THE HORTON CHAPEL PROJECT

Research presented by John Mumford

Leisure and Entertainment

Early Days

Leisure and entertainment had always been an essential element of daily life for patients of the hospital cluster. The extensive grounds were landscaped. Enclosed 'airing courts', where patients would exercise or



sit outdoors, were shared by several wards, and octagonal pavilions enabled patients to enjoy the outdoors in bad weather or be shaded from the sun. Walking within the grounds and woodlands was the most widely available activity for patients.

Long Grove Mental Hospital: view of the summer garden 1910

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Originally the walks were heavily supervised but as time passed, it was realised that other activities such as art, music and dancing were also beneficial, as well as attending concerts and theatrical performances in the main hall.

Long Grove Mental Hospital: interior of the day room. 1910

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The Manor Hospital Staff in pantomime 1928/29 from Bourne Hall Museum Ref OP4333

Behind their erstwhile locked doors the patients... spent their whole time as an isolated community mixing little with other wards except on High Days and Holidays; for example, the weekly dance, the annual fete, and attendances at Church. The decorative schemes, if they could be graced with such a term, were drab in the extreme; chocolate brown and olive green predominated. The furniture was massive and designed much more with an eye to durability than comfort. The clothes in which the patient was dressed were miserable in the extreme-badly designed, of the coarsest, cheapest materials and, in all, calculated to degrade the unfortunate being who was made compulsorily to don them. The atmosphere, therefore, was compounded of partly that of a workhouse, partly of a prison and with only a faint trace of anything which could be deemed to improve morale... Treatment other than custodial care was virtually non-existent, and what cures or improvements took place were the result largely of spontaneous remissions in the mental illness from

which the patient suffered.'

(ROLLIN, HENRY R., Physician Deputy Superintendent, Horton Hospital, Epsom, Surrey - Paper to National Association of Music Therapy 1959)ⁱ

Post-War – more enlightened times

Henry Rollin, in a paper that he delivered to the National Association of Music Therapy in 1959, said that 'after 1948 Horton Hospital was taken over by the National Health Service from the London County Council. As and when wards were redecorated, browns and greens gave way to brighter pastel colours. The ugly Victorian furniture was replaced by lighter and more comfortable chairs and tables. An everincreasing number of wards were "opened" so that patients had access, at will, to other parts of the hospital.

'Other steps, important in the aggregate, were improvements in the clothing and diet of the patients, the provision of a women's hairdressing salon and a chiropody department, a better library, social and recreational facilities, an increased number of ground and town passes, and the encouragement given to patients to spend week-ends or longer periods with relatives or friends.

'With the dawn of rationalism and humanism in the management of mental hospitals came the growing awareness of the demoralizing effect and the affront to human dignity of enforced idleness in the mentally sick. It was important to overcome the "institutional psychosis" forced on the patient by a dull, unimaginative routine and by idleness. Every effort is made to employ patients in one way or another. Nor must the employment be "work for work's sake". To be of real therapeutic value the work done, or the activity engaged in, must be intellectually or emotionally satisfying or both.

'New ideas abounded and fortunately the enlightened Management Committee of the hospital was receptive to them. With such an idea did our music therapist come to Horton, and in October 1955, the idea was put into practice. Concerts given by the patients for the patients were started in the spring of 1956. For the audience, composed of over three hundred patients, shared in the success of the concerts and reflected glory of the performers.

'Having established these musically orientated groups it was felt that the net could be cast wider and experimental groups started with patients to whom music, or rather rhythm, might appeal at a more primitive level. To this end, in March 1957, percussion bands were formed with, as the stock of instruments gradually increased, drums, tambourines, triangles, cymbals, bells, maracas, tambours, chime bars, trumpets and "nightingales".

'A regular item in the hospital's entertainment programme for the past few months in 1959 has been the entertainment of senile patients in their own wards by members of the music therapy classes either as groups or as individuals.

"Celebrity concerts" given by established artists for a very nominal fee have given infinite pleasure to patients and staff alike. These concerts are given in the winter and spring at roughly monthly intervals'. ii

The annual report for 1957 from the Physician Superintendent at the Manor confirmed that 18 of the 21 ward units were open and the main gate of the hospital was permanently open and unguarded. 'Town parole' was granted at regular intervals to all wage-earning patients, experimental industrial unit patients, Scouts, Guides and others deemed to be sufficiently competent socially. They were issued with pocket money from 1s to 7s 6d, depending on age, grade and effort.

