities. The Club was founded by local residents Colonel W Bannatyne, Major W Pontifex and Mr E L Hooper, with the support of the Lord of the Manor, the 4th Earl of Onslow. Originally of six holes, the course was soon extended to eighteen and a clubhouse was erected in 1901. *The Official Golf Guide 1903–1904* celebrated the 'genuine golfing ground' of Merrow Downs, formerly the site of a race-course: the holes are not long and not difficult, but … there are rewards for the long driver, and the accurate ironer'. The course was remodelled from 1925

Figure 6 'Not Quite Dead!': watercolour of an elderly golfer, 1935 (from Senior Golfers' scrapbook SHC ref 9627/11/2)

when the committee invited Mr John Henry Taylor (1871–1963), winner of five Open Championships, and his partner Mr Hawtree to recommend improvements. Taylor was the professional at and architect of the Royal Mid-Surrey Golf Club course in Richmond. The archive includes early minutes of the club along with some records of the Town Club, founded in 1919, which originally allowed a less well-to-do membership, housed in a separate clubhouse, to tee off on the course at specially designated times (the clubs were merged in the 1970s). Members' handicap returns and match records are accompanied by candidates' books, which record the addresses and occupations of candidates for membership. The visitors books are rumoured to include Alan Turing.

Sir Barnes and Lady Mary Wallis of Effingham

In the previous edition of *Surrey History*, we reported the deposit of a small group of papers of Lady Mary ('Molly') Wallis (1904–1986), who, in 1925, married her cousin by marriage Barnes Neville Wallis (1887–1979), the brilliant engineer and inventor, best known for the 'bouncing bomb' used in the Dambuster Raid of May 1943. In 2016 we took in from their daughter Mary Stopes-Roe a wonderful collection of the letters of Molly to her childhood friend Mary Turner (later Morris), whose father had associations with the Vickers company, and who was a cousin of the composer William Walton (son of the singer Louisa Maria Turner). These letters (SHC ref 9456) had been returned to Molly Wallis by Mary Morris as source material for the biography of Barnes Wallis by J E Morpurgo, which was published in 1972.

Mary Frances Bloxam was born on 12 September 1904, the daughter of Arthur and Winifred (née Shapland) Bloxam. After her marriage to Barnes Wallis, the Wallis family moved to White Hill House in Effingham in 1930, remaining in the village until Barnes Wallis' death in 1979. They had four children and also adopted the two young sons of Molly's sister, Barbara, who with her husband and Molly's father had been killed in an air raid on London in 1940.

Molly's letters, written to her closest female friend, offer a vivid (and often intimate) glimpse into family, married and feminine life in the 20th century. Almost any subject is discussed, from sex and contraception to cooking, gardening and household chores. Her own life, the lives of her children (natural and adopted) and grandchildren, and of course that of her husband Barnes Wallis, are all documented in considerable detail. Comments on the world around her, including local life, politics and the world situation, are also included – sometimes startlingly outspoken and direct. Her view of Winston Churchill, for example, fluctuated: she considered him 'wonderful' during the war but in 1947 he was 'silly old Mr Churchill' for the 'loathsome abusive fuss' he made over bread rationing; and in 1949 he was 'the reverse of a "grand old man", being overcome with conceit … his English is wonderful, as his painting is execrable … he is scurrilously rude'; in 1965, however, she considered his face at 90 the 'finest, grandest, kindest … you have ever seen'.

Perhaps the most interesting insight the letters provide is the glimpse we are given into the career of her husband, whose inventions (or 'ventions', to coin his own name for them) are also discussed – at least as far as the Official Secrets Act would allow. Airships (including his own R100 at the Airship Station, Howden, Yorkshire) of the 1920s, the Dambusters raid of 1943 (whose airmen lovingly called their mentor 'Papa Wally'), the bombing of the Tirpitz in 1944 and the development of the Wellington bomber (which caused consternation in Bookham on trial flights with a large mine-detecting ring attached in 1940) are all described, as well as Barnes' own lifelong love of boats and camping. However, that brilliant and prolific inventiveness also had its darker side – periods of exhaustion, insomnia, nerves and migraines are all recounted with loving concern.

Most marvellous of all, due to her thrift and imagination in re-using paper of all sorts for her letters (including book jackets, flyers, posters, diary pages and calendars, blotting paper, receipts, Christmas cards, letters, telegrams, school reports and exam papers, the children's school essays and drawings, dental charts, and pages from books and magazines), a practice she continued into the 1970s, Molly preserved for posterity original MS notes, calculations and diagrams in Barnes' own beautiful handwriting, on subjects ranging from aeroplanes to camping tents and the Christ's Hospital School uniform. On the back of one such page of 1963 she has written, indicating some notes and equations, 'What a brain my husband has!'

