

Carshalton & District History & Archaeology Society

Local History Note 13



The Belgian Refugees in Sutton, 1914—1917

May 2022

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A fortunate discovery

This story starts from the accidental discovery in the Sutton Archives of Minute Book no. 1 of the Sutton Urban District Council Belgian Refugees Committee.¹ At the time I was working on the history of *The White House* in Cheam High Street, which was said to have housed Belgian refugees from 1916 to 1918,² and Kevin McDonell, who had found the book, thought it might help me with my research. In fact it didn't, because at that time Cheam was administered from Epsom, only becoming part of Sutton and Cheam in the 1920s. Nevertheless, feeling that it contained a little-known story that deserved re-telling, I decided to summarise the Minute Book in a more accessible form, as a CADHAS Local History Note and as blogs in the *Past on Glass and Other Stories* series.³

Historical background

At the outbreak of WW1, Germany invaded Belgium on 4th August 1914 to gain access to more of France. Britain was committed to Belgian neutrality, and so declared war on Germany. Over 1.5 million Belgian refugees fled German atrocities and sought shelter in the Netherlands (which was neutral), France and Britain. About 265,000 came to Britain (estimates vary, but this figure seems reasonable), including about 40,000 Belgian soldiers. They did not arrive all at once, and later in the War some started to return, so the total in Britain at any one time never reached this number.⁴

The local response

In the autumn of 1914 there was a great wave of sympathy for the Belgian refugees across the country, and many towns and cities set up committees to coordinate their local response. Sutton was no exception, and a special meeting on 13th October 1914 the Sutton Urban District Council (SUDC) agreed to set up a Belgian Refugee Committee (BRC). The SUDC offer of the use of *Manor Park House*⁵ (MPH) to the War Refugees Committee in London to house 60 refugees, mainly women and children, had been accepted, and an appeal through the churches for furniture, kitchen utensils, etc., to equip MPH had received a generous response.

The BRC first met on 16th October, and elected the following:

Chairman: Dr G.H. Hooper, JP,⁶

Hon. Sec.: Mr H. Bolton,⁷

Hon. Treasurer: Mr J.A. Tulloch,⁸

and co-opted Sir R. Forster, Bart.,⁹ who was not a member of SUDC.

The Committee also set up a House and Provision Sub-Committee (HPS-C) to oversee the day-to-day running of the house, and a Finance Committee (consisting of Sir R. Forster and three local

clergymen) to oversee the finances. The BRC met fortnightly until December 1914, and then monthly, preceded by meetings of the Finance Committee, while the HPS-C (soon renamed the House Sub-Committee, here the HSC) met more frequently, settling down to a fortnightly pattern.



Refugees outside the rear of Manor Park House. (image from Sutton Archives)

Other offers of help came in. On 27th October Mr Ross offered the house *Hazlemere* (the spelling varies in the Minutes) in Carshalton Road ‘for the use of one or two families of the better class’,¹⁰ and on 10th November Mr Field offered the use of the house *Grantham* (*sic*, but later Minutes indicate that it was called *Gratton*) in Cheam Road.¹¹ Both offers were accepted, but the offer made on 8th December by George Crook of a house called *Sherwood* was not. However, offers made on 24th November by the Sutton Garden Suburb Ltd of a house at 20 Meadow Close¹² and on 1st February 1915 by the Southwark Diocesan Association for the Care of Friendless Girls of a house called *The Crossways*¹³ were both accepted. The total accommodation available to the BRC then consisted of *MPH* as a hostel and four houses, each suitable for a single family. Each of the houses had its own Sub-Committee, which appeared to report directly to the BRC rather than to minute their own meetings in the way that the HSC did.

There were also offers of ‘help in kind’. For example, the Sutton District Water Company offered a free water supply to *MPH* and *Hazlemere*; the Tyne Main Coal Company offered to supply coal at cost price; Sutton Adult School offered free use of its facilities; the Council slipper baths were opened from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. every Tuesday for the use of male refugees. There were also unspecified ‘generous gifts’ from ‘various traders’.