TV and radio had been installed in all wards and villas together with indoor games and recreation equipment. Cinema performances and dances were being held each week in the Recreation Hall. The patients' shop in the Visiting Hall was being extended to provide tea and ice-cream. Swimming classes in the municipal baths were provided for some of the schoolchildren who could also take part in Scout and Guide activities. Almost all the patients enjoyed coach trips to the seaside in summer and special arrangements were made to provide wage-earners with a fortnight at the coast each year.

Within the hospitals, many well-organised events brought patients and staff together. These included interhospital competitive sports matches and, as shown below, a prestigious flower show with jams and cakes.



Organised in the Recreation Hall at Long Grove, this was proudly reported in the national nursing magazine for 1957.

Flower show at Long Grove, 1957. Photograph DSCN9859, copyright Nursing Mirror^{iv}

Holidays

Outings and holidays for the patients became increasingly important from the 1960s onwards. By the 1980s, Merton and Sutton Health Authority Mental Handicap Services were providing written advice to St Ebba's staff that 'our aim should be to give as many of our residents as possible an annual holiday... Residents should in the main pay for their own holidays though monies would have to be found for those unable to do so. The Divisional Recreational Officer is responsible for organising and monitoring residents' holidays... and to make preliminary visits to establishments to ensure they meet our requirements... Venues could vary from hotels to self-catering, camping to holiday camps. The length of holiday would normally be one week, ideally between the months of April to September. No private holidays should be arranged during the month of August although the use of Osbourne House and the caravans can continue during this month'. \(^{\text{V}}\)

A local newspaper in 1974 reported that six patients from St Ebba's had gone to Butlins Bognor Holiday camp, under the care of two staff. They paid £16.50 each from their saved earnings for the week's holiday. It was also claimed that patients for some years had been going on holidays in groups which were self-financed. Ten St Ebba's patients went to a hotel in St Leonards-on-Sea and nineteen to a hotel in Westgate-on-Sea. Holidays cost between £14 and £25 each. Patients not able to cope with private holidays could enjoy communal ones instead. 46 went to a holiday camp at Bracklesham Bay, Sussex and 260 to Osbourne House, the Health Service holiday home at Hastings; they left in groups of twenty between March and October for a stay of eleven days. Vi

The frequency of these outings is shown by the recreation and entertainment programme for St Ebba's patients in May 1974. This included regular Thursday bus trips, leaving promptly at 10.00am from individual wards, and visiting the coast or Portsmouth dockyard.^{vii}

	16th	10am Day trip to Coast (Hazel) 5.30pn Junior Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club.
Fri	17th	10an Outing Deech. 2pm Coach to Woodhurst with Campers (rathfinders) 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club.
Sat	18th	10am Hollios Club. 2pm Young Concern.
	19th	1030am RC Mass. 2.30pm Young Concer. 5.30pm Holy Communion. 6pm Coach returns from Camping Weekend.
Mon	20th	10am Outing Dooc. 2pm Outing Thorn. 2.30pm Dance. 5.30pm Dance. 7pm Hollies Club.
Tue	21st	10am Outing I.T.U. 2pm Outing Oak/Ash. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club.
Dog.	22nd	los Outing School - 2pm Outing Pino - 2.30pm Pictures - 5.30pm Pictures -
Thu		10an Day outing to Coast (Larch) 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club.
THU	2)14	Znn Hollins Club.

St Ebba's Hospital Extract from May 1974 Patients Recreational & Entertainment Programme

Patients also went on camping weekends, such as the 'Pathfinder Camp' for Scouts which took place in May 1974 at Peas Pottage in Sussex. This had to be carefully planned with a nurse and five volunteers accompanying the sixteen young patients. They ensured that correct clothes, uniform, equipment, medication and food were packed, parents/friends informed and doctors' permissions obtained.^{viii}

In April 1985 a 'Pathfinders' adventure holiday was organised for 26 St Ebba's residents, taking place over a week at a centre for disabled people in the Lake District. The party consisted of fourteen boys who met every Friday evening for scouting activities, together with eight girls and four boys from the Saturday Club. Activities on the holiday included riding and pony-trekking, canoeing, sailing, swimming, hill walking, rock climbing, archery, angling, nature trails and bird watching.^{ix}

Tino Georges Ratinon was a Staff Nurse at Horton Hospital from 1977 and a Charge Nurse at the Manor Hospital during the 1980s and 1990s. Mike Soopramania was a Charge Nurse at St Ebba's from 1974 and also worked as a Resettlement Officer at the Manor in the 1990s. In interviews with the Horton Chapel Project, they confirmed that patients would travel by coach to places like the Bognor Butlins, and undertake day trips to France via the ferry. Some patients would fly or travel by coach to Germany, Spain, Belgium and Holland.