Among the many and unusual gifts of Molly's family were musical abilities perhaps inherited from the Bloxams' distant ancestor, the composer and viola player Karl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787). She was an enthusiastic participant in

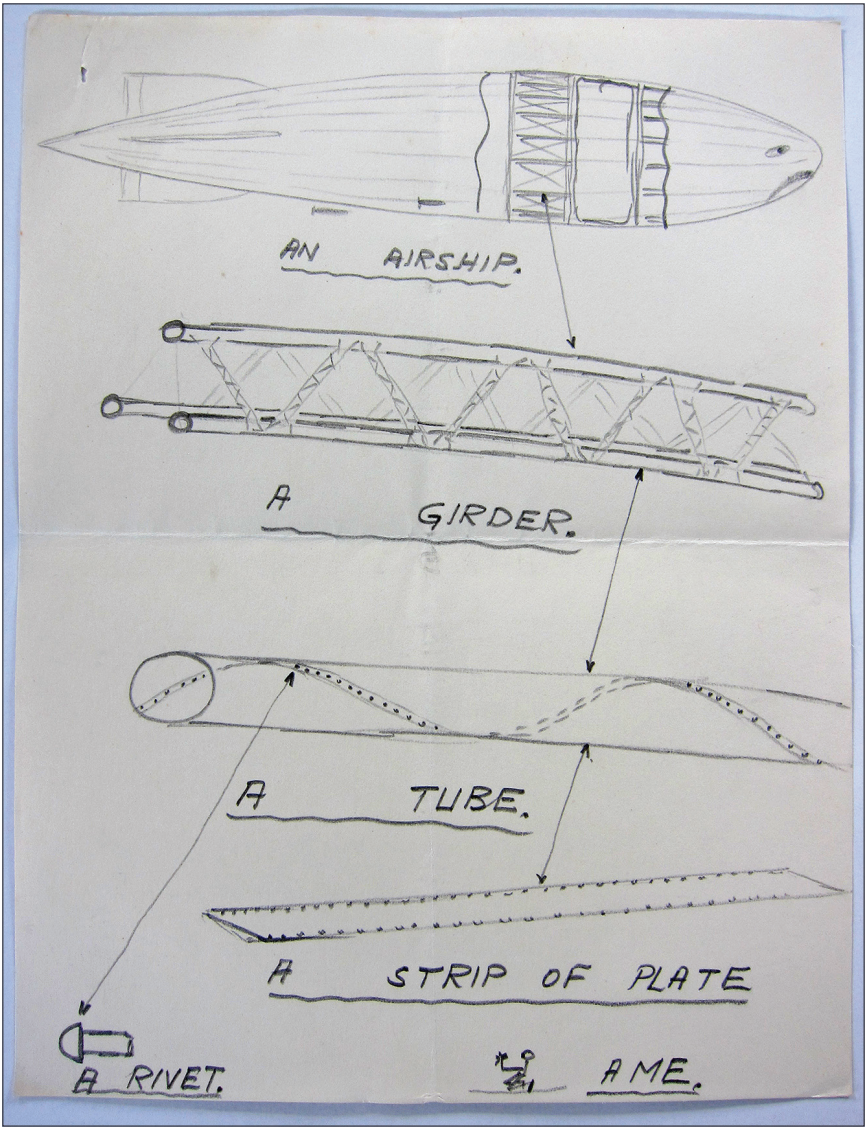

Figure 7 Sketch by Barnes Wallis to illustrate how a rivet relates to a complete airship, 1925 (SHC ref 9456/4/5/3/16)

choirs performing at the Leith Hill Musical Festival, conducted by 'wonderful' Ralph Vaughan-Williams, and the talents of her children and grandchildren, and other members of the extended family are also chonicled in her letters.