Left to right: Hazlemere (103 Carshalton Road), Gratton (115 Cheam Road), 20 Meadow Close. (photos by the author, April 2022)

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Two staff (later three) were employed to run *MPH*: a Matron/Lady Superintendent (and later an Assistant) and a Cook. Miss Taylor turned down the offer of the post of Matron on 19 October 1914, and on the next day Miss Price was appointed Lady Superintendent at a salary of £30 p.a. plus board and rooms. A week later Mrs Watts was appointed Cook at 15/- p.w. plus board. Turnover in the senior post seems to have been rapid: Miss Price resigned as Matron on 4 January 1915, and was replaced on 8 February by Miss Brady as Lady Superintendent; she in turn resigned on 28 May and was replaced by Miss L.J. Jerram, who was assisted from 28 June by Mrs Gillenders. Trouble followed on 10 August when Miss Jerram submitted a detailed six-page report to the HSC, expressing in particular her need to be able to contact the Central Authorities directly, and the need for a quicker way of deciding questions of removal, etc., in cases of illness. In response, a special meeting of the HSC held on 27 September called on Miss Jerram to resign for interfering with work which did not strictly concern her. The meeting also agreed that in future the Lady Superintendent and Assistant should be paid (£30 and £20 p.a. respectively). It seems likely that Miss Jerram’s independent status as a voluntary worker had contributed to the problem. She finally left the post on 6 October, to be replaced by Miss Price on 20 October. In March 1916 Miss Haile resigned as Assistant Superintendent, and the HSC agreed to appoint Miss Taylor, her duties to be specified by Miss Thompson, who herself resigned in July. Her replacement does not seem to be recorded in the Minutes.

In anticipation of medical needs, Drs W. Hapgood and P.J. Verrall agreed to give free medical attendance to any refugees at *MPH*, but in November 1915 Dr Verrall (Hon. Surgeon) announced that he was soon to be posted abroad; Dr Hapgood agreed to take on his post.

Rules and regulations

The BRC faced the task of providing at short notice the accommodation for a large and varying number of refugees of all ages and a range of social backgrounds, for an unknown length of time. Ground rules were needed for the management of the project; some would be provided centrally by

the War Refugees Committee, and some locally to meet specific needs. All could be expected to change over time with circumstances.

First, a digression into the 'central authorities', often referred to in the Minutes as 'Aldwych' or 'The Aldwych'. At the start of the War, the disused roller-skating rink at Aldwych had been taken over by the War Refugees Committee for use as a facility to provide humanitarian and medical aid to Belgian refugees, many of whom spoke only Flemish. A shed outside became an improvised kitchen, while the rink inside became a food distribution centre.¹⁴ A report to BRC by the Hon. Sec. on 23 June 1915 said that the Skating Rink acted as a clearing house for Belgian refugees; the report mentions two departments: the Employment Department, which set the parameters for the employment of refugees, and the Allocation Department, responsible for finding accommodation.¹⁵ The old skating rink was situated in the eastern side of the 'D' [the site between Aldwych and The Strand]. It was hit in a raid on 13 October 1915,¹⁶ and forced to close when the building was destroyed in a Zeppelin raid in January 1917.¹⁷

Who were the refugees?

The initial local intention had been to accommodate 'mainly women and children', but inevitably some married couples arrived, as well as some single men. It was felt that able-bodied men should join the Belgian Army,¹⁸ and some did.¹⁹ A policy was finally settled in June 1915 that 'the Committee had no objection to women and children, and men either too old or to infirm to work, but on no account would they have any more able-bodied men'.²⁰ This led to the removal of nine men to Aldwych.²¹ An exception was made to allow the husband or son of any woman in the house to stay in the house while on military leave.²²

Social tensions were also apparent. For example, eight refugees who arrived on 31 December 1914 said that they could not stay among the class of people at *MPH*, and were sent back to Aldwych.²³ A Belgian solicitor and his family were accommodated at *The Crossways*.²⁴ This seems to be in line with the policy for *Hazlemere* (see above).

Should the refugees work?

Initially, it was government policy that no British labour should be displaced by refugee workers.²⁵ By 1915 the emphasis had shifted to finding employment, and for able-bodied men to be moved to centres where employment could be found.²⁶ In June an attempt was made to find work for seven Belgian refugees via Aldwych; four were later sent for interview by prospective employers.²⁷ Some examples of refugees finding work are given: one man obtained work at the Cock Hotel;²⁸ two girls got jobs at Eltham Munition Works and were allowed to come to Sutton once a fortnight to visit their parents.²⁹ Monsieur Rousseaux junior obtained employment in the City at £2 p.w.,³⁰ but was called to the Belgian Colours soon after;³¹ five ladies obtained work at Woolwich and moved there permanently.³² However, girls from *MPH* had not been allowed to work at Brock's factory.³³

Going into service?