Aldingbourne House near Chichester was run by the Manor as a holiday home for patients where some would stay for up to a month. Day trips from Aldingbourne were organised for the less able. *

Aldingbourne House, Near Chichester

But taking patients away on holiday excursions was not always straightforward. Brian Leedham, Staff Nurse at West Park, recalls a day trip to a south coast resort when some patients who were so institutionalised that they were unable to leave the coach.

Patient Hospital Magazines

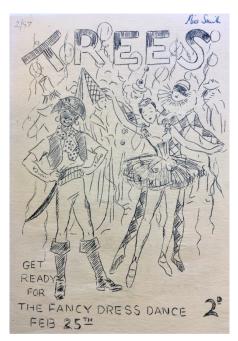
Goffman's study of 'total institutions' in the USA in the 1950s suggests that 'among the practices that developed to bond staff and patients together in mutual support and understanding was the hospital magazine. The printed content is such as to draw a circle around the institution and to give the accent of public reality to the world within'.xi

We can see from the 1949–51 annual report of the St Ebba's Physician Superintendent that since January 1949 the patients had been writing and producing a weekly bulletin of articles and news under the

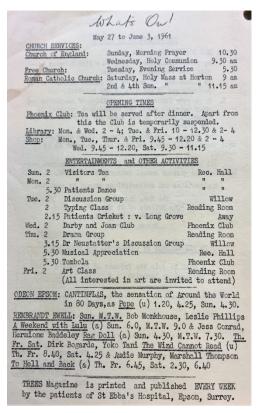
supervision of the Educational Advisor. It was called $\it Trees$ (The Residents Enjoyment and Entertainment Society). $^{\rm xii}$

It was felt that a hospital magazine should become the focal point of social activity. Issues during the early period were single-page but a diary of events soon started, including sports reports, and the magazine grew to six and then twelve pages. The editor, an experienced journalist, was assisted by representatives of both male and female wards. Encouragement was given to individual contributions and a regular collection box was placed at the Recreation Hall entrance. Office accommodation for the editor and assistants was provided in Poplar Villa.*

St Ebba's Trees Magazine Feb 1957



Hospital magazines such as *Trees* and *Holly Club News* reveal the activities that filled the lives of patients and staff in St Ebba's during the 1960s, 70s and 80s. This was a time of great change in mental health care. With their large in-patient populations, all the cluster hospitals had developed occupational, leisure, entertainment and sporting activities for patients and staff. These offer some valuable insights into the lives of psychiatric patients.



Each issue of *Trees included* news about hospital events and personalities, notes on health and beauty, and reports on sport and various competitions. The magazine also ran articles on patient activities such as clubs, outings and holidays, as well as requests for help with forthcoming events.



SOLLY GLUB IS OPEN EVERY DAY MONDAY TO FRIDAY FOR REGISENTS TEAS AND REGREATION.

12.30 p.s. - 2.30 p.s. - 12.30 p.s. FOR TEAS

INDOOR BOWLS ARE NOW AVAILABLE DURING THE WESKDAYS IN THE INDOOR BOWLS ARE TO STAFF WISHING TO ARRANGE FOR RESIDENTS FRIENDS CENTRE. STAFF WISHING TO ARRANGE FOR RESIDENTS TO FLAY SHOULD CONTACT Mr. J. Woodgerm IN THE NURSING OFFICE OR "IAN" IN HOLLY CLUB ... Ext 250

RIDING FOR SELECTED RESIDENTS EVERY WED. at 10 a.m., and ON THURS, at 10.30 a.m. ALSO SATURDAY at 9.30 a.m.

W.I. MEETING WILL BE HELD ON TUESDAY, 26th JULY IN THE FRIENDS CENTRE.