In 1948, the Wallis' eldest daughter Mary married Harry Stopes-Roe (1924–2014), son of the pioneer of eugenics and contraception Dr Marie Stopes (1880–1958), who was a Surrey neighbour. In 1918, Stopes had married the businessman, aircraft manufacturer and philanthropist Humphrey Verdon Roe (1878–1949), who with his brother Alliott, founded AV Roe & Company which developed the Avro biplane. The family are mentioned in Molly's letters from 1935 onwards, and, as with Churchill, Molly's opinion of Dr Stopes changed over the years, veering from open admiration for Stopes' views on contraception to gentle ridicule – in 1961 she called Stopes an 'old fraud' and also mocked her dyed hair. Her opinion darkened, particularly after Stopes refused to accept the engagement of her son to Molly's daughter Mary Wallis (whom he married in 1948), fearing that Mary's inherited myopia would taint the genes of her future grandchildren. Along with the letters to Mary Turner were deposited further fascinating photographs and documents relating to Dr Stopes and her mansion at Norbury Park (SHC ref 9587) including statements in connection with the case 'Rex v Marie Roe' at Farnham Petty Sessions in February 1929 at which Dr Stopes defended the conduct of her dog, a chow called 'Wuffles', who had been ordered to be destroyed as 'dangerous'.

Surrey in the Great War

Our project 'Surrey in the Great War: a County Remembers' runs to the end of 2019 and papers and photographs of those caught up in the war continue to come in.

The personal effects of Lt Col St Barbe Russell Sladen (c.1873–1918) of the 5th and 1st Battalions, the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, were still in the suitcase in which they had been reverently placed after his death in March 1918, when they were brought into the Centre. Interspersed with his Territorial Force dress uniform and other items of uniform and equipment were diaries, letters and photographs (SHC ref QRWS/30/SLADEN). Sladen was a lawyer and a Major in the 5th Battalion of the Queen's (a Territorial unit), at the outbreak of the war. His diaries and correspondence show him to be an intelligent, able officer, with a keen sense of duty, a capacity for hard work and a desire to serve his country to the utmost. When the battalion mobilised it fell to Sladen to organise the horses necessary (over 50 animals were needed for transport) and to reject two water carts provided by Lord Lovelace because they had previously been used to carry liquid manure. Although originally earmarked for home service, a majority of the 5th agreed to serve overseas and were sent to India at the end of October 1914. Before they departed Sladen was seconded to assist with the construction of a defensive line around London, using civilian labour. The line stretched from Reigate to Dartford, following the line of the North Downs and Sladen was made responsible for the section from Otford in Kent to the Thames. 12 civil engineers

were assigned to him, but there was a severe shortage of manpower to construct the defences. Sladen got no further than pegging out trenches around Eynsford and Lullingstone, before it was agreed he might return to his battalion, which was on the point of sailing. His tour of duty in India was uneventful and he returned to England in October 1915 to take up the command of the 2/5th Battalion in expectation of seeing active service with it. However in 1917 he discovered that the battalion was in fact to be demobilised and he sought an alternative posting. He got his wish on 28 October 1917, having arrived in France the previous day, when he was attached to 1st Battalion, the Queen's, then serving in the Ypres sector. He was immensely proud, as a Territorial officer, to take charge of such a distinguished regular battalion. However he did not enjoy the honour for long. On 8 March he took temporary command of 19th Infantry Brigade while the Brigadier was on leave and while on a tour of inspection of the front line, was killed by a shell on 12 March 1918, near Passchendaele.

Figure 8 Cartoon, 'Walking the Plank', to accompany a calendar for 1918 sent to Sladen for Christmas (SHC ref QRWS/30/SLADEN/2/15)

Major Alfred Frank Tredgold (1870–1952) of Guildford was a distinguished doctor, and one of the architects of the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act. After the war he emerged as 'the leading consultant in mental deficiency in the country' (Dictionary of National Biography) holding the position (among others) of neurologist at the Royal Surrey County Hospital. An officer in the Territorial Force, he served as adjutant of the 2/4th Battalion, the Queen's Royal West Surreys, which landed in Suvla Bay, Gallipoli, in August 1915. He wrote long, vivid letters to his wife and children while the expeditionary force was bogged down on the peninsula (SHC ref QRWS/30/TRED), which capture the frightfulness of the campaign. His early optimism ('As the Colonel said yesterday, it is virtually another crusade, and I don't suppose we shall stop until the Crescent is once more replaced by the Cross') was soon replaced by a realisation that things were not going well: 'It's a terrible country to fight in, and one sees war in all its most horrible aspects'. His letters give an unsparing account of conditions, which he likened to Hell: thrown into action within hours of landing; trapped for three days in a trench under the burning sun and relentless shellfire, with almost no water and food; bathing in the sea while warships continued the bombardment and shells fell around him; sheltering under a fig tree in a shallow pit which was serving as battalion HQ; drawing meagre supplies of water from a well half a mile away under cover of darkness because of Turkish snipers; and eating hard biscuits covered with jam and flies. Dysentery took him back to Egypt (along with many others) and by the time he was sufficiently recovered the battalion had been evacuated and he rejoined it in the Egyptian desert, keeping an eye on Arab tribes outside Cairo. The retreat from Gallipoli filled him with despair: 'when one thinks of all that loss of life and hardship and suffering ending in absolutely nothing it is really enough to make one cry'.