An issue which required much thought was the question of whether refugees should be allowed to work in domestic service. The 'previous decision' not to allow Belgian refugees to go into service was confirmed.³⁴ In April 1915 the BRC agreed that 'each Sub-Committee must deal with their own cases on their merits, but the Committee lay down the rule that no person be allowed to go into service without due enquiries being made as to where they are going, and the wages to be paid to them, and after due consideration has been given to each individual case, and the Committee also lay

down the rule that if a person leaves Manor Park House to go into service and is dismissed such service, he or she shall not be allowed to return to Manor Park House or any house under the care of the Committee.³⁵ This seems to me to be an example of what we now call 'safeguarding'.

Previously, two girls of the De Schmidt family (see below) had been allowed to go into service with Mr Miller of Langley Park Road and Captain Richmond of Egmont Road.³⁶ Later that year, the HSC decided that 'the Lady Superintendent be permitted to place girls in Domestic Service in Sutton', and that 'if anyone wishes to interview a Belgian for service they must pay their fares to the place where they are to go for interview.'³⁷

House rules and domestic duties

A set of house rules would clearly be needed for the smooth running of *MPH*. The following were found in the Minutes:

Except in cases of sickness, no fires to be allowed in bedrooms,³⁸

No intoxicants to be allowed on the premises, except with the sanction of the Chairman,³⁹

Adult refugees to be allowed out when their allotted work had been done.⁴⁰

The Smoking Room was for men only; all the refugees could share the General Room.⁴¹

Because some men were not doing the work allotted to them, the HSC 'agreed to put up a general notice that they be asked to assist in the management of the house by complying with any request which the Matron may make.'⁴²

This seems to have done the trick, and no further such issues were mentioned in the minutes.

Four boys were warned that future disobedience would lead to their dismissal.⁴³

Education

Education was provided by the BRC, but its scope is not clear from the Minutes. The following instances were recorded:

The attendance of children at the school at the Convent was approved.⁴⁴

Mr Hawes was giving lessons in English to some of the refugees.⁴⁵

Children of two families were to attend the New Town School.⁴⁶

Two men and five boys were attending the Adult School for English lessons (plus games such as billiards).⁴⁷

Classes in English, held at the Adult School, to be moved to *MPH*.⁴⁸

There was also the case of the students Beglin and Libbrecht (see below).

Earning their keep

After the decision that the refugees should be allowed to work (see above, *Should the refugees work?*), it became necessary to decide whether and how they should contribute to their upkeep in either *MPH* or one of the houses. The spur seems to have been a letter from the Local Government Board about contributions from wages of Belgian refugees in employment, which was referred to the HSC to draw up rules thereon.⁴⁹ It was agreed that half their earnings should be paid to the Fund, after deduction of railway fares and expenses.⁵⁰ At the same time, the Gratton Sub-Committee reported that five residents were paying 7/6 per week each for their maintenance. It was later confirmed that half of any pay (after deduction of travelling expenses) be paid into the Fund for Relief of Belgian refugees here.⁵¹ This may have been made to clarify 'expenses' in the earlier decision. It was agreed with the Belgian Consulate that pay relating to relatives who are fighting, should be paid to wives, etc., living here.⁵² It was further resolved that money paid to the wives of Belgian soldiers should be handed over to them.⁵³

Relationships with the local public

It was thought not advisable for the children to be allowed to go out to tea.⁵⁴ This was soon relaxed to 'No child to be allowed to go out to tea except to the house of a member of the Committee or else with the consent of a member of the Committee. Matron to be informed in all cases.'⁵⁵

Wednesdays from 3 to 5 pm were designated as visiting days for the public.⁵⁶

Sutton Town Band was to give a concert for the Refugees on 16 November 1914.⁵⁷ A further offer was made in the following year.⁵⁸

Christmas presents (felt slippers with leather soles) and a 'Christmas treat' were provided for the refugees in 1914.⁵⁹ This does not appear to have been repeated in subsequent years.

A football was provided for use of male Refugees.⁶⁰

A Visitors' Book was instituted at MPH.⁶¹

There are no further Minutes that I would class under this heading.