SWIMMING LESSONS

SVIMMING LESSONS FOR SELECTED RESIDENTS MONDAY 9 s.m. and on TUESDAY at 3 p.m. and on WEDNESDAY at 10 s.m. and 3 p.m.

PLEASE NOTE THAT WE WOULD ALSO LIKE YOU TO SUPPLY STAFF TO ACCOMPANY RESIDENTS ON THEIR LESSONS.

THANK

ST EDRA'S HOSPITAL - RESOM. PATIENTS RECREATION PROGRAMME.

AFRIL 1974.

Mon lst

AFRIL 1974.

10em Outing Broch. 2pn Outing Thorn. 2.30pn Dence. 5.30pm Dence.

7pn Hollies Club.

10an Outing I.T.U. 5pm Free Church. 2pm Outing Oak/Ash. 5.30pm Junior
Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club. 7pm Concert in Roc Hall.

10an Outing School. 2pm Outing Laburnum. 1.45pm Six a Side Football Match
at Long Grove. 2.30pm Pictures. 5.30pm Fictures.

10an Outing Furse. 2pm Outing Sycenore. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club.
7pm Hollies Club. 630pm Concert Rehersals.

10am Hollies Club. 7.30pmPathfinders Mooting. 6.30pm Concert Rehersals.

10am Hollies Club. 2pm Young Concern. 9.30am Concert Rehersals.

10.30am R.C.Mass. 2.30pm Young Concern. 5.30pm Holy Communion. Tuo 2nd

Wed 3rd

Thu Lth

Fri 5th.

Sat 6th.

Sun 7th.

Mon 8th.

Tue 9th.

10am Outing Beech. 2pm Cuting Pino. 2.30pm Dance. 5.30pm Dance.
7pm Hollies Club.
10am Outing I.T.U. 2pm Outing Almond/Cherry. 5.30pm Free Church. Junior Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club.
10am Outing School. 2pm Outing Limewood. 2.30pm Pictures. 5.30pm Pictures.
10am Outing Projects. 2pm Outing Typress. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club.
7pm Hollies Club. Wod 10th.

Thu 11th.

Fri 12th.

Sat 13th.

Tom Hollies Club. 9.30an Concert Rehersals.

10an Hollies Club. 9.30an Concert Rehersals.

10an R.C.Mass. 2.30pm Young Concern. 5.30pm Holy Communion. Sun 14th.

RASTER MINDAY. To be erranged. 5.30pm Bast Dance in Recrebation Hall. 10am Outing I.T.U. 2pm Outing Larch/Lilac. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club. Mon 15th. Tue 16th.

7pm Hollies Club. 5.30pm Free Church.

Wed 17th. 10am Outing School. 2pm Outing Sycamore. 2.30pm Pictures. 5.30pm Pictures. Thu 18th.

10am Outing Projects. 2.pm. Outing Laburnum. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club. 6.30pm Concert Rehersals. (Dress Rehersals)

10an Outing Beech. 2pm Outing Maple. 6.30pm Opening Night Patients Concert. 10an Hollies Club..2.30pm Young Concern. 6.30pm Patients Concert. 10.30am R.C.MASS. 2.30pm Young Concern. 5.30pm Holy Communion. *.1 19th.

Sat 20th.

Sun 21st.

Mon 22nd. 10am Outing Beech. 2pm Outing Thorn. 2.30pm Dance. 5.30pm Dance.

7pm Hollies Club.

10am Outing I.T.U. 2pm Outing Oak/Ash. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club. Froe Church. 7pm. Hollies Club.

10am Outing School. 2pm Outing Pine. 2.30pm Pictures. 5.30pm Pictures. Wed 24th. Thu 25th. 10am Outing Projects. 2pm Outing Linewood. 5.30pm Junior Hollies Club.

7pm Hollies Club.

Tue 23rd.

outing Beech. 2pk Outing Maple. 6.30pm Concert Patients. Fri 26th.

Sat 27th. 10an Hollies Club. 2.30pm Young Concern. 6.30pm Patients Concert.

Sun 28th. 2.30pm Young Concern. 5.30pm Holy Communion.

10am Outing Beach. 2pm Outing Laurel. 2.30pm Dance. 5.30pm Dance. Mon 29th.

7pm Hollies Club.

9.15an R.C. Mass. 10am Outing I.T.U. 2pm Outing Projects. 5.30pm Junior Tue 30th.

Hollies Club. 7pm Hollies Club.