We also received an exquisite tribute to those Weybridge men who volunteered to serve in the shape of a vellum bound book (SHC ref 9667), with leather ties and a decorated cover bearing the words 'Liber Amicorum' (Book of Friends). Inside are listed by service and unit the names of those who willingly joined the armed forces before compulsion was introduced in 1916, with those who lost their lives picked out in red. The title page bears the initials W.H.E. but, as yet, the compiler has not been identified.

All over Surrey, large houses were converted into temporary hospitals and convalescent homes. A photograph album of 1916 provides a vivid record of one such establishment, The Beeches Hospital in Wray Lane, Reigate Hill (SHC ref 9585). The hospital was founded in March 1916 by Mrs Agnes C Brown of Brokes Lodge, Reigate, as a convalescent home for sick and wounded servicemen. Initially, it was auxiliary to the 3rd London General Hospital, and comprised 20 beds; after local events to raise funds for its erection, a hut extension was built later in 1916 and resulted in the availability of 40 more beds. The nursing staff comprised three sisters and ten members of the Voluntary Aid Department. Mrs Brown's daughter, Hilda Brown, was a volunteer nurse at The Beeches and she it was who compiled the album, which was presented to Surrey

Figure 9 Illuminated cover of roll of honour of Weybridge volunteers, 1914–1915 (SHC ref 9667/1/1)

History Centre by her grandson, Mr Philip Angier. The patients were encouraged to undertake a variety of occupations, and the album shows the more able assisting with hay-making. For the not-so able, embroidery was an option and one that judging by their handiwork some were obviously very good at. In 1918,

the hospital was annexed to the Military Hospital, Lewisham, at which time it moved to larger premises at Fairfield, Beech Road, Reigate, where it was able to accommodate 50 patients. In that year, Mrs Beech (among other Surrey ladies similarly involved with war work) was honoured for her activities at the hospital. The Beeches closed in 1919.

Godstone building plans

Surrey History Centre holds substantial local authority archives of thousands of building plans deposited under building control and planning regulations, covering much of the county from the late 19th century. Original architectural plans are an essential source for the house historian, but survival varies of both plan series and their accompanying indexes and registers. We are gradually working to improve access to the plans, especially where no satisfactory indexes exist. After many years' work re-sorting a severely shuffled series of records and individually describing them, we now have a comprehensive spreadsheet recording plans relating to Godstone Rural District, 1895–1933. The plan series documents building development across this rural landscape, from schools, a fire station, Chelsham church, Woldingham army camp, which was to become a 'garden village' of converted huts, to many domestic domestic cottages and bungalows. Larger landowners such as Sir William Clayton may be seen developing their estates during the period, while the middle classes display a craze for building pre-fabricated 'motor huts' to garage their newly acquired motor cars. A more outlandish application is for an astronomical observatory for GH Ryder at the Hermitage, Woldingham, in 1916, while Mrs A M Peters appears to have done good business as a builder in Warlingham during the 1920s. Please contact the History Centre to conduct searches to identify individual properties in the area.

A Surrey Miscellany

A generous benefactor purchased for us the unpublished reminiscences of Edward Ernest Uttermare Rogers, written in 1963 and looking back to his boyhood in Weybridge and his encounters with the pre-World War I pioneer aviators who were using the new Brooklands racing circuit to fly their flimsy craft (SHC ref 9698). He remembers the construction of Hugh Locke King's track by Irish navvies, for whom he acted as a tea- and errand boy, and his schoolteacher telling him that the undertaking would mean Weybridge would 'become a hive of industry and not a slumbering out-of-work village any longer'. Rogers went on to haunt Brooklands – a mechanically-minded boy's paradise – making himself useful where he could. He lovingly chroniclers his dealings with such daredevil aviators as the flamboyant Frenchman Bellamy (who arrived with a falcon on his shoulder), Graham Gilmour, Cecil and Eric Pashley, Samuel Cody, Alliott Verdon Roe and Claude Grahame-White, and dissects their flying machines. Some of the glamour was dissipated when flights ended prematurely in the sewage farm near Byfleet, forcing several unlucky pilots to strip and clean