Comings and goings

The numbers of refugees accommodated in each house, as well as those arriving and departing, were reported to the BRC and HSC, but not systematically, as the numbers do not always tie up; for example, the number reported at one meeting, plus the number arriving and less the number departing, does not always equal the number reported at the next meeting. The only visible trend is that of the numbers at MPH (see Table 1). The number at *Hazlemere* varied between six and nine, at *Gratton* the maximum reported number was five, *The Crossways* was steady at nine, and 20 Meadow Close never had more than three recorded.

Date	number
October 1914	8
November 1914	78
January 1915	52
September 1915	45
November 1915	45
December 1915	55
January 1916	57/51
February 1916	47
March 1916	45
May 1916	44
June 1916	41/38
July 1916	38/30

Table 1. Numbers of refugees recorded in residence at MPH

The most telling figure is that of 16 November 1915, by when '190 people had passed through the hands of the Committee, currently 64.'⁶² This turnover of 126 people in 390 days could be interpreted as about one every three days. This is not useful, as it implies people arriving and departing in a steady trickle, which is not likely to be the case. A very rough calculation suggests an average stay of about five months, although this would include both people who left rapidly and those who stayed for the whole period. But however one interprets the figures, the turnover rate was high. What is clearer is the downward trend in numbers, from 78 in 1914 to 55 by the end of 1915 and only 30 by July 1916, the last recorded total.

Named people

Many arrivals and departures are mentioned by name, but as they contribute no more to the narrative, I have not listed them. Here I only mention a few refugees with a little of their story to tell.

Beglin and Libbrecht: two students whose ambition to study at Cambridge was considered by the BRC.⁶³ Some months later, they wanted to return to *MPH*, as they had to leave Cambridge. The Hon. Sec. would try to arrange for them to continue their engineering studies elsewhere.⁶⁴ He tried to find them work in Huddersfield for them.⁶⁵ The outcome does not seem to be recorded.

Marie Demey: should be transferred from *MPH* to *Hazlemere*, as she was not well.⁶⁶

De Schmidt family: they seem to have been a problem family. M. De Schmidt was given a week to improve the conduct of himself and his family, and if they did not they would have to leave *MPH*.⁶⁷ At the same time, the two girls were given permission to go into service. A week later, the family was asked to leave *MPH* as soon as possible.⁶⁸

Fidler family: Mr Fidler, his wife and daughter, would be moved to *Hazlemere*.⁶⁹ See also Mr Stuyaert below.

Mme de Jong: reported as returning from *Gratton* to Antwerp.⁷⁰

Monsieur Lecroix: was to be moved to Ockley Sanatorium.⁷¹

Madame Stas: reported as expecting a baby. The Parish Nurse would be asked to attend her, and the HSC would pay the fees of the midwife and, if necessary, the Doctor.⁷²

Mr Stuyaert: a letter received from Mr W.B. Haycraft, concerning Mr Stuyaert, who wished to set up a lace-making industry in Sutton.⁷³ Later the BRC discussed paying for lessons being given to girls to learn lace-making. Miss Forster undertook to see Miss Fidler, and report to Miss Brady. Then the Chairman would see Mr Stuyaert the lace merchant.⁷⁴ The BRC later agreed not to have anything to do with Mr Stuyaert of the Belgian Lace Industry.⁷⁵

Miss Marie Verbanck: left to take a situation at Lewis's in Oxford Street.⁷⁶

Angela Verhayden and Leopold Urssen: Angela Verhayden, in residence at *MPH*, was reported as pregnant to Leopold Urssen. It had been arranged that he should marry her, and take her to a home to be provided for her near where he was working. Reasonable fares should be paid to her mother to visit her until the birth of the child.⁷⁷



Miss Steenackers, photographed by David Knights-Whittome in April 1915
(source: David Knights-Whittome archive in Sutton Archives).