Hospital Patient Social Events



Long Grove Social Club dance, c.1984, with visiting West Indian band. Taken by Ray O'Donoghue xiv

Ray O'Donoghue, Staff Nurse 1984–86 and photographer, remembered that, 'We had monthly Derby and Joan concerts, where patients would regularly sing and participate in their own way. The centre was opened from 09.00 to 20.00, seven days a week and was a great meeting place for those patients who were not well enough to do any regular or organised work or specific rehabilitation programmes'. **

'There was a piano in the corner and one day I was surprised to see a lady in her sixties who walked with a bad limp and never spoke... She ambled over to the piano and lifted the lid and just sat there for about five minutes, wringing her hands in an anxious manner and looking around her, as if for approval. She tinkled a few notes as if to warm up and then, to my amazement, she started playing some classical music which knocked me sideways. I could not believe what I was hearing. If I had closed my eyes I might have guessed that I was in some concert hall listening to some famous pianist... "Who was that lady?" I asked Barbara, one of my female nursing colleagues. "Her name is Lily and she used to be a music teacher. She is a wonderful pianist when she is in the mood" Barbara told me... I had seen Lily and just saw a psychiatric patient with a bad leg and never gave much consideration to what else she might be capable of doing. In future I would see her in a different light. As a psychiatric nurse I should have been more aware that many of the mentally ill patients that I had known were normal people who had just as many talents as other people'. XVI



Long Grove Social Club, c.1984. Taken by Ray O'Donoghue

'We played records and sold tea and biscuits and also gave free tea etc to those who had no money' Ray O'Donoghue.



Patients enjoying a cup of tea at Long Grove Social Club, c.1984. Taken by Ray O'Donoghue

Christmas social events

Christmas was an especially important time, a busy point in the social calendar for both staff and patients. A newspaper article from the Advertiser for 26th December 1968 describes the full programme of events planned for the period leading up to Christmas Day and extending through until the end of January^{xvii}.



One of the original Daleks from the BBC 'Dr Who' series arriving during a Christmas Party at St Ebba's Hospital, Epsom. The Dalek had been 'booked to appear' by kind permission of Robert De Winter, who is currently producing a live 'Dr Who and the Daleks' show at London's Adelphi Theatre. The Dalek appeared for about half an hour, met patients and then disappeared.

At Long Grove these included a patients' dance, sports club children's party, carol singing by the staff choir in the Recreation Hall on Christmas Eve. a Carnival Ball in the Sports Club on New Year's Eve, and a party for Polish patients on January 5th, whilst the Bromley and Orpington Choir were visiting Long Grove on January IIth for a sing-song in the Recreation Hall. Similar events could be found across the other hospitals including six visits for St Ebba's children to see Dick Whittington at the Ashcroft Theatre in Croydon, a patients' fancy dress party at the Manor, and in January a hospital pantomime at West Park.

As early as July 1983, Holly Club News was inviting residents at St Ebba's to get involved in and rehearse for the forthcoming Christmas Show six months ahead. Shows, concerts and pantomimes were major events that required hours of planning, careful preparation of costumes and props and numerous rehearsals.

Dalek at St Ebba's Christmas Party: On Call 21.01.1975

Music Concerts

Musical concerts were important in all entertainment programmes at the hospital cluster. Individual hospitals formed orchestras and bands from their own musically gifted staff: the West Park Hospital Band dated back to 1932.

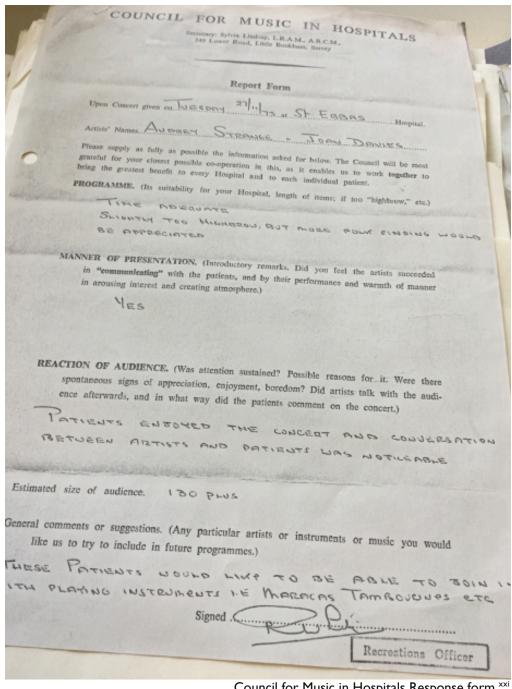
'There was music in the form of a para-military brass band, with perhaps a string section, which played with great gusto but with little expertise for the weekly dance or special "gala" occasions. Male nurses, or significantly enough, "attendants" as they were then called, were chosen for their proficiency as instrumentalists or their capabilities as footballers or cricketers rather than for any nursing potential they might have had."