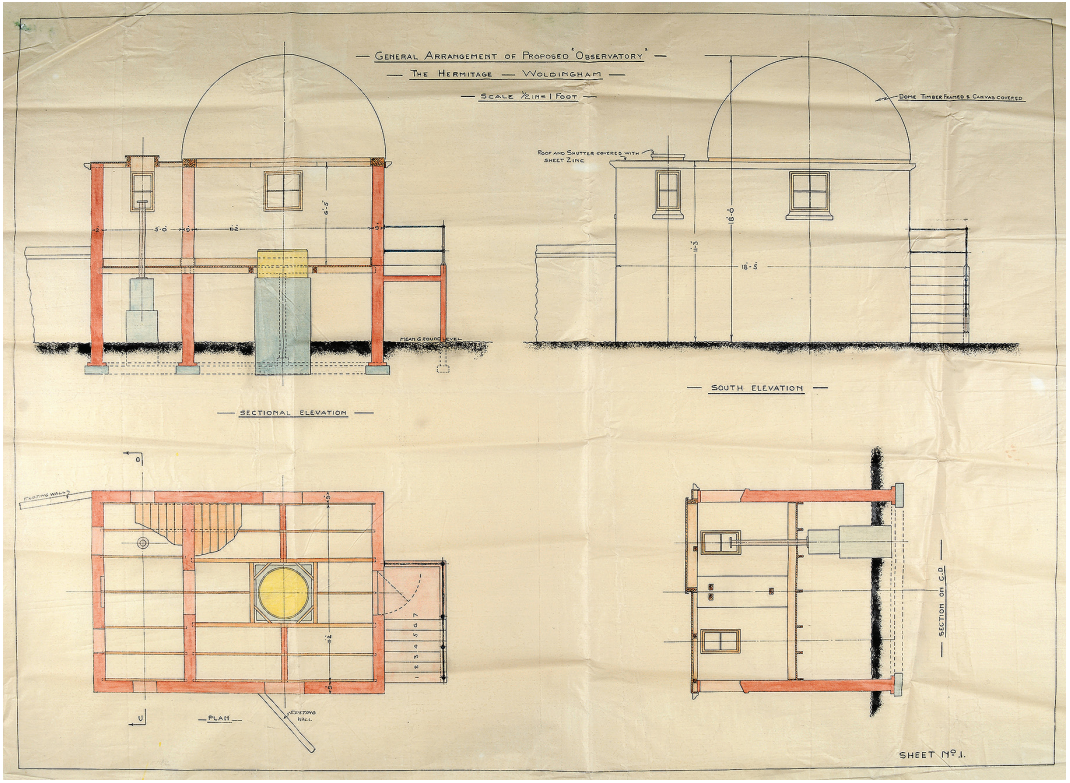

Figure 10 Plan of elevations and sections of a proposed astronomical observatory at the Hermitage, Woldingham, for GH Ryder, 1916 (SHC ref 3323/Box41 plan 3093)

themselves off in the Wey. In class one day Rogers spotted out of the window a plane descending. He concocted an excuse to leave the room and ran to the scene where he found an immaculate Grahame-White standing next to his plane, asking where he might get some more petrol and proudly accompanied him to the nearest garage. Rogers also offers a vivid word picture of Weybridge before the war, recalling, for example, the tailor Mr Chamberlain, hand-sewing suits while sitting cross-legged on a table.

In April 2016, with the help of Surrey History Trust, we were able to purchase a fascinating collection of papers and photographs of the Lambert family of Banstead and Woodmansterne, 1827–1900s (SHC ref 9593). The collection includes two splendid estate plans in ink and wash colour of the property of William Lambert, dated 1827. Photographs of Lambert family members range from a 1850s Daguerreotype to cartes de visite from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A privately printed account of the family inscribed to the Rev William Lambert, 1886, and a printed family pedigree from the 1880s complete the collection.

Finally, mention should be made of the account book kept by Richard Jordan of Capel between 1778 and 1794 (SHC ref 9590). Land tax records reveal that he owned and occupied Clock House Farm in Capel between 1781 and 1797 and continued to occupy it after John Busby became the owner. He also appears in Capel parish records as having held at various times the offices of churchwarden, overseer and parish surveyor. He was buried in Capel in May 1824, aged 67. His account book contains entries for sales of sheep, cattle, lambs, hay, faggots, timber, bricks and paving tiles. Expenditure includes wages of named labourers providing assistance with mowing, sowing, reaping and threshing. In the middle of the book is a piece of doggerel verse which begins 'Richard Jordan is my name and Ingland is my nation, Capel is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation' and ends with the injunction 'So steal not this Book for feare of shame for hear is Rote the owner's name'. The volume was donated to us by a retired conservator who had been given it to practise her bookbinding skills on (and indeed it has been beautifully rebound).

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