There is no definite evidence that she was one of the refugees, but there is circumstantial evidence:

- 1. Steenackers was a common Belgian family name, but was rare in the UK and unknown in Sutton at the time.**
- 2. The date of the photograph coincides with the use of Manor Park House as a hostel for Belgian refugees.**

Finance

The Minutes of the Finance Committee are not as helpful as one might have expected. They list monthly expenditure in great detail, but say very little about income. To try to see 'the bigger picture' we have to glean what we can from the Minutes of the BRC and the HSC. We have already seen that the BRC was supported by generous gifts in kind, especially in the early days (see 'The local response' above). The BRC ran the houses through a Fund which raised money by public subscription, but this is not mentioned explicitly until the last year of the Minute Book (see below). The cost of supporting each refugee seems to have been fairly stable, with figures of 1/- per head per day,⁷⁸ 9d per head per day,⁷⁹ and 10d per head per day⁸⁰ being mentioned. The overall cost is likely to have decreased as the number of refugees fell. In the first year of operation the Fund seems to have done well, even making a grant to the National Committee for Relief in Belgium.⁸¹ Late in 1915 a public meeting of subscribers to the Belgian Relief Fund was well attended⁸² and reported in local newspapers.⁸³

Soon after, a fall in the level of subscriptions was reported,⁸⁴ and by early 1916 it was regarded as a problem.⁸⁵ Despite a 'generous gift' from the Congregational Church,⁸⁶ the BRC agreed in February that it would be difficult to continue to use *The Crossways* after 25 March for financial reasons.⁸⁷ When that date passed, a decision on *The Crossways* was deferred for two months, as was the question of a further subscription to the Fund for Relief in Belgium.⁸⁸ The continuation of the house at Meadow Close was discussed in May and a decision was deferred.⁸⁹ By July, funds were still falling slowly, but *Hazlemere*, *The Crossways* and 20 Meadow Close were still operating.⁹⁰ Surprisingly, the BRC decided in September not to ask for further subscriptions, 'in view of the large balance in hand' and had registered as a Charity under the War Charities Act 1916.⁹¹

The coming end?

The story has no easy or tidy end. Our account simply finishes at the end of Minute Book no. 1; we do not know if there was a Minute Book no. 2, and if so, whether it still exists. But there are some clues in the final pages of Minute Book no. 1. We have seen above that both the number of refugees housed and the level of subscriptions were falling in 1916, and that the future of the outlying houses was in doubt.

At a special meeting in July 1916 Cllr Miss Jennings expressed the opinion that 'it was possible to use the Manor Park buildings as a convalescent home in conjunction with the Benfleet Hall War Hospital,⁹² and that it would be possible to place the Belgian refugees elsewhere'. The Hon. Sec. was asked to 'consult with Aldwych if there is any camp or other places that can deal with the class of people now being housed by the Committee at MPH'. The Central Committee replied that 'there is no place where people of this kind now under the care of this Committee can be housed'. Nevertheless, the Hon. Sec. was asked to write to the UDC thanking them for the use of these buildings since 20th October 1914.⁹³ This suggests that a move was under active consideration. Two months later, at the last meeting in the Minute Book,⁹⁴ a letter from the Central War Refugees Committee 'giving full particulars of so-called "Colonies" in various parts of the country, for the reception of Belgian refugees' was reported.

In the absence of BRC Minute Book no. 2, I searched the Minutes of the SUDC and its Cemetery, Parks and Allotments Committee (CPAC) for the years 1916/17 and 1917/18. There are few

references until November 1971, when it was noted that ‘The Belgian Refugee Committee be asked to make arrangements for vacating the premises.’⁹⁵ The refugees left MPH on Thursday 6 December,⁹⁶ and the furniture belonging to the BRC was sold off at MPH on 22 December.⁹⁷ The reason given for the move was that the premises were required for the use of the military authorities. So where did the last remaining refugees go? The local historian C. J. Marshall recorded that *The White House* in Cheam was used as a hostel for Belgian refugees from 1916 to 1918, before it became an auxiliary military hospital in 1918.⁹⁸ Were they the same refugees who had been housed in Sutton until 1917? Or is this just coincidence, bearing in mind that the administrations of Sutton and Cheam were completely separate at this time? Or perhaps they were relocated to one of the “colonies” elsewhere in Britain.

What is more certain is that almost all the refugees returned gladly to Belgium in 1919, and that for the most part the British Government and people were glad to see them go. An economic slump was in the offing, and jobs were needed for thousands of returning soldiers. Within a short time, it was almost as though the refugees had never been here. Both they and their hosts seemed happy to forget the whole episode.