THE LONG GROVE THEATRE PRESENTS CONCERT NIGHT LONG GROVE ORCHESTRA AND ARTISTS Miss B. McHUGH . Mr. R. BEST Mr. J. PEARSON . Mr. J. FLEMING SATURDAY, 5th OCTOBER, 1957 Commencing at 5.30 p.m. Conductor . . Mr. F. W. Allen Long Grove Hospital concert programmexx

Music was given additional impetus in the post war years thanks to 'Council for Music in Hospitals' (CMH), a charity established in 1948 to provide concerts of serious classical music. This was generally chosen on behalf of patients by the Medical Superintendent and the idea was to provide a therapeutic, educational and cultural experience for patients.

The feedback form below shows the care taken in ensuring the concerts met resident's needs; it is for to a concert held at St Ebba's in November 1973 by the well-known concert singer Audrey Strange and Joan Davies, an accomplished pianist. This shows how many residents were keen to participate in music activities.



Council for Music in Hospitals Response form xxi

Horse Riding

Correspondence files dating back to April 1974 show that twelve women and three men patients regularly rode with Epsom Riding for the Disabled. ***ii



Maple Ward, St Ebba's, c.1976. Photograph provided by Epsom RDA

Twice-weekly sessions on Wednesday afternoons and at weekends were organised by Epsom Riding for the Disabled within the grounds of St Ebba's. Four horses were initially available for sessions and there was a waiting list of patients. Most of the riders were children from the classroom within Aspen ward. 'Such recreational activities as this are a very important part of the treatment. The riding gives the patients some sense of dignity and

responsibility and, of course, the contact with people from outside is invaluable', said Lilliam Carter, St Ebba's Co-ordinator of Voluntary Services. ***

The newsletter for St Ebba's Parents' and Relatives' Group for September 1993 states that Epsom RDA 'has provided over the years, and continues to provide, many very enjoyable Wednesday and Thursday morning sessions in the fresh air for our residents. The Thursday sessions would be entirely in the grounds: the wonderful ladies from the RDA (all volunteers) would arrive with ponies, plus bucket and shovel outside Maple at 10.45am. We then walked the ponies with riders round the perimeter, through the grounds and onto the football pitch for exercises and games. This pattern changed... The Wednesday session [mow] takes place in the outdoor riding school and the grounds of St Ebba's'.



Bobby Roan, who still volunteers at Epsom RDA, recalls the great interest from other patients during the late 1970s and 1980s when walking through the grounds with the riders. 'All these smiling faces would appear when we came with the horses. It was obviously something that gave them much pleasure and excitement'. *xiv

Epsom Riding for Disabled c.1990, travelling between Hawthorns ward and the stables at St Ebba's Farm. Photograph provided by Epsom RDA

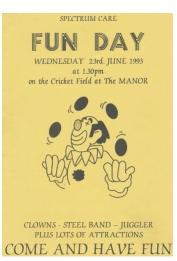
Fairs, Fetes and Shows

A tremendous amount of effort and organisation went into delivering fairs, fetes, shows and concerts within each of the hospitals. This is clearly illustrated by the following extracts from the souvenir programme for St Ebba's Fete and Horse Show in May 1961. The programme itself was prepared and printed by the patients as part of the Trees, the regular magazine for patients. There were many stalls for

crafts and items made, baked or grown by the patients.