Conclusion

This story follows a pattern that was repeated in many places across Britain: the initial enthusiasm and the wish to help “the plucky Belgians”, followed by realisation that this was for the long haul, and would not be “over by Christmas”. Gradually sympathy swung to the large numbers of wounded British soldiers returning from the Front. Faced with an unprecedented situation, local authorities had to make up rules to suit their situations, while always under the orders of central government. The story lacks a denouement, the sudden and swift vanishing away when the War finally ended. All this has been told better and in more detail by many scholars.⁹⁹ What we have here are fragments of the fine detail of the much bigger picture: some names, the rules, the conflicts, the social tensions of the age, and a sense of place in our local community. Although much of *MPH* no longer stands, its site can be visited, and its role imagined, and three of the four outlying houses survive to be seen today. Their story feels every bit as relevant in 2022 as it did in 1914.

¹ Ref. no. LG13/1/74.

² *The Story of The White House (in Cheam)*, by Clive Orton, CADHAS Local History Note 12 (2022).

³ See pastonglass.wordpress.com/.

⁴ There are many possible references. My favourite is: discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10092550/1/The_odd_case_of_the_welcome_refugees_in_w.pdf.

⁵ It was situated on the east side of Manor Park, about half-way along Manor Park Road. It survived until the 1970s, serving as Sutton Central Library until the new Central Library opened in 1975. It was then demolished, although some out-buildings remain.

⁶ George Henry James Hooper, M.D., who lived at *Worcester House*, Brighton Road, and was a GP and partner in Hooper and Verrall (1901 and 1911 Censuses, *Pile’s Directory* 1914, *The Medical Directory* 1915).

⁷ Possibly J.C. Bolton of *Highcroft*, Christchurch Park, Sutton (*Pile’s Directory* 1914).

⁸ James Augustus Tulloch, Manager, London and Provincial Bank (now Barclays Bank, Cheam Road (1901 and 1911 Censuses).

⁹ Sir Ralph Collingwood Forster of *The Grange*, Mulgrave Road, Sutton (Surrey, England, Electoral Register 1832-1962 for 1923), reputedly the largest house in Sutton. He was created 1st Baronet Forster of The Grange in the 1912 New Year’s Honours for “promotion of the study of chemistry”. See:

pastonglass.wordpress.com/2017/01/19/major-hugh-forster-the-banstead-war-memorial-project/.

¹⁰ It is now 103 Carshalton Road, on the north side between St Barnabas Road and Sutton Grove.

¹¹ It is now 115 Cheam Road, on the south side between Landseer Road and Bridgefield Road.

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- ¹² This house still stands. Meadow Close is on the northern side of the west end of Aultone Way, Sutton.
- ¹³ This stood at the junction of Benhill Road and Westmead Road. Its site is now occupied by *Benhill Court*. The Southwark Diocese referred to is the Anglican diocese, not the Roman Catholic Archdiocese.
- ¹⁴ See ezitis.myzen.co.uk/aldwych.html.
- ¹⁵ BRC Minutes, 28 Jun 1915.
- ¹⁶ See p. 11 of Strandaldwych.org/assets/Documents/f3e8937de4/Strand-Aldwych_RIBA-stage-2.pdf.
- ¹⁷ *Op cit* note 14; see also *British Medical Journal* 2 (2810), 803 and bobrowen.co/nymas/jenniechurchill.html#OUR_BELGIAN_GUESTS_/
- ¹⁸ HSC Minutes, 6 Nov 1914.
- ¹⁹ BRC Minutes, 30 Mar 1915.
- ²⁰ Hon. Sec. Report, 23 Jun 1915.
- ²¹ BRC Minutes, 27 Jul 1915.
- ²² BRC Minutes, 21 Sep 1915.
- ²³ BRC Minutes, 4 Jan 1915.
- ²⁴ BRC Minutes, 30 Mar 1915.
- ²⁵ HSC Minutes, 17 Nov 1914.
- ²⁶ HSC Minutes, 28 May 1915.
- ²⁷ BRC Minutes, 28 Jun 1915.
- ²⁸ BRC Minutes, 31 May 1915.
- ²⁹ HSC Minutes, 24 Mar 1916.
- ³⁰ BRC Minutes, 2 May 1916.
- ³¹ BRC Minutes, 30 May 1916.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ BRC Minutes, 14 Dec 1915; this was Brock's Fireworks Factory in Cheam. See *Gunpowder and Glory*, by Harry Smee and Henry Macrory (2020), or visit pastonglass.wordpress.com/2020/05/07/gunpowder-glory-the-incredible-story-of-frank-brock-the-brocks-factory-at-war/.
- ³⁴ BRC Minutes, 1 Mar 1915.
- ³⁵ BRC Minutes, 26 Apr 1915.
- ³⁶ HSC Minutes, 19 Apr 1915.
- ³⁷ HSC Minutes, 7 Sep 1915.
- ³⁸ HSC Minutes, 28 Oct 1914.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ HSC Minutes, 6 Nov 1914.
- ⁴¹ HSC Minutes, 4 Jan 1915.
- ⁴² HSC Minutes, 18 Jan 1915.
- ⁴³ BRC Minutes, 27 Jun 1916.
- ⁴⁴ HSC Minutes, 6 Nov 1914. Other evidence suggests that this is likely to be the school now known as St Philomena's, Carshalton.
- ⁴⁵ HSC Minutes, 22 Feb 1915.
- ⁴⁶ HSC Minutes, 28 Jun 1915. There is a photo of the school at www.ukphotoarchive.org.uk/new-town-school. It appears to be situated in what is now Greyhound Road, where Manor Park Primary Academy now stands.
- ⁴⁷ BRC Minutes, 19 Oct 1915. Sutton Adult School, built by Thomas Wall, still stands in Benhill Avenue.
- ⁴⁸ HSC Minutes, 7 Dec 1915.
- ⁴⁹ BRC Minutes, 27 Jul 1915.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ BRC Minutes, 21 Sep 1915.
- ⁵² HSC Minutes, 7 Dec 1915.
- ⁵³ BRC Minutes, 14 Dec 1915.
- ⁵⁴ HSC Minutes, 28 Oct 1914.
- ⁵⁵ HSC Minutes, 6 Nov 1914.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ HSC Minutes, 19 Apr 1915.
- ⁵⁹ HSC Minutes, 15 Dec 1914.
- ⁶⁰ BRC Minutes, 5 Jan 1915.
- ⁶¹ BRC Minutes, 28 Jun 1915.

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- ⁶² BRC Minutes, 16 Nov 1915.
⁶³ BRC Minutes, 24 Nov 1914.
⁶⁴ BRC Minutes, 31 May 1915.
⁶⁵ Hon. Sec. Report, 23 Jun 1915.
⁶⁶ HSC Minutes, 22 Feb 1915.
⁶⁷ HSC Minutes, 19 Apr 1915.
⁶⁸ BRC Minutes, 26 Apr 1915.
⁶⁹ BRC Minutes, 10 Nov 1914.
⁷⁰ BRC Minutes, 30 Mar 1915.
⁷¹ BRC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914.
⁷² HSC Minutes, 24 Mar 1916.
⁷³ BRC Minutes, 27 Oct 1914.
⁷⁴ BRC Minutes, 22 Mar 1915.
⁷⁵ BRC Minutes, 26 Apr 1915.
⁷⁶ HSC Minutes, 22 Feb 1915.
⁷⁷ HSC Minutes, 24 Mar 1916.
⁷⁸ HSC Minutes, 17 Nov 1914.
⁷⁹ HSC Minutes, 1 Dec 1914; BRC Minutes, 30 May 1916.
⁸⁰ BRC Minutes, 25 July 1916.
⁸¹ BRC Minutes, 19 Oct 1915.
⁸² BRC Minutes, 16 Nov 1915.
⁸³ *Sutton Advertiser* and *Sutton Herald*, both on 19 Nov 1915.
⁸⁴ BRC Minutes, 14 Dec 1915.
⁸⁵ BRC Minutes, 25 Jan 1916.
⁸⁶ BRC Minutes, 15 Feb 1916.
⁸⁷ BRC Minutes, 29 Feb 1916.
⁸⁸ BRC Minutes, 28 Mar 1916.
⁸⁹ BRC Minutes, 2 May 1916.
⁹⁰ BRC Minutes, 25 Jul 1916.
⁹¹ BRC Minutes, 26 Sep 1916.
⁹² See *The Story of Hilton (in Sutton)*, by Clive Orton, CADHAS Local History Note 2 (2021).
⁹³ BRC Minutes, 25 Jul 1916.
⁹⁴ BRC Minutes, 21 Sep 1916.
⁹⁵ SUDC Minutes, 19 Nov 1917.
⁹⁶ PCAC Minutes, 30 Nov 1917.
⁹⁷ PCAC Minutes, 4 Jan 1918.
⁹⁸ *History of Cheam and Sutton*, by C.J. Marshall (1936), see also *op cit* note 2.
⁹⁹ See for example note 4.