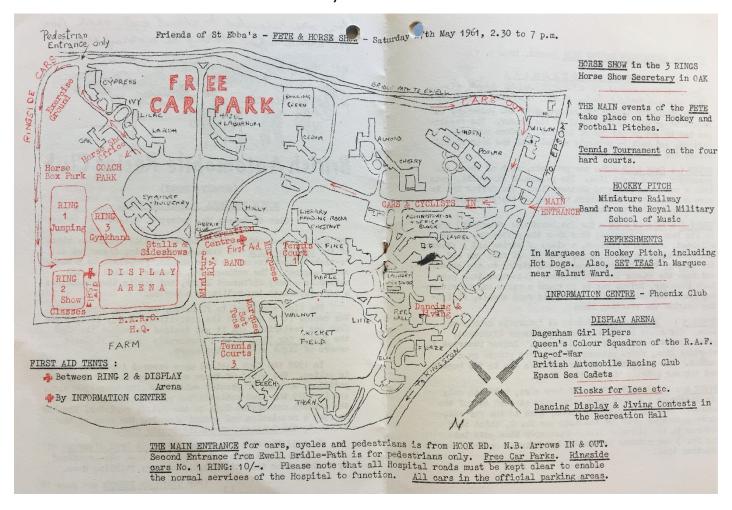


The volunteers who supported the hospital through the Friends of St Ebba's had evidently spent an inordinate amount of time inviting external groups and organisations to take part



in the event, which stretched across the entire hospital site. It was clearly a major logistical production and was not untypical of the effort that went into organising entertainment shows for the hospital patients — shows that the surrounding community could also attend and enjoy.

Special annual events and shows continued across the entire hospital cluster until their closure and were an important opportunity for patients to mix with the outside world and help prepare them for the time when most would be re-settled in the community.



Footnotes:

¹ Music Therapy 1959. Ninth Book of Proceedings of the National Association for Music Therapy. Page 26 of Paper by Henry R Rollin, Physician Deputy Superintendent, Horton Hospital. https://mountainscholar.org/bitstream/handle/10217/184944/MMTA01201 09.pdf?sequence=4

- "Henry R. Rollin, 'Music therapy 1959', Proceedings of the National Association for Music Therapy 9 (1959) pp.27–30.
- Report of the Physician Superintendent to the Manor Hospital Management Committee, 1957, p.12. Wellcome Library: WLM28.BE5E64M28.
- iv Photograph of Long Grove Hospital flower show (1957). Surrey History Centre: 6276/2/3.
- ^v Merton & Sutton Health Authority Mental Handicap Services Policy on Residents Holidays. Surrey History Centre: 6292/30/2
- vi Cutting from Epsom and Ewell Herald, 29.08.1974. Surrey History Centre: 6292/30/2.
- vii Patients Recreation Programme, St Ebba's Hospital, May 1974. Surrey History Centre: 6292/12/1.
- viii St Ebba's Hospital correspondence. Surrey History Centre: 6292/10/31.
- ix St Ebba's Hospital correspondence. Surrey History Centre: 6292/12/1.
- * Interviews with Tino Georges Ratinon and Mike Soopramania, July 2019.
- xi Erwin Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (New York: Anchor Books, 1961) p.96.
- xii St Ebba's Report of Physician Superintendent 1949–51 p.11. Wellcome Library: WLM28.BE5E64E15
- xiii Trees magazine 17 Feb 1957. Surrey History Centre: 6292/29/1.
- xiv Photograph of Long Grove Hospital patients' Social Centre by Ray O'Donoghue, c.1984. Surrey History Centre: 6718/1.
- ^{xv} Description of photographs of Long Grove Hospital patients' Social Centre by Ray O'Donoghue, 25 August 1999. Surrey History Centre: 6718/1.
- xvi Ray O'Donoghue, Tears on my Pillow (Published Book Guild, 1977) pp.300–1.
- xviii Cutting from Epsom & Ewell Advertiser 26.12.68. Surrey History Centre: 6292/30/2
- Music Therapy 1959. Ninth Book of Proceedings of the National Association for Music Therapy. pp 27 of Paper by Henry R Rollin, Physician Deputy Superintendent, Horton Hospital.
- xix File 6366/10/1 Photograph of West Park Hospital Band. <u>www.surreyarchives.org.uk</u>
- ** File 6276/1/3 Long Grove Hospital Orchestra Concert Programme 5 October 1957 www.surreyarchives.org.uk
- xxi File 6292/10/31 Council for Music in Hospitals Report form dated 27 November 1973 www.surreyarchives.org.uk
- xxiii Surrey History Centre: 6292/12/1.
- Cutting from Epsom and Ewell Advertiser 11.07.1974. Surrey History Centre: 6292/30/2.
- xxiv Conversation with Bobby Roan at Epsom RDA, October 2019.